

# TIBETAN STUDIES
## IN HONOUR OF HUGH RICHARDSON

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# PREFACE

The International Seminar on Tibetan Studies which took place at St John's College, Oxford, from July 1st to 7th, 1979, was the direct successor of the Seminar of Young Tibetologists convened in Zurich in 1977 by Professor Per Kvaerne and Dr Martin Brauen. However, while the Zurich meeting was limited to the younger generation, the conference at Oxford was open to all scholars with a major interest in Tibetan Studies. Consequently it could be said that the Proceedings now published are the product of perhaps the most representative group that has ever gathered to advance the interests of our field. While the volume serves to record nearly all the papers delivered, it cannot of course hope to recapture the stimulation and intimacy of the occasion which brought together seventy colleagues from twelve countries under the chairmanship of Professor David Snellgrove of London University. As the Convenor of the conference, it gave me special pleasure to welcome delegates to my own College.

The structure of the conference has inevitably disappeared from the published Proceedings. The nine sessions which took place under different chairmen were arranged as follows:

The Interior: Religion and Philosophy
The Interior: Linguistics and Bibliography
The Interior: Music, Medicine and Art
The Interior: Further Considerations
The Western Borderlands and Ladakh
The Northern Borderlands and Mongolia
The Eastern Borderlands and China
The Southern Borderlands and India
Closing Session

Eight of the papers delivered are not included here, either because they depended heavily on visual presentation or because they had been promised elsewhere. These were as follows:

Zara Fleming, '*Zan-par*, moulds for dough images.'
Yoshiro Imaeda, '*Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang.'
Ngawang Thondup Narkyid, 'A typological comparison of Tibetan and other Asian languages.'
Braham Norwick, 'Western illusions of Tibet: the sources.'
HRH Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, 'Report on a recent visit to Tibet.'
Hanna Rauber, 'A study in commercial nomadism: the Khamba of West Nepal.'
David Snellgrove, 'The art of Ladakh.'
Friedrich Wilhelm, 'A new German catalogue of Tibetan manuscripts.'

Both Mr Imaeda and Mr Narkyid have substituted other papers for the ones they delivered, and Dr Brauen, who was prevented from attending, has included his paper. Apart from these changes and the later revisions made by each author, the papers published now are the ones that were actually delivered. It should be mentioned that the delivery of a paper was a condition of attendance, except in the case of native Tibetan scholars who could decide on this for themselves.

Apart from using a standard system of Tibetan transliteration and imposing (somewhat unsuccessfully) a uniform length for each paper, as editors my wife and I have sought to preserve the sense of diversity conveyed by the contributions, together with all their personal idiosyncracies of citation, style and expression. The editors take full responsibility for any typographical errors which remain uncorrected since time did not permit us to send proofs to each contributor. The views expressed are of course those of the authors. However, several contributors requested us to improve their English and we have tried to do this. We make no apology for the lack of a unifying theme.

On the contrary, we hope this diversity is itself a fitting tribute to one whose Tibetan interests have ranged with such dedication over so many subjects and periods. Hugh Richardson, with his unique background, accomplishments and knowledge, has personally and for many years helped all generations of Tibetan scholars; when the suggestion was put individually to the contributors that the volume might be dedicated to Mr Richardson as his *festschrift*, there was instant and complete agreement. We had hoped to reproduce on the cover either a photograph of the Capuchin bell in the lHa-sa Jo-khang which he used to ring every time he went there, or else a photograph of the wall-painting by the 13th Dalai Lama's tomb in the Potala which is said to show him in diplomatic dress as a donor figure, but instead we have N.G. Ronge's fine *dril-bu* which can be taken to represent Mr Richardson's undoubted *shes-rab*.

It would not have been possible for me to convene the conference or publish the proceedings without receiving a great deal of assistance, institutional and personal. The Wenner-Gren Foundation of New York provided a generous grant. The British Council and the Great Britain-East Europe Centre made it possible for some delegates to attend. The Oriental Institute, Oxford, and Mrs Anne Lonsdale gave much assistance both before and during the meeting, as did several of my graduate students. The Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel and Mme Marcelline de Montmollin in particular helped with the exhibition 'The Arts of Bhutan' which was held concurrently at the Ashmolean Museum.

Fritz and Monica von Schulthess, who have a very long-standing personal connection with the Himalayas and whom we were able to welcome to the Oxford conference in connection with the exhibition at the Ashmolean, most kindly offered to help financially with the publication of this volume. It is thanks to their magnificent subsidy that it is published.

Thanks are also due to Mrs Joy Dixon for typing all the contributions, to Dr Anne Jefferson and Miss Amy Hittner for translating some of the papers from French, to Mrs Sylvia Dudbridge for inserting the Chinese characters by hand, and to Mr Charles Ramble who helped Mr Richardson to prepare a bibliography of his published works.

The next conference in this series will take place at the University of Columbia, New York, in July 1982.

Michael Aris
St John's College
Oxford

## AN APPRECIATION OF HUGH RICHARDSON

**David Snellgrove**

Hugh Richardson comes as the last of a distinguished series of foreigners, mainly British, Hungarian and Italian, who visited Tibet in the past for a variety of reasons, diplomatic, religious, scholarly and political, before it was taken over by the Chinese Communists in the mid-20th century, and its colourful traditional character totally transformed. He lived in Lhasa for a total of nine years both as diplomat and scholar, and he and Professor Giuseppe Tucci of Rome may now be fairly regarded as the only representatives of international scholarly standing who knew Tibet, as it used to be, at first hand. Since the 1950s considerable advances have been made in our knowledge of all aspects of Tibetan civilization by a new generation of younger scholars, and much help has been received from the many publications (mainly in Tibetan) and the helpful co-operation of indigenous Tibetan scholars who still continue traditional Tibetan ways of teaching and learning and practising as exiles from modern transformed Tibet. Hugh Richardson has played an active part in these later developments, thus covering both periods, that of the earlier far more restricted researches carried out in Tibet itself and in its remote border areas, and also that of our present-day researches which are still progressing in some Universities of Europe, North America and Japan as well as in several religious centres in India, where Tibetans attempt to preserve traditional values within the limits of the terms set by 20th century conditions. Since his immense contribution needs to be placed within an historical context, I open with a brief summary of what was achieved in the earlier period.

Apart from the remarkable pioneer work in recording Tibetan customs and religion by the famous Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri, who lived in Lhasa from 1716 to 1721, scholarly interest in Tibet by the outside world dates generally from the 19th century. The basis for the study of Tibetan language and literature was laid by two self-sacrificing Hungarians, who were tireless in their labours in remote and difficult parts of the western Tibetan world, over which the British had acquired some political control. These are Csoma de Kőrös (1784-1842) and H.A. Jäschke (1817-83), whose dictionary of classical Tibetan remains in use to this day. The British also sponsored the exploration of Tibet, and the best known of such Indian explorers for his travelogues and short studies in the history and religion of Tibet is certainly Sarat Chandra Das, who was active at the end of the 19th century. His dictionary of classical Tibetan also continues in use amongst students of this language.

The 20th century started with the forceful opening of the way to Lhasa by the Younghusband Expedition (1904), and from this time on a great deal of accurate information was collected and published. Despite his apparent detestation of much of Tibetan religious practice, L.A. Waddell, who had already accumulated considerable materials in the Darjeeling District and published before the end of the century his classic *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (London 1895), led the way in this new period with his descriptions of Lhasa and parts of central Tibet with his work *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (London 1905). Notable too are P. Landon's two volumes entitled *Lhasa*, published the same year. About the same time A.H. Francke was making an exploratory journey, sponsored by the British Government in Calcutta, through parts of old western Tibet, published as two volumes in 1914 and 1926 as *Antiquities of Indian Tibet.*

Up to this time information was being gained about Central Tibet despite the determination of the Tibetan Government in Lhasa to keep foreigners, that is to say Europeans, in the event mainly British, away from the country and ignorant of its ways of life. Tibet was open only to the Newar merchants and craftsmen of Nepal, to Ladakhi merchants and tradesmen, many of whom were Muslims, to monks and visitors from Mongolia, and to the Chinese, whose suzerainty was generally rec-recognized in the person of the Manchu emperor, who could be lavish in his gifts to some of the main Tibetan monasteries. All these various neighbouring peoples, except for the small Muslim minority in Lhasa, were generally regarded by the Tibetans as subscribers, if not actual practisers, of their religion, thus posing no threat to traditional values, as represented above all in Lhasa by the inmates of the three great *dGe-lugs-pa* monasteries which dominated the city. But none of these people, not even the Chinese in this period, took any scholarly interest in Tibetan topography, in Tibetan life and religion. The beginnings of a change suddenly came in 1910, when the Chinese authorities



Hugh Richardson at Dekyilingka, Lhasa.

attempted with military force to bring the whole of Tibet directly under its control. As is well known, the 13th Dalai Lama spent two years as an exile and guest of the British Government in India, returning to his country in 1912 after the final collapse of the Manchu Dynasty in China the previous year. The Chinese were driven from the country and friendly relations with British-Indian neighbours to the south were established. Herewith a new period of Tibetan cultural relations with the outside-world began, if even these beginnings were hesitating. Sir Charles Bell in particular established long and friendly relations with many Tibetans, including the 13th Dalai Lama himself, and the information which he was able to extract from gZhon-nu-dpal's history of Tibet ('Blue Annals') with the help of indigenous Tibetan scholars prepared the way for later and more detailed work on the whole range of Tibetan history. Meanwhile the archaeological discoveries, principally of Sir Aurel Stein and P. Pelliot, in Central Asia were opening up a whole chapter of Tibetan pre-Buddhist history, of which the Tibetans themselves had lost all knowledge. In Tibet itself it became possible for westerners to travel with the permission of the Tibetan Government, which was normally obtained through the friendly intervention of the British representative. The leading western scholar to avail himself of this opportunity was Professor Giuseppe Tucci of Rome who was able to make exploratory journeys in both Western and Central Tibet, publishing results in a series of volumes entitled *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome 1932-41) which opened up entirely new vistas of Tibetan studies. From now on Tibetan civilization comes to be appreciated not only as of interest in its own right, but also as presenting a great Indian Buddhism culture with parallel religious movements and texts in Chinese Buddhist tradition as well. Here, however, it is fair to recall that this way had already been indicated a century earlier by Csoma de Kőrös, when he prepared his careful inventory of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the Kanjur (*bKa'-'gyur*), thus showing that the great majority of the works it contains are translations from Sanskrit.

Towards the later part of his life the 13th Dalai Lama, who died in 1933, largely under pressure from the great monasteries, reverted to a policy of general friendliness towards China. Monks and some leading laymen were appreciative of Chinese bounty and honours, which the Republican Government was not slow in restoring, and thus the Chinese continued to be seen as friends of Tibetan religion, while westerners were still treated with some suspicion. The Chinese had been excluded from Lhasa since 1913, but now a small delegation was sent to commiserate on the demise of the 13th Dalai Lama, and it stayed on in Lhasa as representing in some unofficial way the Republic of China. The British, who up to this time had maintained their official representative at Gangtok in Sikkim with a Trade-Agent in Gyantse, also sent a small mission to Lhasa in 1936 in order to try and mediate between the Tibetan Government and the Panchen Lama who had been living as an exile in China since his flight there in 1923, and this small mission stayed on in Lhasa unofficially, just as the Chinese were staying. Apart from these two missions there was also a representative of the Government of Nepal, who watched over Nepalese interests.

This was the Tibetan world into which Hugh Richardson moved, when he joined B.J. (later Sir Basil) Gould in 1936 as British Trade Agent at Gyantse, accompanying him to Lhasa and staying on there until 1940. This apparently sudden appointment cannot have come as a total surprise to him, for a year or so before, he had met B.J. Gould, then Revenue Commissioner in Baluchistan, and they had talked about Tibet, where Gould had already been, at least as far as Gyantse. Even earlier than this, when he was posted to Bengal (1930-34), Hugh Richardson had visited Sikkim twice and Phari (just inside Tibet) once, using his leave for this purpose. He had also taken on a Tibetan servant, who accompanied him to the plains, and he had started through personal interest to learn Tibetan.

For those who are unacquainted with the way in which India was administered at this time, a few words of explanation may be helpful. A remarkably small number of men, partly British and by this time also partly Indian, administered and controlled this vast country through the officers of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the officers and men of the Indian Army. The I.C.S. (Indian Civil Service), entered by examination after University, was rightly regarded as representing the cream of British administrative services. It produced not only remarkable administrators, but also that ideal combination the administrator/scholar. It is thanks to such men as these that a whole

series of Gazeteers were gradually produced and published, covering every aspect of geography, history, customs, religion etc. in almost every part of India. Before joining the I.C.S. in 1930 Hugh Richardson (born 1905) had read classics at Keble College, Oxford, thus preparing himself philologically as well as culturally for the study of yet another civilisation different from his own. On going to India, he was first posted to Bengal, where he was appointed Sub-Divisional Officer, Tamluk, Midnapore District (1932-4). It was during this early period that his personal interest in Tibet was aroused, as mentioned above.

A special branch of the I.C.S. was the Foreign and Political Service, which was responsible for representation in the independent States of the Princes of India, and also for representation in certain lands bordering on India. These included Afghanistan, where H.E.R. was posted on transferring to the Foreign and Political Service in 1934 (and where he met B.J. Gould), and also Tibet, whither he was summoned in 1936, becoming Officer-in-Charge of the British Mission, which was established in Lhasa that year, as a kind of counter-balance to the then already existing unofficial Chinese Mission. From that time on he was destinied to be the chief outside witness of the last years of effective Tibetan independence and the most lucid and convincing supporter of the Tibetan right to a way of life of her own choosing during the long period of twenty years that the 14th Dalai Lama has continued his life of exile in India. He left Lhasa in 1940 for two years' service in the North-West Frontier Province, and then in 1942 he went to Chungking as 1st Secretary to the Indian Agent General, a new post recently established there in order to deal amongst other matters with trade between India and China, which during the war years provided fortunes for all those engaged in this difficult overland traffic. The possibility of opening a motorable road across Tibet was also raised at this time, but the plan, which would have been impracticable in any case, was firmly rejected by the Tibetan Government, which was claiming a position of neutrality during the 2nd World War. In 1944 he visited Tibet again briefly, and from then until 1946 he was Deputy Secretary in the External Affairs Department

In 1946 he returned to Lhasa, first as O-in-C of the British Mission and then after the date of India's independence in 1947, as O-in-C of the Indian Mission until he was withdrawn in 1950. In this year he also retired from the Indian Civil Service, marrying one year later Huldah Rennie, with whom he has since lived happily in St. Andrews, devoting himself to his Tibetan studies, to his golf and to his garden. Impetus was given to his Tibetan historical interests by a bequest under Sir Charles Bell's will of papers on the stone-inscriptions (*rdo-ring*) at Zhol and the Jo-khang in Lhasa, accompanied by the hope that he would publish them. This started his interest in early Tibetan inscriptions and throughout this second long stay in Tibet, he searched wherever he could, visiting dGa'-ldan (Ganden), Yer-pa, sTag-lung, 'Bri-gung (Drigung), mTshur-phu, the gNya'-chen Thang-lha area, sNye-mo, bSam-yas, Yar-lung and lHo-brag, as well as many places on or near the route between the Indian frontier and Lhasa. The inscriptions, carefully copied, photographed and edited, have mostly been published with English translation in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Apart from this historical research, he also sent notes on topography to the Geographical Section of the General Staff in New Delhi. He collected botanical specimens which are now in the Natural History Section of the British Museum. He made notes on birds which are now included in Ludlow's works on the birds of Tibet. He even collected for the Zoological Survey of India entomological specimens, such small creatures as scorpions, frogs and fishes, when this could be done discreetly without offending the susceptibilities of the Tibetans. Then he also continued the great work of gardening, introducing new fruits, vegetables and plants, which had been started by Ludlow, the Sherriffs and Mrs Guthrie. This beneficial work at a time when there were no official 'development projects' in Tibet was quickly taken on by the Tibetan residents, who were quick to see the advantages of new additions to their food supplies.

He was present during his earlier period in Lhasa (1936-40) at the instalment of the young 14th Dalai Lama. Throughout this later period (1946-50) the Dalai Lama remained a minor and the Government was under the control of Regents, whose mutual antagonisms weakened Tibet at the very time

when strong leadership was required. Avoiding involvement in Tibetan rivalries, Hugh Richardson seems to have won the confidence of most of the leading people in Lhasa, and his calm advice must have saved them many extra problems during this difficult period. Whereas monks, as may be expected, are mainly interested in religion, many laymen of the upper classes were interested in Tibetan history, and with some of these he could discuss such matters. Thus he learned of and made available to the outside world important historical works such as dPa'-bo gtsug-lag's *mKhas-pa'i dGa'-ston* and *sBa-bshad*, which was subsequently edited by R.A. Stein (Paris).

The uprising in Lhasa against the Chinese in 1959 and the flight to India of the Dalai Lama, followed by some 100,000 of his people, led to a fresh outburst of interest in Tibet on the part of the outside world. The Rockefeller Foundation offered to make available to Universities throughout the world, who could show a serious interest in Tibetan studies, a three-year grant in order to enable them to invite exiled Tibetans of scholarly standing to assist in developing studies of mutual interest. We, the representatives of the Universities of London, Paris, Munich, Rome, Leiden, Copenhagen and Seattle, met at Bellagio in north Italy in 1960 at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, in order to discuss our proposals and intergrate our plans. By common consent Hugh Richardson was asked to act as Chairman of our whole gathering, subsequently making an extended tour of Tibetan settlements in India in order to increase the value of his years of experience of dealing with Tibetans of all classes, by actual up-to-date experience of their changed living conditions in those first years of exile. The following year he went to Seattle as Visiting Professor in order to assist with the beginning of their new Tibetan programme. Thereafter he was invited to Bonn, which was also inviting Tibetans and joining in the general programme. It can be said indeed that he has either visited or is on close personal terms with professional scholars of Tibetan throughtout the whole 'free world', while remaining himself free of any permanent professional involvement. He belongs to the noble lineage of independent gentleman-scholar, precisely of the kind which at its best the old Indian Civil Service would foster. We may rejoice that he remains actively with us – not quite the last of a disappearing generation.

We in London have profitted most from his comparative proximity, and we have constantly called upon him for help in matters large and small. He has come to give us special lectures. He has stayed for longer periods in order to give guidance to new-comers. He replies to our questions on bibliographical and textual matters. He serves as external examiner of our doctoral theses. Moreover he maintains friendly relations with many leading Tibetans in exile, and contributes articles to their literary journals. He has argued the case for Tibetan independence in his book *Tibet and its History*, and in 1962 when Eire raised the question of Tibet in the United Nations, he was invited by the Irish delegations to act as their personal adviser. No one could know more than he knew about British and Indian relations with Tibet during the last years of Tibet's effective independence, and it is sad to relate that despite his usual tact and discretion, the British and Indian delegations were none too pleased at his presence. Here he acted valiantly as a man of honour in a cause which has now been largely lost because of notions of political expediency, where sides are taken without regard to principle and in order not to risk aligning oneself with a potential loser, however deserving he may be.

Those of us who are seriously interested in Tibet know that Tibet's real claim to independence is not to be based so much on historical arguments, as on the very distinctiveness of its whole cultural life. Tibet has a separate language and a vast literature which is separate from Chinese literature. It has a separate history of its own, quite distinct from Chinese history, although of course as neighbours they have many points of contact. Most of all it has, or rather has had, a separate religion of its own, imported mainly from India, not to mention distinct customs, distinctive forms of music and art, and all that makes up the life and culture of a people. It is sadly ironic that the Tibetans were up to the very last well disposed to the Chinese and deeply suspicious of any western innovation as likely to threaten their established way of life (it was as late as 1944 that the English school in Lhasa was closed), and that it is now the Chinese who have utterly uprooted their traditional culture, and we few Westerners who continue to take a sympathetic interest in their now threatened plight.

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## THE RVA-SGRENG CONSPIRACY OF 1947

**H.E. Richardson**

The attempted coup d'etat by the ex-regent of Tibet, the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che, has been mentioned from different points of view by several writers who were in Lhasa at the time. In *Seven Years in Tibet* Heinrich Harrer has described his experience of the affair; and I have given a short account in my *Tibet and Its History*. Mrs Taring in *Daughter of Tibet* shows considerable sympathy for the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che from whom her husband had received much kindness. Tsipon Shakabpa, although to some extent *parti pris* as an important official and as a kinsman of the Chang-khyim bKa'-blon bla-ma whom the ex-regent had brusquely dismissed from office in 1940, provides well-informed and balanced information. From the Chinese angle Shen and Liu in their *Tibet* prefer, for reasons that will appear, not to go into the matter too deeply; and Li Tieh-tseng, who was not at Lhasa, is inaccurate on many points in his *Historical Status of Tibet*.

It would probably be difficult now to secure a complete picture of the political and monastic intrigues and rivalries involved, so it may be worth recording something more of what I saw and heard at the time and of preceding events that had a bearing on the affair. Some of this may seem mere gossip; but what was being said in those days is itself part of history.

Four days after the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama on 17th December 1933 the Hutuktu of Rva-sgreng, 'Jam-dpal ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, was appointed regent in a choice by lot between himself and the Khri Rin-po-che of dGa'-ldan. The young man, born about 1913 into a poor family of rKong-po, and without any political experience, assumed office at a difficult time. The wayward and headstrong rTsis-dpon Lung-shar had swiftly ousted Kun-'phel Lags, his principal rival among the close advisers of the late Dalai Lama, and was set on a wild pursuit of power. His main opponent was the shrewd and experienced Khri-smon Zhabs-pad. A plot by Lung-shar to have him assassinated was disclosed to Khri-smon who fled to 'Bras-spungs and prevailed on the regent to set up a commission of enquiry. Lung-shar was found guilty of treasonable offences and was sentenced to be blinded and imprisoned. The sentence was confirmed by the regent.

My first meeting with the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che was in 1936 when I accompanied Sir Basil Gould to Lhasa. He seemed gauche and lacked the poise, the gracious good manners and serene composure of most incarnate Lamas; and, above all, he appeared immature. Indeed, I think a streak of immaturity marked him throughout his life. It was already commonly said that he was fond of money and was favourably disposed towards the Chinese from whom he had received lavish presents at the time of Huang Mu-sung's mission to Lhasa. Certainly Li Tieh-tseng describes him as 'pro-Chinese' and claims, further, that he asked Chiang Kai-shek for confirmation of his appointment. That is firmly denied by all Tibetan officials but it was admitted that the appointment was reported to the Chinese Government.

As time went on I saw several instances of the regent's naive and self-centred nature. I will give only one. On a visit to him I was asked if the Government of India would like to give him a motor car. Remembering past objections to our own use of motor vehicles in Tibet I declined to recommend such a present but offered to help him acquire a car for himself. He smiled sadly and said that if he could tell his people that the British had given him a car and he, therefore, felt obliged to use it, he could then ask them to make motor roads for him.

A more unpleasant manifestation of immaturity was his vindictiveness towards those he disliked. When the Tibetan Government refused him some additional estates which he coveted he soon trumped up a charge of consipiracy against Khyung-ram Theiji, who had led the opposition, and banished him with the utmost humiliation. He also publicly disgraced Kun-bzang-rtse *bla-phyag*; and he secured the removal of the *Srid-blon*, with whom he was supposed to collaborate, by charging him with delaying public business and threatening to resign if the *Srid-blon* was not dismissed.

On a lighter note, at least for western observers of the scene, was the occasion when, with a display of moral rectitude, the regent decreed that all monk officials who had mistresses should get rid of them or resign their posts. The principal victim, whether intended or not, was the aged *sPyi-khyab mkhan-po* who is reported to have said that he needed to keep warm at night and was too old to change his ways.

I do not think that my opinion of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che was affected by his reputed leaning towards the Chinese in which it appeared that money mattered more than principle or conviction; and his attitude did not affect the policy of his governmentin which the strongest voice continued to be that of the National Assembly which refused to deviate from the example and instructions of the late Dalai Lama. It must be said that those who were his favourites and close associates – mostly young people, naturally enough – spoke of him personally with respect and affection but I think that most officials were somewhat guarded in their attitude. And here I may draw attention to a factor affecting the career of any regent. He could not, of course, enjoy the special prestige of a Dalai Lama because he was simply a substitute; but his authority also might be restricted by the fact that every regent was associated with one or other of the great monasteries and with a particular college in that monastery so that other monasteries and even other colleges in his own monastery might feel jealous. It was intermonastic rivalry that caused the downfall of the only preceding Rva-sgreng Hutuktu to hold the office of regent at intervals between 1845 and 1866; and in the present case the regent's affiliation to the Byes college of Se-ra was to have tragic consequences for both.

At the end of 1940, when the new Dalai Lama had been installed, the Rva-sgreng regent retired, ostensibly because the portents for his health were bad unless he devoted himself to prayer and meditation. Less charitable rumours were that laxity in his vows of chastity caused him qualms of conscience about taking part in the religious instruction of the young Dalai Lama. That charge was made in posters hung up around Lhasa in which a certain lady was named.

Other criticism expressed in posters and in slogans shouted mainly by monks of 'Bras-spungs was that the regent was too much devoted to trade. Li Tieh-tseng makes the further, unsubstantiated, suggestion that a Young Tibet Group, which existed only in his imagination, also accused the regent of having dictated the choice of Dalai Lama in order to satisfy his personal ambition. It is true that there was some uneasiness in Lhasa that the Dalai Lama had been discovered in territory under Chinese control and that it was reported that he would be brought to Lhasa by Chinese troops. But any anxiety there may have been was dispelled when only a handful of ragged soldiers accompanied the child to Lhasa; and even greater was the relief and joyful emotion of the people of Lhasa when they saw the perfect behaviour and radiant charm of the boy himself.

At all events, the regent retired to Rva-sgreng and there was appointed in his place the elderly, conservative, sTag-brag Rin-po-che. Later it was said that there had been an understanding or at least an expectation that the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che would resume office after a few years but there does not seem to have been any mention of that at the time. Nevertheless, in 1944 rumours began to circulate that the sTag-brag Rin-po-che would retire and the Rva-sgreng return. His college of Byes invited him to perform a ceremony there and in December he came to Lhasa and was publicly received with full honours. The rumours thereupon increased greatly. Unfortunately the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che's stay in Se-ra coincided with serious trouble between the Tibetan Government and his college of Byes some of whose monks killed a civil official in a dispute about tax collection. The college refused to surrender the culprits and eventually the Tibetan Government sent troops to enter the monastery by force. Whether he was involved in the affair or not, the Rin-po-che wisely left Lhasa before the worst. But the affair created much unease and intrigue including an unexplained attack on Lha-klu rTsis-dpon, a son of Lung-shar and therefore no friend of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che. Rumours persisted but the sTag-brag Rin-po-che showed no sign of retiring.

On 14th April 1947 matters came to a head. The Rva-sgreng's Lhasa residence was suddenly put under seal and a number of prominent persons were arrested including the Phun-khang Kung whose second son had been the principal favourite of the ex-regent and whose eldest son was the

husband of the senior Maharajkumari of Sikkim. He, too, was imprisoned along with his father who had not long before been dismissed from the post of Zhabs-pad. The National Assembly was in emergency session and it was learnt that troops had been sent to Rva-sgreng to arrest the Rin-po-che. We were told that a parcel, ostensibly from the Commissioner in Khams, had been sent to the regent. It lay unopened until an anonymous message charged that a valuable present was being withheld from him. The box was then opened by a servant and found to contain a hand-grenade held down by a sliding lid. The device exploded fortunately without causing much injury. According to Shakabpa that had happened some time before and the crisis was precipitated when the Tibetan Government received information from their representative in China that the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che had sent a letter to Chiang Kai-shek asking for help in removing the sTag-brag Rin-po-che whom he accused of tyrannous misgovernment.

When news of the arrest of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che reached Lhasa the monks of Se-ra Byes, who were attending the *Tshogs mchod* ceremony, abruptly left Lhasa and hurrying back to their college in riotous mood, murdered their abbot who tried to restrain them. There would clearly be trouble when the ex-regent arrived at Lhasa in custody; so a curfew was imposed. In the event some monks of Se-ra Byes opened fire on the escort party but without effect; and the Rin-po-che was safely lodged in the Potala. That night there was sporadic firing in the city and in the tension and alarm of the next day arms were issued to young monks and lay officials while most of the nobles and their families changed their silk robes for homespun and took refuge in the Potala, many of them having deposited their larger valuables with the Nepalese representative. On the same day Mkhar-rdo Rin-po-che, a close associate of the ex-regent, was arrested and there was random shooting in and around the city including the neighbourhood of Norbulingka where three unfortunate monks from some remote place walked innocently into trouble. One was killed by shots from the barracks of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard and the others were the first casualties to be brought into the British Mission's rough-and-ready hospital.

The Kashag asked that Mr. Fox, our wireless officer, might visit Trapchi to put their radio sets in working order. He was eager to go and I allowed this on the following day after getting a written guarantee of his safety and having instilled into him the need for discretion. On the same day the Tibetan artillery – two elderly mountain guns – was deployed and a few warning shots were fired towards Se-ra Byes. There followed some days of desultory hostilities and uneasy negotiation in which the Tibetan Government claimed to have gone to the limit of conciliation but with no response. In the meantime conditions in Lhasa had become difficult. The Trapchi soldiery created alarm by looting shops; and supplies began to run out because people from outside were afraid to come into the city.

On 27th April, after reinforcements had arrived from Gyantse, a vigorous attack was launched on Byes. By then the trial of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che and his associates had taken place in the Potala before the National Assembly. He had asked for trial by a small commission but that was refused. He prostrated himself before the court and protested his innocence but when confronted with incriminating letters he confessed his part, though claiming that the only help he had asked from the Chinese was that they should send aircraft to drop leaflets over Lhasa. Later, his close friend the mKhar-rdo Rin-po-che broke down under questioning and disclosed a wide-ranging conspiracy including several abortive attempts on the life of the regent and responsibility for the attack on Lha-klu rTsis-dpon. On the day the full scale attack was made on Se-ra Byes the Kashag sent me a written account of the affair making it plain that the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che had conspired against the life of the regent and had also sought Chinese support against the government.

The Tibetan Government could no longer endure the continuing challenge from Byes which refused all offers of a settlement. It should be understood that it was only a militant body in that college which was in rebellion; other colleges of Se-ra and all of 'Bras-spungs remained aloof. The steady bombardment by the artillery was met at first by rifle-fire and occasional blasts from a primitive cannon which the monks of Byes loaded with scrap of all kinds and trundled out on a short

stretch of rail but by 29th April the militants could not hold out any longer. They are said to have stripped the images of the deities of their robes and exposed them on the college roof in disgust at the failure of divine protection. They themselves took to the hills behind Se-ra where they came under heavy rifle fire from the infantry which drove them in flight towards Rva-sgreng and beyond. It is said that about 300 monks were killed and 15 soldiers. For some days after the fight the dead lay exposed on the hillside and people from Lhasa, especially the wives of the Trapchi soldiery usually disguised in men's clothes, stripped the bodies of such possessions as they had.

A pursuit party was sent to Rva-sgreng where, after an initial reverse, it occupied the monastery and seized the private property of the Rin-po-che including much gold secreted in the latrines. There was a good deal of looting of the possessions of other monks also. Se-ra Byes was occupied by the Tibetan Government and an enquiry and a search for arms was undertaken.

It remained to sentence the guilty. The Tibetan Government consulted the State Oracle of gNas-chung but he only beat his breast and threw grains of barley into the air. It was said there was talk of putting out the Rva-sgreng's eyes but that the regent had firmly turned down such a suggestion. Certainly there is no truth in Li Tieh-tseng's statement that the Rin-po-che was blinded. I do not know whether any decision was reached but the dilemma was resolved on 8th May by the death of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che. Inevitably, there were rumours that he had been murdered, and tales of shrieks from the Potala at night. There was no such thing as an autopsy in Tibet but the body was formally examined by the abbots of the great monasteries and many representative officials who reported no suspicious signs except for some blue marks on the left thigh.

On 12th May I visited the Kashag in the Potala at their request. Speaking in sorrow rather than triumph they gave me an account of the affair and said that the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che had signed a full confession which together with the incriminating letters were being made public throughout the city. They gravely informed me that the Rin-po-che had been so overcome with shame and remorse that he had voluntarily departed this life. It appeared that he had had a seizure of some sort a few days before and had been attended by the highly respected abbot of the medical college. It is not impossible that he did die of a heart attack but there were insistent whispers of poisoning – always suspected in the sudden death of an important person – and of that other traditional bloodless assassination by stuffing a silk scarf down the throat. There is no certainty; but the version most commonly believed was that a person, whom I shall not name, caused the ex-regent's death by crushing his genitals.

Punishment of the other guilty persons was inflicted in the Zhol on 18th May. The Rva-sgreng's elder brother steadfastly received 250 strokes. mKhar-rdo Rin-po-che who was said to be in a state of collapse, received 260, and both were imprisoned in a building specially made in the barracks at Norbulingka. Lesser floggings were handed out to the others; and some monks of Byes were skackled and handed over to various high officials for house custody. I saw some of them later. The private property of the Rva-sgreng was sold by auction; and, to remove evil influences, a service of exorcism was conducted by the Sa-skya Khri-chen. The shock to public opinion and the ill-feeling and faction beneath the general appearance of religious distress could, not, however, be so readily dispelled. Posters soon appeared in Lhasa describing the regent as the modern gLang Dar-ma; the infamous Ka-shod Zhabs-pad as 'Drum-head' – that is 'facing both ways'; Lha-klu rTsis-dpon as bLon-po Khri-gzhu, a wicked minister in the A-che Lha-mo drama; and the senior Drung-yig Chen-po as the Raven. Later in 1947 the Dalai Lama visited Se-ra to restore relations with the monastery but the affair had seriously damaged the solidarity of the Tibetan Government at a time when coming events demanded unity and resolution.

I may add a few marginal comments. It was rumoured in Lhasa that it was the British who had got wind of the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che's involvement with the Chinese and had informed the Tibetan Government. I can claim no such omniscience. We knew nothing until the affair blew up. It was also said that I had fired one of the mountain guns at Se-ra. That was untrue; but I traced the source of the story to the visit of Mr. Fox to Trapchi when, as he confessed later, his experience as a gunner in the first World War had carried him away to such an extent that he laid one of the guns.

My only intervention, in fact, was to transmit an enquiry to the Kashag from the Maharajah of Sikkim about their action against the Phun-khang father and son. I was told that they were being treated considerately. The Maharajkumari frequently came to our Mission and took favourite dishes, prepared by my cook, to her husband and his father in prison. Phun-khang Sras was soon released as there was no charge against him; and the Kung was later discharged as he had only forwarded a sealed letter from the ex-regent to a famous tantric practitioner in Khams which was found to be a request for ceremonies to bring about a change of regime at Lhasa.

Our Mission was, in general, little affected except for receiving some two dozen wounded from either camp who lay meekly side by side in our small hospital under the kindly discipline of Major James Guthrie the Mission Doctor.

I was in constant touch with the Foreign Bureau who insisted on sending two soldiers to guard our totally unprotected Mission. On their first night one nervously loosed off at a shadow after which my major domo removed their ammunition and gave them shelter in our courtyard. Our social meetings with the Nepalese and Chinese continued as did my daily walks in the country, alone with my dog.

The position of the Chinese was more difficult. They had to ask protection for some Chinese monks who were in Se-ra Byes and also to explain why a member of their staff happened to be at Rva-sgreng when the Rin-po-che was arrested. They also saw the publication of the ex-regent's secret message to Chiang Kai-shek. Although the Chinese would surely have taken advantage of a successful coup, it is doubtful whether at the time they either would or could have given active help.

One event that caused some amusement centred round Ka-shod Zhabs-pad who was widely unpopular for his pride and unscrupulousness. He was a known supporter of the ex-regent and strongly suspected of having backed Byes in their dispute with the government. So when people saw baggage being loaded outside his house and his womenfolk in tears around him, there was merriment in the belief that he too was on his way to prison. In fact, the Kashag had slyly appointed him to command the attack on Byes and the furious abuse that greeted him there as turncoat and coprophagite went to confirm his former complicity. Somehow his tortuous and dishonourable career lasted a further two years until 1949, he was accused of treasonable contacts with the Chinese in Lhasa; and, having bought his way out of a flogging, was sent into exile riding on a bullock only to turn up again in 1952, like a bad penny, in the wake of the Communist occupation.

Of very different stamp was Zur-khang Zhabs-pad who was deputed to arrest the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che. He told me how he left his military escort outside the monastery and went in alone not knowing what the Rin-po-che's armed bodyguard might do. He prostrated himself before the Rin-po-che's and informed him that he was to be taken to Lhasa under arrest. It was a relief when the Rin-po-che, whom he had never met before, accepted the news with resignation. Nevertheless, some of his men later fired on the government troops. On the way to Lhasa the Rin-po-che seemed greatly alarmed and prattled distractedly – a pathetic rather than a tragic figure. He repeatedly begged pardon for having confiscated a disputed estate to which Zur-khang had a rightful claim. Zur-khang, whose attitude in discussing the matter was generous and humane, thought it probable from what he heard on that journey and from the evidence before the trial court that the Rin-po-che really had been anxious to effect his object without violence. If that is so, it seems a further indication of mental immaturity. For while he may not have been an active party in all the plots of his supporters, the Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che was shown by the evidence to have been in close and constant touch with them and to have sought foreign help to get his way. It would be naive to think that a shower of leaflets from a Chinese aircraft would itself bring about a change of regime at Lhasa. He willed the end and cannot escape all responsibility for the means.

# TIBET AND THE THULUNG RAI: TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY OF THE BODIC SPEAKERS

**Nicholas J. Allen**

The Rai are a division of the Kiranti peoples who live in the middle hills of East Nepal and the Thulung are one among more than a dozen Rai sub-tribes, each defined by a distinct language. Let us imagine the reactions of a Tibetologist (or a Tibetan) passing through the Thulung area, on his way perhaps to visit the villages and hamlets of the southernmost Sherpas located a few hours walk away. Looking at externals, at the clothes, housing, settlement pattern, he would at first see little except their Mongoloid facial features to distinguish the Thulung from the Chetris and other Hindu hill farmers who have immigrated over the last couple of centuries. The Thulung, speaking fluent Nepali, would dissociate themselves with a touch of disdain from the Bhotes to the north who eat meat that is virtually beef. It would soon be abundantly clear that the Thulung have been strongly influenced by the Hindu immigrants, while showing no clear trace whatever of the influence of Tibetan or any other sort of Buddhism.

However if the hypothetical Tibetologist stayed long enough to learn the language the Thulung use to each other, he would sense its distant relationship to Tibetan in phonology, morphology and syntax as well as in cognate lexical items; and he could easily confirm the point by consulting the comparative linguists. At the same time, as he became aware of those traditional aspects of Thulung culture that are independent of Hinduism, he might well begin to wonder about the cultural implications of the linguistic relationship. Could Tibetan studies as ordinarily understood gain something by taking account of peoples like the Thulung?

The exact framework for comparison raises problems. So far as the linguists are concerned, Shafer (1974:2-3) offers a taxonomy in which Tibetan falls in the Bodish section of the Bodic division of Sino-Tibetan, Thulung in the East Himalayish section of the same division. Benedict (1972:4-11, but a later authority) avoids the term Bodic, but implies at least that Thulung (located in his Bahing-Vayu grouping) is more closely related to Tibetan than either are to the languages in the eastern half of the Tibeto-Burman speaking area. Ultimately no doubt we shall need comparative cultural studies of the whole Tibeto-Burman and of the whole Sino-Tibetain domain, but I retain Shafer's term in my title both for its brevity and as suggesting a relatively modest step on the path to these wider goals.

Shafer himself once suggested that Thulung was the most archaic of the East Himalayish dialects and would therefore be of particular significance for Sino-Tibetan philology; and this *might* suggest that Thulung culture would also be particularly conservative. However this is a highly dubious argument and in any case a genetic linguistic taxonomy which ignores the special historical, cultural and demographic significance of Tibetan cannot form the sole framework for cultural comparison. Let us try a different approach and set up a very crude classification of the Bodic speakers in and around Nepal into three categories: 1, Cultural Tibetans; 2, partially Tibetanized peoples (e.g. Lepchas, many Gurung); 3, non-Tibetanized, traditionally non-literate peoples (e.g. Thulung, Byansi). We can pass over the non-Tibetan but traditionally literate Newars as a special case and for the moment identify Tibetanization simply by the prevalence of Buddhism. If it were relevant to elaborate on this schema all sorts of qualifications would be called for and it would probably be better to think in terms of a gradient of Tibetanization rather than fixed categories. But my main point

is that to relate the Tibetans and the Thulung we need to supplement a genetic linguistic *Stammbaum* model with a diffusionist centre-periphery model in which influences and innovations spread from category 1 peoples towards category 3. Finally, one could move from this to a third and more speculative model in which the traditional culture of contemporary category 3 peoples would have a general typological resemblance to the culture of category 1 peoples as it existed before the transformations that made them a centre of innovation, i.e. before the introduction of Buddhism and writing and the rise of the Empire in the 7th Century. Whichever model turns out to be useful for particular problems, and whatever the defects of the present essay, it would seem *a priori* that there ought to be a place for such studies. In practice, for understandable reasons, Tibetologists have rather seldom looked outside the category 2 peoples though a few attempts (e.g. Allen 1978) have been made to look inwards from the periphery.

If one asked a Thulung about the most traditional elements in his own culture he would at once refer to the body of myth and ritual transmitted by the Thulung priesthood and called *muddum* in Nepali. In slightly different forms the word is also applied to their own mythologies by the category 3 Limbu and by the category 2 Tamang; the indigenous Tamang term *hvai* is no doubt cognate with Gurung *pe*, Tib.*dpe* (see Stein 1971:355-7 on origin legends). Here then is an obvious topic for the comparative approach. There is more to the Thulung *muddum* than mythology (e.g. invocations), but in the course of my eighteen months with the Thulung I collected from several informants a corpus of more than 20,000 words and the aim of the present paper is to give a preliminary idea of this narrative material and of its possible relevance to Tibetan studies. I try to present the episodes in a more or less logical sequence though the narrators themselves often ignore the links or differ regarding them. The material was mainly given me in bits and pieces and it is probable that no single Thulung individual knows all the narratives summarised here. Naturally the material can only be compressed at the cost of considerable simplification but I hope in the not-too-distant future to publish my thesis on the subject. This is one reason for limiting references here to a bare minimum. A few of the texts plus some details on the editing appear in Allen (1975).

I. *The Creation*. The central character is a female, essentially human, called Miyapma. There is no clear notion of a primal chaos, of abstract elements or of a cosmic egg. One version has life first germinating in rotting leaves but there is no consensus about Miyapma's own origin. She falls in love with the planet Venus and birds are sent as her emissaries; but they bring back Jupiter instead. On seeing his luminous goitre (and in one version his leprosy) Miyapma rejects him. As he returns he urinates in a hollow tree and dries up all other sources of water. Miyapma collapses from thirst and a bird revives her with the urine. She now gives birth to the natural species, first to certain wild plants, then to four brothers, Tiger, Bear, Monkey and lastly Mini, the First Man (or First Kiranti), who needs to be wrapped. Later Mini the bowman shoots his enemy Tiger, but Miyapma resurrects him. Finally, Tiger kills Miyapma and instead of burying her as Mini instructs, Bear and Monkey eat her. The three elder brothers disperse into the jungle.

Mini also appears in two separate stories. (i) One night Mother Sandalwood Tree shelters him in her womb from the wild beasts that rage outside, then discharges him in the morning, telling him to wash in running water. (ii) As is recounted at death rituals, mankind learned to die when Mini was tricked by Lizard into trying to cast his slough.

Abnormal fertilisation of a terrestrial female by someone or something descending from above is a common Tibetan motif: for instance in certain versions of the Epic Gesar's mother swallows a hailstone, and the mother of the 8th Karmapa is impregnated by a ball of light which passes through the roof of her house (Stein 1959:217,468). The mother of gShen-rab mi-bo, Ma gnam-gyi gung-rgyal, conceives by a process involving rays of light, a tree and a blue cuckoo (Hoffmann 1950:250; incidentally, pre-Buddhist cosmogonies apparently gave an important place to the now shadowy A-phyi gnam-gyi gung-rgyal (Haarh 1969:221-5). Tibetan First Men such as Ye-smon rgyal-po seem relatively colourless but one might also compare Mini to Gri-gum's youngest son who arranged the first royal burial for the Tibetan dynasty. The fact that the son is usually given three elder brothers with zoological affinities might be taken to support a genetic link with Mini and his brothers, were it not that the earliest sources give him only two (but is this sort of objection conclusive?). The motif of tree birth occurs in both traditions (Hermanns 1946-9:290), and in certain details Jupiter's descent resembles that of the Tibetan First King. However none of the Tibetan parallels for *The Creation* are really striking.

II. *Jaw-Khliw cycle*. Jaw and Khliw, the greater and lesser hornbill, try to kill their younger brother Khakcilik. Destroying an effigy of him, they fly off. After a quarrel the younger is eaten by an owl, then resuscitated. Meanwhile, Khakcilik, who lives by fishing, repeatedly catches a stone which he eventually deposits in his house. The stone, really a woman called Wayelungma or Nagimo, sweeps and cooks for him while he is out until one day, following advice, he hides behind a winnowing fan and captures her as his wife. Wayelungma instructs him how to build a house but in the process their first child is crushed under the central pillar. Also under her instruction and with her help he prepares a swidden, brews beer from its grain and invites, and when this fails, entices, his sisters to return home for the wedding. One comes from the north, one from the south and they contribute copper vessels as wedding gifts.

This myth is explicitly treated as a precedent or model for various contemporary customs or notions, especially as regards weddings. Khakcilik's capture of a wife resembles two parallel Tibetan narratives translated (unreliably according to Stein) by Thomas (1957): a girl taking the form of a peahen repeatedly enters the snare of the fowler Gyim-po nyag-cig who eventually ambushes her in his house. The relationship between the Thulung and Tibetan myths is closer than we have met previously and similar wife-capture stories are widespread in the area (e.g. Tichurong, Lepchas). After her marriage Wayelungma (though female) takes on the role of the Civilizing Hero who introduces cultural innovations, a role comparable to that of numerous prehistoric Tibetan kings and ministers. The 'accident' at the central pillar clearly belongs to the category of foundation sacrifices - one thinks also of the demoness whose heart lies below the Jo-khang in Lhasa. As a total structure the Thulung myth contains various puzzles and it is possible that its earlier forms included the theme of brother-sister incest.

III. *Migration of the Ancestors*. The Place of Origin is associated with a Primal Lake located to the south, perhaps at Bara Chatra in the Terai, but in some versions it is subterranean. The exit from it is barred by a 'door' which is opened by the sacrifice of a human or a bird. The four brothers who come forth are ancestors of the Rai subtribes, the Thulung being the youngest. The brothers disperse, the Thulung residing temporarily in various places including the Central Valley and Tarangan in Khumbu. They are finally led to the fertile site of their first permanent village (Mukli) by a wild boar;

Ramli, the Founding Ancestor, ties a packet of ash to its tail and is thereby enabled to follow its trail.

The exit through the 'door' is distantly reminiscent of the constrictions and difficult passages between levels of the cosmos discussed by Stein (1957) and the historically implausible tradition of origin in the plains, migration to the far north (Khumbu) and eventual settlement in between might be compared with that of the forbears of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Tucci 1947:736): origin in Bengal, migration to Bha-ta-hor near Lake Baikal and eventual home at 'Phyong-rgyas in the Yarlung valley.

IV. *The Slug-eating Wife.* Ramli's wife comes from the Bahing Rai who live to the south of the Thulung ('downwards' in the local geographical idiom). Falling into a decline she sends her husband to her natal home for medicine. Ignoring instructions not to look in the stoppered bamboo tube he is given, Ramli finds with dismay that it contains slugs. He peeps in on his wife who, to his disgust, consumes the medicine with relish and soon puts on weight again. The marriage must end. They set off on a visit to her natal home. Once across the river into Bahing territory, the wife falls asleep while Ramli is delousing her and he leaves her there, planting a stone in the ground and vowing that intermarriage between the two subtribes shall cease.

The *rGyal-rabs* of 1376, translated by Macdonald (1971:230-2) concerns the twenty-ninth king in the dynasty 'Bro-mnyen lde-ru and his wife Klu-rgyal ngan-bu mtsho. The queen's great beauty wanes and she explains that it is for lack of a food-stuff available among her natal people, the mChims of Dvags-po. Her maid-servant is sent there to fetch loads of fried frogs which the two women eat in secret. The queen recovers her beauty. The king procures entry to the locked treasure-room and recoils in shock and dismay on realising that his wife is not really a human. He falls ill with leprosy, and his son is born blind. The king enters his tomb alive, instructing his son to perform certain rituals.

The outcome of the two stories differs but otherwise the rapprochement is among my most convincing. However what is really intriguing is the comparison between this story in its two versions and the Thulung *Creation.* It seems reasonable to equate slug and frog as 'watery food' (though I have no direct evidence for this), and we can thus recognise the following narrative elements: Spouse A in whose home the main action is located; spouse B, the outsider, who may appear beautiful but is essentially repugnant; event C, one spouse languishing for lack of water or watery food but cured by provision of the same; event D, rejection of B by A; element E, offpsring of the union. In the *Creation,* A = Miyapma summons B = Jupiter from heaven. A's disgust leads to the rejection D, and as a result A goes through C, the relevant fluid being B's urine. E = Mini; A is buried. In the *Slug/Frog-eater,* A = Ramli/the king brings home B from her 'underworld' whereupon she goes through C, the watery food being that supplied by B's relatives. A's disgust leads to the rejection D (Thulung version). E = the blind son; A and B are buried alive (Tibet). In both cases it is the female who goes through C but otherwise the sexes of A and B are reversed. In I, the proposed marriage is uxorilocal and it is the female who both issues the invitation and does the rejecting; in IV, the marriage is virilocal and the male has the initiative. However the rejected spouse is not powerless: in I, he sets in motion C, in IV, where C follows from other causes, the leprosy (*klu-nad*--the wife is a *klu-mo*) may be a punishment for the psychological rejection (Hoffmann 1950:158).

V. *Contest for Rathongma*. By means of his quick wits and magic power Ramli, for all his unprepossessing appearance, triumphs in a series of contests for a bride. One thinks of Minister mGar at the court of the Chinese Emperor and perhaps of Gesar's Joru or trickster phase.
VI. *Introduction of Salt*. Mapa is the Founding Ancestor of the Khaling subtribe to the NE. His bag of grain is regularly removed by Sherpas who replace it with 'sand' or 'pebbles'. From the branches of a tree he threatens them with his bow but they manage to explain that what they are offering in exchange is salt. Co-operation is established. Ramli is refused salt by Mapa but gains access to the Tibetan supply by sending his magic sword Khapcium flying through the air to threaten Mapa.
VII. *Foundation of the Bhume Sites*. Mapa falls ill with leprosy and is carried on a journey. He turns to stone but has previously given the youngest of his three sons the ritual and visionary powers to resurrect him. He abandons his wife and her brother just across the Solu river and orders the youngest son to carry him on. At various places in Thulung territory his digits fall off and ritual sites are established. Finally he turns to stone at a preeminent ritual site in Khaling territory.

A leprous hero who abandons his wife and has a visionary son and a noteworthy end reminds one curiously of IV above. The cult still carried on at these sites is comparable with that of the *gzhi-bdag gnas-bdag*, and I also think that an interesting though remote comparison can be made between the dispersed digits of Mapa and the body parts of the demoness nailed down by the concentric sets of temples ascribed to Srong-btsan sgam-po. (Allen 1978.)
VIII. *Salewaceo ( =S)*. S is a Kulung Rai with magical powers who marries a Thulung girl in Mukli and helps his affines in hostilities against the Sherpas. After a quarrel over a decorated knife plundered from the Sherpas, S's wife's brothers scorch his baby to death. S flies off, causing a drought. His wife's youngest brother eventually persuades him to return and restore their water. However in their thirst, the Mukli people disobey his instructions,drink from the springs before his arrival and are poisoned. In one version the Thulung die out and S takes over as ruler. The curse from the scorching of the baby still hangs over the village.

Here is another unsatisfactory marital alliance and the poisonous water that S, the outsider, grudgingly makes available to the spouse's people, recalls Jupiter's urine in I. The reference to the Thulung dying out might remind one of the Gri-gum story which, whatever its other meanings, surely presents a rupture of the continuity of the mythical dynasty.
IX. *The Six Brothers*. S's six brothers stayed at Salewa. They lived by their magic, changing into tigers, hawks, etc., to hunt in a lake. Their sister's husband Jiugba, a Thulung, is unable to compete. Back at his home they kill him but their sister, his wife, poisons the lake so that their magic no longer operates. They plan to kill their paternal parallel cousin and take his virtuous wife as joint spouse and provider. Invited on an expedition to gather wild honey from a cliff, the cousin narrowly escapes being precipitated to his death. He is rescued from starvation in a cave on the cliff by clasping the tail of a monkey. Killing the fourth brother, he and his relatives flee north. He divides the waters of Panc Pokhari Lake with his plumed headdress and when the remaining brothers try to follow him they are drowned.

The most interesting point here is perhaps that the second part of the story is reported to be important in the pre-Buddhist religion of the Gurung. The cliff-rescue episode is also narrated during the ancestor rites of some Hinduized ex-category 3 Magar.

X. *The Das Kirant.* (These last two sections have no clear place in the sequence.)
The founder of the Kiranti had two wives. A Sherpani from the north produced the founding ancestors of five northerly subtribes, a Danuwar plainswoman those of five southerly ones (such a division is often referred to by the terms Lhasagotra and Kasigotra). The symmetry here recalls that between Srong-btsan sgam-po's two wives, the Nepalese and the Chinese, of whom the former is mythical (Tucci 1962).
XI. *Shamans.* The story of Baginanda involves the cutting of a shamanic drum, the dismemberment and resuscitation of a bird, and magical flight (Allen 1976a). In another story Daner and Pokner are two shamans who, using their plumes to cut the earth, drain a lake near Mukli and take the frogs from the lake floor for food, ignoring the resentment of the Lord of the Soil. There are comparable myths involving lake drainage and water creatures from Khotan, Kashmir, the Newars, the Apa Tanis and the Chinese and it would be surprising if there were none from Tibet.

The comparison attempted here has necessarily been sketchy. I have tried to be representative but the précis of my Thulung material omits a great deal and there must be much that I never learned; and the Tibetan pole of the comparison could involve decades of study of the primary sources. But what is to be made of the similarities that have been so cursorily noted or suggested (or of others that might occur to a Tibetologist)? Many are too slight or non-specific for easy evaluation, e.g. episode V, where none of the individual contests in the two traditions are similar. Independent borrowing of similar motifs from India must be borne in mind as a possibility but the most interesting explanations are (i) shared heritage from proto-Bodic times (to follow the linguistic model), and (ii) diffusion (whether by migration, cultural spread or both): naturally the earlier the diffusion the more theoretical the distinction between (i) and (ii).

Since the seventh century at least, diffusion from south to north is virtually inconceivable but following the Sherpa immigration into Nepal and before the Gurkha conquest and recent Hinduization. Rai-Sherpa relations may well have been close. The outline history of the salt trade in episode VI is not in essence implausible - older Thulung men still recall making the trip north to obtain salt for grain. Ritual influence from the north is asserted in VII and can be confirmed by the occasional loan word: Lokpa (= *zlog-pa*) and Gelbu (= *rgyal-po*) appear as the names of Thulung spirits (Allen 1974:14, 1976:532). From evidence such as this it is clear that in this area Tibetan influence has spread further south than Tibetan Buddhism, and this in turn suggests that the slug-eater/frog-eater parallel is most likely due to diffusion (perhaps via the Khaling); interestingly, Macdonald (loc.cit.) suggests that the Tibetan story was part of epic tradition at the time the Chronicle was being put together. On the other hand, if the *Frog-eater* is genetically related to the Thulung *Creation* as I suppose, the relationship presumably goes back very much further and it would not be unreasonable here to think in terms of the proto-Bodic heritage. Moreover one is tempted to take the Thulung story as indicating the basic type *from* which the Tibetan diverged, rather than vice versa, and if this could be demonstrated, e.g. by wider and deeper comparison, it would be an instance of a category 3 people preserving the general character of an element from the pre-history of category 1.

As well as identifying parallel narratives in the two traditions, one can attempt comparisons between individual words for important concepts occurring in them and one can attempt global comparisons regarding subject

matter. Ignoring the former enterprise for lack of space, here are some features of Tibetan culture absent from Thulung oral tradition (or virtually so): an epic (and bards to sing it) divine kinship, sacred mountains, emphasis on the four cardinal points and a transcendent centre, symbolic use of colours, numerical labels for collectivities (the title of X is Nepali), individualized deities receiving worship (as distinct from classes of spirit), world renunciation,the cosmos presented as the battleground between forces of good and evil (this could hardly be an interpretation of VIII), and pedigrees. On the positive side one notes the Thulung emphasis on female initiative and creativity in I and II, the myths that are apparently most central to the *muddum*, and the fact that succession is regularly through the youngest rather than the eldest son. In many of these global features Thulung mythology is much like what one would expect to have existed in pre-Buddhist Tibet before the rise of a centralised and expansionist state; but how far can this line of argument be pressed? It would be absurd to suggest that even in its most conservative elements the mythology of a category 3 people was *identical* with that of prehistoric Tibet.

Many other questions remain. How do the myths relate to social institutions? For instance, was ultimogeniture once the norm in the area? Was the spouse-rejection motif related to social processes whereby larger endogamous groups split into smaller ones, or whereby an exogamous group became endogamous? Why do the Thulung have no sacred mountains? Is it possible to recognise in the Thulung mythology the Dumézilian-style 'quadrifunctional' ideology that has been suggested for the Bodic area on other grounds (Allen 1978)? Miyampa's four children and the four brothers in III do not take one very far but there might be other ways of approaching the Tibetan sources, from further field-work (which is urgent), and from wider comparisons, both within the Sino-Tibetan area and outside it?

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## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE MON-YUL CORRIDOR[1]

Michael Aris

In recent years much work has been completed on those areas in the western and central Himalayas which maintain a degree of ethnic and cultural affiliation with the old Tibet, but the similar 'overspill' in the direction of the south-east has been neglected because of the highly sensitive border in that region and the obstacles this has posed to foreign scholarship. It is known that the southern end of two of Tibet's most sacred sanctuaries in that region, Tsa-ri and Padma-bkod, fall within present Indian territory. Both are inhabited mainly by groups who were encouraged by the legendary reputation of these 'hidden lands' (*sbas-yul*) to flee there in the 19th century to escape from oppressive taxation in the area of eastern Bhutan and elsewhere. A refugee group impelled by similar circumstances in the 19th century is found south of the rDza-yul province in what is now Burmese territory. By far the largest of these pockets between Burma and Bhutan, however, is a tract in the extreme west sometimes known as the Mon-yul Corridor, which stretches from its provincial capital at mTsho-sna rDzong south to the plains of Assam. With its old cultural and political centre located in the imposing monastery of rTa-wang (also spelled rTa-dbang) just south of the Himalayan watershed, the Corridor today forms part of the Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh and has a population of 29,447 Mon-pa (the figure includes 1635 Sherdukpen).[2] They are outnumbered by their eastern neighbours in the same district, namely the preliterate tribals who were in the past their traditional enemies, including the Bangni (Dafla), Miji, Sulung, Aka and other smaller groups, all of whom are termed Klo-pa by the Tibetans and 'Gidu'[3] by the Mon-pa. It is no secret that the Mon-pa came directly under Tibetan authority until India assumed control of the region in two recent stages, 1944 and 1951, and there are many alive today who clearly remember the nature of Tibetan administration. Although the Corridor represents the only direct route from the plains of Assam to the Tibetan plateau (and this partly explains Tibetan interest in the region), western contacts prior to Indian independence were limited to a few political and botanical expeditions.[4]

Since the middle of the 19th century the Corridor has seen intermittent conflict between the governments of Tibet, China, Bhutan and India (both under British rule and after independence); all have sought at various times to safe-guard their interests by force in this crucial twilight zone of great ethnic and geographical complexity. The successful punitive campaign which China launched into the region during the border war with India in 1962 has left the top end of the Corridor beyond the crestline in Chinese hands. The Mon-pa who live there have been accorded the status of a 'minority nationality' equal to that of the Tibetans themselves, a status which affirms their racial and linguistic distinct-ness from the Tibetans. (The only other group to have this status in Tibet are the Klo-pa tribals who similarly spill over from Arunachal into what is now Chinese territory. Their name is written *lHo-pa*, 'Southerner', by the Chinese, apparently since the traditional spelling carries the pejorative sense of 'barbarian' in Tibetan.[5]) The lower reaches of the Corridor, inhabited by three heterogenous groups all termed Mon-pa, are firmly in Indian hands.

While the history of international conflict in the area has been well summarised from western sources in Alistair Lamb, *The McMahon Line* (2 vols., London 1966), and in Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan Frontiers* (London 1969), in this paper I offer a few preliminary notes on the ethnic affiliations of the Mon-pa and on the origins of Tibetan rule in the area. My information is based

in part on Tibetan documents, which I copied in rTa-wang during a visit there with my family in the winter of 1978-1979. These notes are given by way of an introduction to an edition and translation of one of the most interesting of these documents from the point of view of Tibetan expansion into Mon-yul, namely the edict of the 5th Dalai Lama dated 1680.

The blanket term Mon-pa covers three distinct groups who may be conveniently divided into Northern, Central and Southern. Taking each by turn, the Northern Mon-pa are mainly concentrated along the broad valley of the rTa-wang Chu north of the great Ze La pass. Within this group several sub-divisions are apparent, including a pastoral group at rMag-sgo,[6] but their speech is basically homogenous and, with the exception of the rMag-sgo *'brog-pa*, they all wear the distinctive dress of the region: a 'drip-tip' hat of yak-hair felt, a short jacket dyed red with madder, sometimes worn under the skin of an animal, a sort of pad or cushion called a 'daktan' suspended behind from the waist, breeches and boots. I have elsewhere[7] pointed out the basic similarity between the speech of these Northern Mon-pa and that of the Bum-thang province in central Bhutan. I am convinced that both languages are derivatives of what Robert Shafer[8] has termed 'proto-East Bodish', more ancient in some respects than 'Old Bodish' (Classical Tibetan). Since, moreover, the speech of the Northern Mon-pa has been shown to be close cousin to that of rGyal-rong in the Sino-Tibetan marches and since it is often assumed that the Chinese term *Man*, which originally referred to the substrate population of rGyal-rong upon whom the Ch'iang imposed themselves, became *Mon* to the Tibetans, the affinity may one day help to explain the specific application of the term *Mon*, to the inhabitants of the rTa-wang region.

The Central Mon-pa[9] who live south of the Ze La in the region of 'Di-rang rDzong and further south in the Kalaktang area are indistinguishable from the Tsangla people who occupy the whole of eastern Bhutan. Their eccentric speech stands out on a limb of its own in the 'Bodic' family and no comparisons have yet been drawn to afford its taxonomic reduction. There are no means of deciding yet whether the arrival of the Tsangla happened before or after that of the Northern Mon-pa. While the Bhutanese and Tibetan historical records are no help on this point, they do permit a close look at their clans and petty kingdoms based on clan rule which survived in the area till the 18th century. I should like to draw attention again to the so-called 'Kings of Mon' mentioned by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in his history.[10] These rulers belonged to a lineage for which we have sparse details from the 12th to the 17th centuries. They were patrons of the Karma-pa incarnations of their day and we have a vivid description of their strange court in 1507 by Padma Gling-pa, the famous *gter-ston* of Bhutan.[11] By this time the kings, who had their palace at Dom-kha in the Kalaktang district, had been reduced to the status of petty clan rulers. Today the family survives as the *Ba-spu* ('babu') of Mur-shing and Dom-kha. The ruins of the palace, Shar Me-long-mkhar, are still to be seen, and those of several other *mkar* (or *mkhar-ro*, lit. 'fort-corpses') are found scattered throughout the whole region. The best preserved is perhaps the ancient Ber-mkhar in the village of that name where the 6th Dalai Lama was born (see below). The expansion of Bhutanese and Tibetan power into the region must have had the most decisive effect on the collapse of the ancient units of clan rule but even before the external forces descended on the region in the 17th century, the local rulers seem to have been defeated when they invaded Tibet in the middle years of the 14th century. Five campaigns were organised by the Sa-skya government of Tibet between 1340 and 1354 against a people called the Dung. On the evidence of a complex of myths, titles, place-names, personal names and languages, I have identified the eastern branch of the Dung with the inhabitants of the Mon-yul Corridor.[12] Although no further support for this identification came to light during our trip, I still believe the term Dung applied to some of the Mon-pa

in the 14th century and earlier.

Turning now to the Southern Mon-pa, while some prefer to apply the term to the inhabitants of the Kalaktang district, since these are almost identical with the Tsangla of the 'Di-rang area, I prefer to apply it instead to the Sherdukpen people south of Bomdila, who also accept the designation Mon-pa. The Sherdukpen[13] are named after their principal villages of Sher (or Shergaon) and Dukpen (or Rupa). They number less than two thousand and probably represent the remnants of the earliest migration, pushed south to their present location by later waves. They are still in direct contact with the Kachari people of Assam, whom they call 'Katsira'; the name turns up in the history of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag as *Ka-tsa-ra* in a passage dealing with events in the latter half of the 15th century.[14] Sherdukpen society is divided into a number of clans, each of which has a serf clan, inhabiting two villages called Rahung and Kutam, tied to it.

The defeat of the Dung mentioned above may be related to the first hint of direct Tibetan authority being established in Mon-yul. This comes in a late text containing the lineage of the 6th Dalai Lama, one of whose ancestors (close relation of Padma Gling-pa) married the former wife of the hereditary prince of the Bya-yul province (the *sDe-pa Bya-pa* bKra-shis Dar-rgyas) who controlled the valley of the rTa-wang River, apparently in the early 15th century.[15] Strong religious connections soon developed between the Mon-pa and certain monasteries and schools in central Tibet, and the link with the dGe-lugs-pa was most important in view of later events. It provides the main theme to a short historical work which I copied in rTa-wang entitled: *Mon-phyogs 'dzin-ma'i char zhva-ser-gyi ring-lugs 'di-ltar dar-ba'i lo-rgyus dga'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma* (emended in a different hand to: *Mon-yul 'dzin-ma'i char zhva-ser ring-lugs-kyi me-tog gsar du doms-pa'i (?) tshul gsal-ba dga'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma*), 86 ll. in dbu-can, folded ms 54 x 107 cms, no date. Written at the hermitage of Khron-steng by one ***mDo-smad-pa sprang bhi-kshu*** ('the beggar monk from Khams'). Ch.I, ll. 8-13: *Mon-phyogs-'dir zhva-ser-gyi bstan-pa'i 'byung-khungs*; Ch. 2, ll. 13-15: *sKyes-bu dam-pa byon-tshul*; Ch. 3. ll. 15-31: *Zhva- ser-gyi bstan-pa dar-lugs bshad-pa*; Ch. 4, ll. 32-66: *Grub-mtha' gzhan-dang rtsod-pa byung-tshul*; Ch. 5, ll. 66-79: *Bla-ma blo-gros rgya-mtsho'i mdzad-tshul bye-brag-tu bshad-pa*. The climax of the work in Ch. 4 centres on the sectarian squabbles which embroiled Mon-yul in the conflict between the two emerging theocracies of Bhutan and Tibet. This led finally to the incorporation of Mon-yul into Tibet as proclaimed in the edict of 1680 given below. The key role adopted later by the rTa-wang monastery in the administration of Mon-yul is muted in both documents, and the same holds for the long and fascinating code devised specifically for the monastery. This is the *rTa-wang dga'-ldan rnam-rgyal lha-rtse'i bca'-yig mdor-bsdus*, paper scroll backed with blue silk, *dbu-med* ms, not measured. According to the colophon it was composed as the result of a command issued by the great *sDe-srid* Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho in 1694, and written between 1695 and 1698 by the abbot of rTa-wang, *Phyong-rgyas(-pa)* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. A red seal at the top covers the inscription: *sDe-pa'i thaṃ-kha'i brjod-don-bzhin rgyab-gnon byas-pa-yin/*, and a black seal beneath: *'Di-don dus-dbang-gis bsgyur-bkod ma-dgos-phyin sor-gnas bgyis / sa-yos* (1699) *zla-tshes-la bris* / Syllables which make up the name of the monastery, of the 6th Dalai Lama and his regent are distributed and picked out in red ink in the introductory verses. The copy I have now occupies 12 pages of Tibetan typescript, transcribed for me very kindly in Dharamsala from a tape-recording made in rTa-wang itself, and subsequently checked and corrected against the original, all photography being prohibited by the state authorities. While the code serves as an ideal model for the communal life of the monastery and includes detailed provisions on all questions of admission, study, discipline and ritual, a more candid picture of its life and the role it played in the region as a whole a century later is given in the

*dGe-slong blo-bzang thabs-mkhas-nas rta-dbang sdod-ring sgra-tshangs*(sic)*-la 'byor-'jags byas-pa dang / gtsug-lag-khang gsar-gzheng legs-gso dang / rab-gnas-su rje sgrubs-khang-pa chen-po gdan-'dren zhus-bskor-gyi dkar-chags,* 49 ff., *dbu-can* ms, 25 x 8 cms. There is no colophon or date, but from internal evidence it seems to have been written in c. 1826 by the monk Blo-bzang Thabs-mkhas, formerly of the 'Bras-spungs monastery, from Kre-hor in Khams. He left 'Bras-spungs, 'being unable to observe all 253 rules of a monk' and first came to rTa-wang in 1803 on his way to pilgrimmage in India. The account of his work on the restoration of rTa-wang, reconsecrated in 1813, contains much incidental information on the life of the region, on quarrels with the Bhutanese and the Klo-pa tribals, and on administrative matters.

The works described in outline above were, significantly, all written by Tibetans. The apparent absence of local works of Buddhist erudition, of inspirational and historical literature, is less surprising if seen against the relatively recent introduction from Tibet of the formal institutions of church and state. The cultural and devotional life of the region is revealed instead in a peculiar form of dance-drama of the *a-lce lha-mo* type, still widely performed, in the ancient cult of what appear to be old clan gods referred to always as *phu* (the 'uppermost part' of each district, the seat of a *pho-lha* or *mo-lha*), in the divine possession of hereditary Bon-po priests during the 'Phla' (= *lHa*) festival of the lHa'u village, and in odd folk elements brought into the extended *gTor-rgyab* festival of rTa-wang which we witnessed. To obtain a true picture of Mon-pa society it will be necessary, when the region becomes properly accessible, to study the Tibetan records alongside these diverse, less tangible, traditions.

Meanwhile, there is one document written by a Mon-pa which certainly merits consideration. This is the guide (but more in the nature of a code) which the 6th Dalai Lama Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho wrote in 1701 for his ancestral monaste of O-rgyan-gling, just two miles below rTa-wang. It is the *O-rgyan-gling rten brten-pa gsar-bskrun nges-gsang zung-'jug bsgrub-pa'i dus-sde tshugs-pa'i dkar-chag 'khor-ba'i rgya-mtsho sgrol-ba'i gru-chen*, 104 ff., *dbu-med* ms, British Library OR 6750 (reprinted in 115 ff., in Thimphu, Bhutan, 1979). The Dalai Lama wrote this under his 'secret' name (*gsang-mtshan*) of Blo-bzang 'Jig-rten dBang-phyug dPal-'bar, and explains that the restoration of O-rgyan-gling and its community was done by him, his mother (Tshe-dbang lHa-mo) and the sDe-srid in fulfilment of the will of his father, *Rig-'dzin* bKra-shis bsTan-'dzin. The single manuscript which has come down to us in the British Library was acquired in 1904 by L.A. Waddell who accompanied the Younghusband Mission to lHa-sa as 'archaeologist'.[16] Not only is it the only work I have seen by a Mon-pa, but it is also the only one known to me attributable to the 6th Dalai Lama, discounting the famous love lyrics for the moment. Apart from its historical content, the *dkar-chag* is valuable for its harmonious blend of influences drawn equally from the Dalai Lama's rNying-ma-pa ancestry and dGe-lugs-pa training. Did the beloved Dalai Lama ever return to his home and the community he had established there? The answer depends on how we view the whole tradition preserved in the 'secret' biography (the *lHa'i tambu-ra'i rgyud-kyi sgra-dbyangs* by *No-mi-han* Ngag-dbang lHun-grub Dar-rgyas, 1757) which claims that he lived on in hiding until his death in 1739, that is to say for thirty-three years after the date normally accepted for his death. On f. 48b we find him back in Mon-yul in 1714. I hope to turn to the whole question soon. The present temple of O-rgyan-gling is a later construction, probably of the 19th century, the original one having been destroyed, according to local tradition, by a Mongolian general known as Sog-po 'Joms-mkhar (sp ?). The story may perhaps derive from an episode in the rTa-wang campaign of Lajang Khan, also in 1714. The Dalai Lama's descendants who still occupy his mother's

beautiful house at Ber-mkhar say it was the 7th Dalai Lama who accorded to their family many rights and privileges in the region, though they were never ranked among the *yab-gzhis*.

Thirty documents in Chinese and Tibetan dating from the period 1680 to 1953 are cited by the Chinese in support of their claim to the Mon-yul Corridor in the *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question* (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, 1962, CR-206 to CR-213). None of these documents have been made public yet but by chance a copy of the first of those cited, the 5th Dalai Lama's edict given below, came into my hands while I was in rTa-wang. It took the form of an *dbu-med* ms of 27 lines on folded paper measuring 45 x 74 cms. The passage in Chinese transliterated into Tibetan at the top and some of the Tibetan spellings which I have corrected without comment indicate that this is not a perfect copy. Since it is unlikely that an opportunity for a better reading will arise in the near future and because there are no major problems connected with the present version, I have decided not to be deterred from publishing it as it stands. Above all, the edict is an example of the 5th Dalai Lama's efforts to secure a stable border under the recently won supremacy of his own school of the dGe-lugs-pa.

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**The 5th Dalai Lama's Edict of 1680**

Margin: Ja Ang 5

// rGyal mchog lnga pa chen pos stsal ba'i she bam gyi zhal zhus he med dge//

/ gong ma hong de'i lung gis / zi then ta zhan / tsi tsi'i phō sho wu si the zha shi kyo'u yi thung / sī zhi de'i chi kying gang / de'i phē shang zi / tsi yin zhes nub kyi lha gnas ches dge ba bde bar gnas pa'i sangs rgyas kyi bka' lung gnam 'og gi skye 'gro thams cad bstan pa gcig tu gyur pa 'gyur med rdo rje 'chang rgya mtsho'i bla mar 'bod pa'i gtam / 'dzam gling yangs pa'i rgyal khams spyi dang bod dang bod chen po'i phyogs gtogs kyi kha ba can gyi yul gru che chung dang / rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul ljongs lho mon shar **nub** stod smad klo kha dkar kha nag kha khra sogs nyi 'og gi yul grur 'khod pa'i lha sde / mi sde rdzong sdod gnyer las 'dzin zhi drag gi sne mor mngags sleb rgan mi dmangs sogs mtha' dag la springs pa / rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun rgya mtsho nas bzung rje gong ma rim phebs bzhin dpa' bo gdung pa chos rje khu dbon na rim bzhin mon shar phyogs kyi dge lugs bstan pa 'dzin pa'i slob ma sha stag yin pa dang khyad par mchod yon gyi lung 'jug mon la mgo rtsam skabs / 'di ga'i bka' bzhin dpung 'jug sogs drag las ma dgos pa'i / dad ldan nam mkha' 'brug dang me rag bla ma gros byas thog thabs mkhas kyi sgo nas lung 'jug thub na snying sangs man chod dga' gling rgya mtshams dang A li yan gyi me rag chos sde ma lag gi sbyin bdag chos gzhis tsam du ma zad mon shar nub stod smad rnams su chos sde 'ga' zhig rgyab pa'i ban khral bsdus lung gang song gi dud re nas 'bru phud kyang dbyar ston bre bcu re tsam dad 'bul gyi bsdud pa dang gson gshin gyi dge rtsa sdig dang ma 'dres pa'i de ga'i dge 'dun la zhu ba dang / dang blangs sa rim mtsho sna man la skul chog pa'i mna' bsdoms byas pa ltar 'di pa grva bcas kyis bsam sbyor rnam dag gi sgo nas 'jam po'i lung shar rmag sgo them spang nas nub ku ri

tshun gdung zam yan bod rgyal po'i mnga 'og tu tshud pa'i byas pa che tsam byung 'dug pa dang nged rang mchod yon gyi phan bde'i mnga 'og tu tshud nas kyang mon phyogs su dge lugs gyi bstan pa dar rgyas gang thub byas shing khyad par lho'i bdud sde'i kla klo'i dpung gi bsam sbyor ngan pas shar mon gyi bde skyid ma lus rim gyi bcom skabs phyi nang gi 'gal rkyen ngan pas shugs chen thon dka' na'ang me spre nas bzung 'di pa grva bcas skya ser gyi skyid sdug gang la yang ma ltas par lo nyi shu rtsa lnga tsam bstan don 'ba' zhig lhur blangs pas / la chen 'tsho gsum / dag pa 'tsho lnga / shar ba mo nu bzhi / rong mdo gsum sogs nyang shang chu brgyud gyi mon zhabs phran bu mnga' 'og tu 'dus pa rgya gar dang klo yul pa rnams rang srid du 'gyur ba sogs / so 'dzin dpung 'jug ching snga phyir rang phyogs su phan pa'i byed lugs ni / khyod rang bod mon skya ser thams cad kyi mngon sum du gsal ba ltar dang da phyin kyang sngar las ma g.yos pas lugs gnyis kyi bstan pa 'dzin skyong spel ba sogs la bsam sbyor rnam par dag pa zhus phyin

chos sde gsar rnying gi dgon ma lag chos gzhis rtsa kha gson gshin gyi dge rtsa'i dkor sa / dad 'bul gyi 'bru phud dang blangs sa rim yong 'bab kyi rigs rnams dang lding dpon nam 'brug gi dus bzhin las bstan don lar rgya sogs rdzong nas dmigs gsal dgos pa byung na ma gtogs yul tsho so so'i dgon pa che chung kun la khral 'ul dmag sogs gsar 'gel med par byas pa rnams / gong tshig khas len las mi dman pa'i lugs gnyis thad nas don mthun gyi bdag rkyen bzang po 'di ga nas byed rgyu yin pas / rgya mon klo gsum du phan bde'i pad tshal ma rgyas bar du zhva ser 'chang ba'i bstan pa dang gzhung gi mtsho sna rdzong la gnod pa dang mi ser rlag pa'i 'gal rkyen du 'gro ba'i thaṃ ka dmar nag sogs snga phyir thal ba'i yig rigs gsar rnying ma lus pa kha gcod las phyogs der lugs gnyis dge lugs kyi bstan pa 'phel rgyas kyi bkod pa rdzong sdod dang 'di ga nas mngag rigs kyi ngo tshab dang me rag bla ma blo gros rgya mtsho rang gis byed rgyu yin pas / skya ser drag zhan mtha' dag gis bla ma'i ngag bkod las ma g.yos pa byed gal che zhing / de bstun gyi bstan pa'i zhabs 'degs su 'gyur ba byung phyin 'di phyir gtan du dge ba'i bdag rkyen dang smon lam bzang po kho bos byed pa yin pas so so nas go ba gyis zhes rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul du rgyu tri ka zhes lcags pho spre'u'i lo gzhu khyim du nyin mor byed pas spyod pa'i dmar cha'i ḍa ki 'du ba'i dus dge bar rang byung 'phags pa 'jig rten gsum mgon gyi pho brang chen po dmar po ri nas bris /

nub phyogs
kyi phul byung
zhi ba sangs rgyas
rgya chen khyon
la sangs rgyas
bstan pa'i
mnga' bdag
thams cad mkhyen pa
rdo rje 'chang
ta la'i bla
ma'i taṃ ka

**Translation**

(File:) *Ja*, No. 5.

An exact and virtuous copy of the edict bestowed by the Great Fifth rGyal-mchog.

The discourse of he who is called by command of the Emperor, the Huang-ti: 'The Immutable Vajradhara, Lama of the Ocean Who resides in Happiness Most Virtuously in the Western Abode of the Gods, and Who Has Brought All Beings

Beneath Heaven Under One Religion by Authority of the Buddha'.[1]

(The following) is proclaimed to all, to the broad nations of the world in general and (in particular) to the large and small districts of Himavat within the sphere of Tibet and the Great Tibet; the sacred land of India; the eastern, western, upper and lower (regions) of Mon to the South;[2] the White-mouthed, Black-mouthed and Striped-mouthed Klo(-pa);[3] to the divine communities and human communities,[4] the fort-govenors, the stewards and officials, those commissioned with civil and military duties, the elders and common subjects etc., - (all) who dwell in districts under the sun! From the time of the omniscient *rGyal-dbang* dGe-'dun rGya-mtsho,[5] just as the patriarchal lords succeeded each other by turn so every one of the successive uncles and nephews of the *dPa'-bo-gdung-pa Chos-rje*[6] were the disciples who upheld the dGe-lugs Teachings in the eastern region of Mon. In particular when the establishment of the authority of the Priest and Patron[7] was being introduced to Mon, in accordance with a command from here (it was declared that) military measures such as an invasion would not be required, and so on the basis of counsels held between the devotee Nam-mkha'-'brug[8] and the *Me-rag Bla-ma*[9] it became possible to establish authority by skillful means. (Within the region stretching) down from sNying-sangs(-la)[10] and up from the Indian border at dGa'-gling[11] and from A-li,[12] a binding oath was taken (which provided for the following) in all parts of eastern, western, upper and lower Mon, and not only just among the patrons and ecclesiastical estates of the Me-rag[13] community, its mother and daughter houses: (I) the collection of monk levy to enable some communities to be founded, (2) the collection of an oblation of grain[15] from every household which had been brought under authority, consisting of an offering of faith of just ten measures of grain every summer and autumn, (3) the petitioning of the sangha there for virtuous rites at birth and death lest these should be adulterated with evil; (4) permission to impose (requisitions for transport by) stages down from mTsho-sna with ready compliance. Thus the gentle authority (was imposed) by means of the purest designs on the part of me and my monks, and so deeds were performed on a broad scale which subjugated to the King of Tibet[16] (the whole region stretching) from rMag-sgo[17] (and) Them-spang[18] in the east, as far as Ku-ri[19] in the west, and upwards from gDung-zam.[20] Even though (the whole region) was brought under the beneficial and happy dominion of us, Priest and Patron, and while the Teachings of the dGe-lugs in the region of Mon were thus caused to prosper as best as possible, in particular (however) the entire welfare of Eastern Mon was gradually destroyed by the evil plans of the barbarian army of the southern demons.[21] At that time although it proved difficult to expell forcibly these evil impediments, external and internal, from the Year of the Fire Monkey (1656)[22] onwards some twenty-five years have now passed during which I and my monks have applied ourselves solely to the cause of the Teachings without in any way looking to the welfare of the laymen and monks (of central Tibet?). And so (the following districts) were brought under dominion: La-chen 'Tsho-gsum, Dag-pa 'Tsho-lnga, Shar Ba-mo Nu-Bzhi, Rong-mdo-gsum etc.,[23] also the minor groups of Mon subjects along the course of the Nyang-shang Chu (River),[24] and those Indians[25] and inhabitants of the Klo country[26] who have been turned to our own government. (All this and) the (whole) manner in which our side has been benefitted at earlier and later times by guarding or invading is openly manifest to you, all the laymen and monks of Tibet and Mon. Henceforth if the purest plans are implemented for the upholding, guarding and diffusing of the Teachings of the Dual System[27] without diverting from previous practice, then the integrity of the Teachings' cause (will be achieved) as it was during the time of *lDing-dpon* Nam(-mkha')-'brug[28] (in respect of): (I) the monasteries of the new and old religious

communities, their mother and daughter houses; (2) the ecclesiastical estates; (3) the grazing grounds; (4) the land property donated for the performance of virtuous rituals at times of birth and death; (5) the oblations of grain offered out of faith; (6) the (transportation of government loads over) stages with ready compliance; and (7) the various sources of revenue. Except in cases when special requirements arise in the *rdzong*, new impositions of tax, corvée and military service are not to be made on all the monasteries, great or small, of the various districts. Good rewards which are compatible in purpose with the Dual System will be made from here for those who show nothing less than acceptance of the above words. Until the lotus garden of beneficial happiness comes to spread in India, Mon and Klo, (these) three, the various documents promulgated in earlier and later times with red and black seals are without exception (hereby) invalidated since they injure the Teachings upheld by the Yellow Hats and the government fortress of mTsho-sna, and since they constitute an obstacle which destroys the subjects. Plans for causing the dGe-lugs Teachings of the Dual System to spread and flourish in that region will be put into effect by the fort govenor, by the representatives of those various officers commissioned from here, and by the *Me-rag Bla-ma* Blo-gros rGya-mtsho[29] himself. It is essential that all laymen and monks, whether mighty or weak, do not deviate from the lama's instructions and if in accordance with them it should turn to the service of the Teachings, then I shall make virtuous rewards and offer good prayers continually during this and future lives. Let everyone understand this!

Written at the virtuous time when the *Ḍa-ki* foregather (...),[30] in the Mansion of Sagittarius, in the Year of the Iron Male Monkey (1680) known in the sacred land of India as rGyu-tri-ka, at the Red Hill, the great self-created palace[31] of Ārya Trilokeśvara.

Seal of the Dalai Lama, the perfect and peaceful Buddha of the western region, the ruler of the Buddha's religion on the broad surface (of the world), the omniscient, the Vajradhara.[32]

## Notes to the introduction

1. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Morarji Desai, former Prime Minister of India, the Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, the local officials of rTa-wang, and particularly the Mon-pa themselves for much kind assistance during my trip to Mon-yul in 1978-79. The Royal Geographic Society, the Spalding Trust, the Boden Fund and St. John's College, Oxford, all provided financial assistance for my research. Mr. Hugh Richardson provided much encouragement. A valuable review of the tangled political situation in Mon-yul as it existed in 1945 is contained in his *Tibetan Precis*, Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1945, pp. 62-64.
2. See *Census [of India] 1971; Series 24, Arunachal Pradesh, District Census Handbook, Kameng District*, p. 16.
3. In his mythological account of the origins of the mithun cult in Arunachal Pradesh, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa spells the name *Ghri-dho*. See the *gTam-tshogs theg-pa'i rgya-mtsho*, Ch. 3, f. 32b.
4. The Schlagintweit brothers were the first to enter the lower part of the Corridor in 1856. A proof copy of their 'Bhútia Map of the commercial route From Assám to Lhássa via Táuong Drawn by Háuang Rája, Nărigún, January 1856', is preserved in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

Later expeditions were made by Nain Singh (1875), G. A. Nevill (1912), F. M. Bailey and H. Morshead (1913), F. Ludlow and G. Sherriff (1934), G. S. Lightfoot (1938), F. Kingdon Ward (1935, 1939), F. Ludlow and K. Lumsden (1936) and J. P. Mills (1944?). Since Indian Independence Verrier Elwin, Leo Rose, Gisella Bonn, E. Dillon Ripley and myself appear to have been the only ones to visit the region.

5. See *rGya-bod shan-sbyar-gi tshig-mdzod*, Peking, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1976, p. 1387.
6. See Note 17 to the translation below.
7. M.V. Aris, *Bhutan; the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, Warminster 1980, pp. xv-xvi and Fig. 4.
8. R. Shafer, 'The linguistic position of Dwags', *Oriens* Vol. vii, 1954, pp. 348-356.
9. See K. Das Gupta, *An Introduction to Central Monpa*, Shillong 1968.
10. See Aris, op.cit., pp. 97-114.
11. See Aris, op.cit., pp. 103-106.
12. See Aris, op.cit., pp. 119-124.
13. See G. Paul, 'Sherdukpens,' *Vanjayatti* Vol. vi, 1958, pp. 22-25, and R.R.P. Sharma, *Sherdukpens*, Shillong 1961.
14. Translated in Aris, op.cit., p. 102.
15. See the account by *sDe-srid* Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho of the birth, discovery and installation of the 6th Dalai Lama, the *rNa-ba'i bcud-len*, ff. 92a-99a. The name of the lady in question is given as dBu-chung rDo-rje-'dzom of the So-mkhar clan. It is spelled rDor-rdzom in Padma Gling-pa's contemporary account of the marriage (see Aris, op.cit., p. 102).
16. It is listed No.350 ('Record of the Founding of the Monastery of Urgyan-gling'), in L.A. Waddell, 'Tibetan manuscripts and books, etc., collected during the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa,' *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review,* 3rd Series, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 67 & 68 (July-October 1912), pp. 80-113. The *dkar-chag* might have been one of those '...rescued by my hands from destruction in burning buildings within fortified posts which had been set on fire by retreating Tibetan soldiery;
.... I found that a barricade of some of these ponderous tomes with their thick wooden covers, actually stopped a cannon ball from penetrating within my shelter, whilst we were besieged and stormed at Gyantse.'

## Notes to the translation

1. This is the title conferred on the 5th Dalai Lama in 1653 by the Emperor Shun-chih. On the circumstances and significance of the investiture see particularly W.D. Shakabpa, *Bod-kyi srid-don rgyal-rabs*, Kalimpong 1976, Vol. 1, pp. 439-440, and A.S. Martynov, 'On the status of the Fifth Dalai Lama; an attempt at the interpretation of his diploma and title,' in Louis Ligeti (ed.) *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest 1978, pp. 289-294. The title also appears at the top of the Dalai Lama's edict of 1779 appointing Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho as regent (see Hugh Richardson's forthcoming paper in *BSOAS*), where the transcription of the Chinese original is far better than the corrupt version we have here. It reads: (*chen khra'o hong de'i khri wu'i*) *zi then ta zhan tsi tse'i pho bro wu'i then zha bti kro'u yi thung de*

*phyi kying gang de'i khe'i brang zi tsi yin*. The original is found in the *Ta ch'ing shih tsu chang huang ti shih lu*, 74:19a 大清世祖章皇帝實錄 The reading of the title there is: *Hsi t'ien ta shan tsu tsai fo, so ling t'ien hsia shih chiao p'u t'ung wa ch'ih la ta la ta lai la ma*. 西天大善自在佛。所領天下釋教普通瓦赤喇怛喇達賴喇嘛 The title is omitted from the partial translation into English of the 1680 edict given by the Chinese authorities in the *Report* ... (CR-44 & CR-45). It starts with the edict proper and ends with a passage corresponding to ... (*rgya-gar dang* also omitted) *klo-yul-pa-rnams rang-srid-du 'gyur-ba sogs*.

2. I would take the area covered by the term Mon here to extend from Sikkim in the west to the Mon-yul region in the east, taking in the whole of Bhutan.

3. The term *Klo Kha-dkar Kha-nag Kha-khra* is a standard classification applied to the whole medley of tribal groups in Arunachal Pradesh who live to the east of the Mon-pa. It is unlikely that each group can be separately identified, though the Aka are sometimes referred to as the Kha-nag.

4. I.e., the lay communities attached to monastic estates (*lha-sde*) and those under direct government control (*mi-sde*).

5. The dGe-lugs-pa connection with Mon-yul can be traced back to the attachment formed between dGe-'dun rGya-mtsho the 2nd Dalai Lama (1475-1542) and his local disciple Blo-bzang bsTan-pa'i sGron-me of the Jo-bo clan who founded monasteries at sTag-lung (much later converted, together with 'Di-rang, into a *rdzong* under rTa-wang), Me-rag Sag-stengs (now in Bhutan) and A-rgya-gdung, now a temple above the village of lHa'u which we visited. A short *rnam-thar* definitely exists, though I did not see it, and permission for a copy is still awaited from the Arunachal authorities. bsTan-pa'i sGron-me is supposed to have had favourable relations with the Ahom king of Assam. On his activities and ancestry see the *rGyal-rigs*, f. 30b, and the *Mon-phyogs 'dzin-ma'i char zhva-ser-gyi ring-lugs 'di-ltar dar-ba'i lo-rgyus dga'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma*, II. 13-21.

6. The monastery of sPa'u-gdung was founded by the *dPa'u-gdung-pa Chos-rje* Blo-bzang bsTan-pa'i 'Od-zer, disciple of bsTan-pa'i sGron-me. He and his nephew (*dbon-po*) bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan were the disciples of the 3rd and 4th Dalai Lamas respectively. See the *dGa'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma*, op.cit., 11. 20-27. The dPa'u-gdung line is presumably included among those families referred to in the *rTa-wang bca'-yig* (p.8 1.7) as *dbon chos-mdzad*; they all received dispensation from performing certain chores in the monastery.

7. *mchod-yon* here can only refer to the Dalai Lama and the Qośot Khans. There is no hint of Chinese supremacy, actual or theoretical, in this text.

8. The *lDing-dpon* Nam-mkha'-'brug held the office of *mTsho-sna rDzong-dpon*. (See *dGa'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma*, 1. 46.) He appears to have died or retired before the date of this edict since reference is made below to the time when he had control of the region.

9. I heard the statement several times in rTa-wang that: '*Me-rag Bla-ma* Blo-gros rGya-mtsho was for Mon-yul what *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgya was for Bhutan.' Both are regarded as the founders of the forms of government which lasted in their respective regions until this century, but there the similarity ends. While the *Zhabs-drung*, an interloper

from Tibet, gave autonomy and unity to Bhutan from within, partly on the basis of the support he received from the outposts of his school established there, the *Me-rag Bla-ma* was a local who drew on external support for his school from the Tibetan authorities and so brought about the absorption of his region into a foreign power. No *rnam-thar* exists for *Me-rag Bla-ma*, and his dates are not known, though a good deal of information on the subject of his struggles is contained in the *dGa'-ba'i dpal-ster-ma*, Ch. 4, 11. 32-66. The Bhutanese view of his activities is given in the *Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long*, ff. 12a, 17a-18a (Aris, *Bhutan*, Pt. 5). His remains are contained within a large *sku-gdung-mchod-rten*, within a side temple of the rTa-wang monastery, his most lasting achievement. The so-called 'Guru Tulkus' of Mon-yul claim to be his incarnations, the present one being the ninth in the line according to N. Sarkar, 'Historical account of the introduction of Buddhism among the Monpas and Sherdukpens,' *Resarun*, Vol. I(I), pp. 35-41. However, the inclusion of the line of the *dPa'u-gdung-pa Chos-rje* which takes up the first three incumbents in his list before the *Me-rag Bla-ma* himself appears to be a mistake. The title of 'Guru Tulku' was applied to the incarnations fairly recently as a result of the Aka tribesmen referring to them as their guru. The present incumbent is a young monk in training at Dharamsala.

10. sNying-sangs-la is the major pass separating Bhutan from Mon-yul just east of rTa-wang.

11. Unidentified.

12. A-li may be an abbreviation for Amratulla, a village in the foothills due north of Odalguri.

13. On Me-rag, which lies up the sGam-ri Chu valley within Bhutanese territory, see Harold Fletcher, *A Quest of Flowers; the Plant Explorations of Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff ...*, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 80. The 'Guru Tulkus' still maintain certain rights over the temple there from across the border.

14. The 'monk levy' enlisted 112 boys from Mon-yul for the new foundation at rTa-wang. See *'Phags-pa 'jig-rten dbang-phyug-gi rnam-sprul rim-byon-gyi 'khrungs-rabs deb-ther nor-bu'i 'phreng-ba*, Vol. 2, p. 559, which is based on the evidence contained in the *Dukula*, the *sDe-srid*'s biography of the 5th Dalai Lama. Also listed are the seasonal rites laid down for rTa-wang by the Dalai Lama. These are still performed today, the full curriculum being given in the *rTa-wang bca'-yig*, p. 8. 1.22 - p. 9. 1.18.

15. This is still collected today.

16. In 1680 the 'King' of Tibet was Dalai Khan, grandson of Guśri. His role in Tibetan politics was purely nominal. See L. Petch, 'Notes on Tibetan history in the 18th century,' *T'oung Pao*, Vol. LII (4-5), 1966, pp. 267-268.

17. rMag-sgo is a tiny district of three villages just south of the border, wedged in between the Mon-pa people to the west and the Klo-pa to the east. The inhabitants, like the Sherdukpen to the south of Bomdila, are distinct from the main Mon-pa groups, and until recently their whole district formed one of the personal estates belonging to the noble family of bSam-grub Pho-brang in lHa-sa. See F. M. Bailey, *Report on an Exploration on the North-east Frontier 1913*, Simla 1914, Ch. 6, pp. 12-13.

18. Them-spang is the most easterly of the Mon-pa villages, one stage east of 'Di-rang. It is surrounded by a wall to protect it from harassment by the Aka tribals. See F. Kingdon Ward, *Assam Adventure*, London 1941, pp. 267-268.

19. Ku-ri must be the valley of the Ku-ru Chu in the lHun-rtse district of Bhutan, an area which was definitely under Bhutanese control at the time of this edict. It may be concluded, therefore, that the edict was not only a statement of deeds accomplished, but also one of future policy and intention.
20. gDung-bsam also falls within Bhutan, near the south-east border with India. It is a village where one of the ancient 'Kings' claiming descent from *lHa-sras* gTsang-ma had his seat.
21. The 'barbarian army of the southern demons' can only refer to the Bhutanese.
22. I have concluded elsewhere (Note 6 to the *Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long* in my *Bhutan*, Pt. 5) that the annexation of eastern Bhutan by 'Brug-pa forces under the command of *dPon-slob* Mi-'gyur brTan-pa began in 1655. The campaign very quickly brought the Bhutanese into conflict with the Tibetan authorities who sought to protect Mon-yul from the encroaching power in the west.
23. This list of the administrative units into which Mon-yul was divided may be compared with that provided in the *rTa-wang bca'-yig* (p.3 ll. 3-4): La-'og Yul-gsum, Legs-spang, Dag-pa Tsho-lnga, Rong-mdo-gsum, Mu-khob Shag-gsum, Sreb-la sGang-gsum, Shar Ba-mo Nu-bzhi. In the 1962 *Report* (CR-91) the Chinese have provided a detailed enumeration of the thirty-two units (*'tsho* and *lding*) which they claim were gradually developed to cover the whole region.
24. The 'Nyamjang' River has its source near mTsho-sna before flowing south and west of rTa-wang and crossing into Bhutan. It becomes the lDang-ma'i Chu, which flows into India as the Manas.
25. The Indians referred to here are presumably the Kachari people inhabiting certain villages in the plains south of Mon-yul over whom the Sherdukpen and other groups enjoyed various rights.
26. I am not sure which Klo-pa are meant here, probably some isolated villages of the Aka or Miji.
27. *rGyal-srid* (or *-khrims*) and *chos-srid* (or *-khrims*): 'royal law' and 'religious law'.
28. See Note 8 above.
29. See Note 9 above.
30. I have omitted the phrase *nyin-mor byed-pas spyod-pas dmar-cha'i* in my translation as I am not sure what it means.
31. I.e. the Potala Palace.
32. This appears to be a simplified version of the title given at the head of the edict, abbreviated so as to fit the seal.

## THE WORK OF PHA-DAM-PA SANGS-RGYAS AS REVEALED IN DING-RI FOLKLORE

**Barbara Nimri Aziz**

The black Indian *siddha* known as Dam-pa Sang-rgyas is reputed to have journeyed to the Himalayas many times as well as to China. Thus far, however, most of what we know about his life and work comes from accounts of his final visit to Tibet when he stayed at Ding-ri (south gTsang). Pha-dam-pa's biography being inextricably woven into the culture of this locale, anthropological research I carried out on Ding-ri history (Aziz, 1978a) is highly instructive concerning this famous Indian's work.

This paper is a report on one remarkable item in the oral history of Ding-ri. Revealed through the history of a set of relics, this is a legend which relates the arrival of Pha-dam-pa in Tibet. It is both a product of Ding-ri culture and it is a forceful medium by which religious history is broadcast over time and space. In this respect the legend is one of those important features of culture which belongs to both the folk and the greater religious traditions.

To understand fully the story's meaning,it is also important to know the place of this legend within the context of Buddhist pilgrimage; this will be explained below. The force of reputation and the attitude of faith are two additional factors which must be kept in mind to comprehend the historical and religious reality of this legend.

By way of introduction to Pha-dam-pa's place in Ding-ri, two points must be made. First, this 12th century master[1] is a revered folk hero for the people here. Pha-dam-pa is the founder of this valley, his arrival marking the beginning of their recorded history. As we shall see below, the name Ding-ri derives from one of his accomplishments. In many ways, Ding-ri people are responsible for Pha-dam-pa's tradition. Although his work is known all over Tibet, it is only in Ding-ri that we find the annual commemorative ceremony to the saint (Pha-dam-pa *dus-chen*) performed, and where monthly offerings are obligatory in village shrines.

A second pattern concerning the relationship of the saint to this locale is seen in the organization of Ding-ri culture directed to spreading Pha-dam-pa's reputation to other parts of Tibet and beyond.

Basic to both these is a special bond between the Ding-ri people and the saint. Inhabitants of this valley clearly feel themselves to be the guardians of Pha-dam-pa's teachings. This we see in their work as interpreters and disseminators of his tradition. It is a role they happily assume and we see it clearly expressed in beliefs and practices concerning the relics of gLang-skor, the *gLang-skor Nang-rten*.

Of all the Ding-ri traditions those which are most concerned with the work of Pha-dam-pa emanate from gLang-skor, a sacred hill on the western side of the Ding-ri plain. With its modest shrine, deserted except for a small nunnery housing the handful of women custodians, gLang-skor is the most venerated spot in the entire valley. It houses the saint's relics and the sacred texts recording his life and teachings.

These relics are fairly well known among Tibetans, not only local Ding-ri villagers but also scholars and lay people from other parts of the country. De-shung Rinpoche, now of Seattle, is one such Tibetan who attests to the power of the relics in generating faith. He had passed though Ding-ri en route to Nepal 30 years ago, visited the relics and stayed at the gLang-skor shrine for 12 days reading manuscripts.[2] Over 500 years earlier these same relics were singled out by the eminent pilgrim, dGe-'dun Grub-pa

(1st Dalai Lama). This is recorded in his biography.[3] Like many other pilgrims, these travellers did not visit Ding-ri specifically to view these relics. It seems that for centuries Tibetan pilgrims and traders customarily travelled by the Nya-nang route (above Kodari in Nepal) to reach places in Nepal and western Tibet. This took them through Ding-ri and often involved a stop at gLang-skor where they proceeded to learn about Pha-dam-pa. Witnessing the relics, many transient visitors became convinced of the power of this saint's teachings.[4]

These relics were kept at gLang-skor for several centuries, perhaps continuously from the time of Pha-dam-pa up to the present. It seems that they played a vital role in maintaining Pha-dam-pa's traditions through to modern times. Over those years, pilgrims travelled to the gLang-skor hilltop where a custodian recited the story of each relic and recalled 'the excellent Black One's' achievements, the power of his practice, and the extent of his following. In this manner a great many travellers through the area must have learned about the Indian. Some, we know, stayed at gLang-skor to study *zhi-byed* and *gcod* with masters of the tradition who had established themselves there. Thus successive generations of practicing devotees maintained gLang-skor as a permanent centre for Pha-dam-pa's teachings.

The majority of visitors here did not stop long. Their encounter was nevertheless significant since each carried away details of the legend and newly inspired faith in their religious traditions. One result was that throughout the Himalayas the teachings of this yogi became known. Even today, from Ladakh through Dolpo, Kathmandu, and Solu-Khumbu in Nepal, in the Darjeeling region, and in parts of Sikkim and Bhutan, one finds adepts of *zhi-byed* and *gcod* (particularly the latter which seems to have become quite popular) which derive from Pha-dam-pa's work in gLang-skor. *Gcod* texts explaining that branch of the teachings are in widespread use in the regions noted. And one will find in their temples and shrines, thangka paintings and frescos depicting masters of the lineage (particularly the yogini Ma-gcig-lab-kyi-sgron-ma).[5] Observing this, one feels that transmission through practice is secure today. It is likely to continue so even though the cultural ties with gLang-skor, the links which had helped to establish these traditions, are now severed.

It is another matter however when we look at what is happening when transmission depends on popular reputation. Such continuity is directly dependent on local cultural patterns. Of the gLang-skor legend for example, its composition and its vitality were directly related to the process of pilgrimage through this region. When after 1959 overt religious practices in Tibet were banned,there were no more visitors to gLang-skor and thus no occasion to tell the story of the relics. Although cherished by those Tibetans who have heard it, the legend is not remembered in any detail and people familiar with it are fewer. The nuns who used to recite it for the pilgrims have left gLang-skor and are rarely asked to repeat it outside Tibet where they have resettled.

This is the point at which I arrived in their community (in Nepal) and began a study of Ding-ri history. Within a few months, working among the Ding-ri refugees settled in Solu region, I met two villagers who informed me about the legend and even recited those passages they were able to remember. Unable to piece together the entire history and unsure about its textual origins, they directed me to an oral version they consider the most authoritative. It is, they say, one which is as authentic a recitation as I would hear even if I were a pilgrim standing inside the gLang-skor shrine 30 years earlier. This is probably true since the authority to whom they

introduced me is A-ni Ngag-dbang, former keeper of gLang-skor. She is a nun who for many years was custodian of the relics at the shrine. As such it had been her duty to recite the legend to pilgrims visiting the shrine and the relics of Pha-dam-pa. Needless to say when I met A-ni Ngag-dbang and told her of my interest in the legend, she was delighted to recite it and explain the story to me. Indeed she saw in my work an extraordinary opportunity to convey this history to a wider audience, and in collaborating with me she acted to fulfil her traditional role in perpetuating the traditions of Pha-dam-pa.

The recording I made of A-ni Ngag-dbang's recitation and commentary was eventually transcribed and translated. The complete legend, exactly as recited by the nun, including her mandala offering at the outset and a short epilogue, is now published. The English translation appeared in a recent issue of *Central Asiatic Journal* (Aziz, 1979) and a Tibetan edition, written by the chief Ding-ri lama (now in Nepal) has been carved into woodblocks and prints from that are available in Nepal.[6] The concern of these people for producing both an English record and a Tibetan text from the oral legend represents their awareness of the fragility of the oral tradition at this point in their history. Even though the relics have been safely removed from gLang-skor (and are now kept hidden due to the danger of theft by commercial interests), they recognise the essential quality of the accompanying story and are just as concerned with its preservation. And while the relics are kept secret at this time, the texts of the legend are widely accessible. We are also able to publish here a photograph of the relics, by kind permission of the custodians.

There are ten relics in all; the combined account of each one of these constitutes the legend. Some of the pieces are stones- one is a rock hurled from India by the Buddha Sakyamuni, and another is a smooth slab with the imprint of a small human foot clearly set in the centre. Housed in a small *mchod-rten* is another relic said to be Pha-dam-pa's heart- another is an ox-tooth. These, various fragments of bone, a rod, and a glass bowl are each described in detail in the two publications of the nun's recitation.

Having completed our discussion of its context, we now turn to the legend's meaning. For this, I will use a few selected passages from the early part of the story but readers who wish to consult the entire text (translated in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1979 Vol.XXIII No.1-2) will find that the themes I discuss here reverberates throughout the legend.

The story begins in typical folk fashion with a realistic scene, a village in south India where we are introduced to an elderly Brahmin couple. Identified as Samatira and Sarahati, these are the simple pious folk who later became parents of the great saint. There are several incidents described, each one more remarkable than the next. Holy rocks figure prominently in almost every encounter. This image appears in an early passage; the story of Pha-dam-pa's conception and birth are revealed in the history of a small plate of stone on which is embodded a footprint, said to have been made by Pha-dam-pa's baby foot when he was born. Concerning events at that moment, the legend says:

> Towards the end of the 10th month, from Samatira's belly, her son called to her saying, 'Mother, when the time for my birth arrives, you should not feel any worry. I want to honour you with the greatest and most supreme blessing, something that is unique that will be an everlasting gift. Therefore bring me a lump of earth or a stone'. In response, the woman, full of faith, fetched a piece of marble. Setting this close to her own body when she was about to deliver, it served as a step for her son's arrival ... and Dam-pa placed his tiny foot on the marble as he was born into this world. Doing so he uttered these words:
>
> 'Wisdom surpasses words, thoughts and recitations.
> The nature of voidness has neither growth nor respite.
> Every kind of knowledge has its own wisdom
> So I bow to my enlightened mother of all times'.
>
> Then Pha-dam-pa thanked his mother, saying: 'Women like you are a lodge for travellers, a son such as myself; and I am grateful for having been able to rest in your womb. I want you to keep this, the image of my foot imprinted in the rock as a reminder of prevailing truth.' (Aziz, 1979, pp.28-29)

This account of the miraculous birth is followed by a chronologically earlier incident where the Buddha Sakyamuni instructs the Indian yogi to journey to Tibet and foster the teachings there. Here again, the focus of the action is a stone, this time the Ding-mdo rMug-po as it is called. It too is among the gLang-skor relics, and according to Ding-ri-wa, the most sacred item - more powerful it seems than the relic of the saint's heart. Following is a passage that conveys the power of that stone:

> 'I shall throw this stone (declared the Buddha), and in whichever valley it lands, that shall be designated as the place of your mission'.
>
> That is what the Blessed Sakyamuni said, picking up the round, dark object known as Ding-rdo rMug-po. Balancing the sphere on the ends of three fingers of his hand, the great Buddha, standing on the peak of the Indian mountain, Gṛdhrakuta, hurled it northwards. When it landed, a glorious sound 'D-i-n-g' resounded through the region. Turning to his disciple, Sakyamuni instructed Pha-dam-pa thus: 'Your mission is to be in that place the name of whose valley shall henceforth be known as Ding-ri.' (ibid, p.30)

Throughout the story, numerous place and personal names are cited.[8] Some of these correspond with those mentioned in other sources on Pha-dam-pa such as the *Blue Annals* and the newly found biography of this saint. Other names are identified as specific geographical sites and priestly lineages by Ding-ri-wa. So there is an historical component to the legend whose significance will doubtless increase when details from this work are compared with other related texts. These incidents concerning sacred rocks have, I believe, more of a symbolic than an historical meaning. There is no overt instruction in the story but the rocks are clues of the message conveyed to its audience. In the excerpts noted above, faith is expressed with the offering of stone objects. Here, and in the following passages, stone is not merely a symbol of 'mother earth', but reflects the *prajñāpāramitā*-derived

philosophy of Pha-dam-pa's teachings (more particularly known as *zhi-byed* and *gcod*).

Before outlining the main features of those teachings (which are still not well understood among ourselves), let us look at another encounter between the saint and that stone which led him to Tibet. This occurs when the yogi is still in search of the stone after he arrived in Ding-ri and had further instructions from his *ḍakini* angel.

> Upon his arrival (at the crest of a hill known as *Shing-sdo-rje-thog*) Pha-dam-pa noticed some animals gathered, sitting encircling a round, dark object! Instantly he reflected and surmised: 'The gift of my beloved lama, the holy stone may be there,' and moving forward, he ventured closer. Of the animals surrounding the stone, Pha-dam-pa noticed seven hoven musk-deer, does and their calves, appearing to prostrate themselves before the object in the centre. Then, one by one, the seven deer merged together, the first merged into the second; the second into the third and so on until the last one remaining, the seventh, merged itself into the stone. (ibid, p.31)

Here again, objects of worship are reduced to mere rock and images are repeatedly destroyed and fused into the inorganic basic substances. The full implication of these incidents emerges when we recall that Pha-dam-pa was an iconoclast. One of his main goals was to destroy our images - those of gods as well as those of demons - which he argued are all illusions of the mind. At the time of his visit to Tibet Pha-dam-pa was concerned to see that the people were becoming too attached to their ritual practices and philosophical constructions and he sought to help them cut themselves off from those attachments. Thus he urged his followers to abandon the monasteries and their scholarly pursuits and instead go to the cemeteries to meditate and among the lepers to combat suffering.

Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas himself sought to destroy distinctions. In one story for example, he refuses an offering of gold, saying that for him there was no difference between it and yellow sand. After carefully preparing his offerings, according to yet another story, Pha-dam-pa scatters them in disarray and throws ashes over his shrine. Such attitudes are illustrative of Pha-dam-pa's teachings in particular as they are of Buddhist teachings on *Prajñāpāramitā* in general. Those worthless dirt offerings which our hero seems to delight in seem repeatedly to test the faith of his students, reminding them also of the value of non-value. Throughout the story (and also in the visit of pilgrims at gLang-skor), the stones have little value but to test one's faith. It was first a stone - the prophetic Ding-rdo rMug-po hurled from India - which led Pha-dam-pa to Tibet. The stone, substituting for Buddha, is transformed into a symbol of Pha-dam-pa's faith. Just as faith led the Indian to Tibet, so it was faith which allowed his own mother to fulfil her noble role. The existential message of the stone offering is clear when the newborn saint turns to his mother, saying: 'I want to reward you for your faith. Fetch me some mud or a piece of stone'. (This is the first of three occasions in the legend of gLang-skor where Pha-dam-pa similarly rewards his devotees.)

It is probable that rocks also symbolize non-duality and non-attachment in this context. There are at least two passages here where achievement of non-dual thought is illustrated in successive merging of images and final union with a stone. Recall, for example, the passage quoted above

describing Pha-dam-pa's discovery of the stone at gLang-skor. He first witnesses seven deer encircling the stone. With his realization that this is the prophetic rock itself, he sees one deer merge with the next and so on until the last one dissolves into the stone, at which point Pha-dam-pa's awareness reaches perfection.

A later section of the legend describes how a groove developed on the surface of the Ding-rdo Mug-po (ibid, p.32). There we are told how a pilgrim decides to test the authenticity of the stone. He splits it in two, intending to take one half away with him. Immediately, however, another disciple admonishes him and he retrieves the severed halves, which (in full faith) he joins so that they fuse into one again. Here surely is a direct statement of the association of non-duality with faith and power and that of duality with doubt and foolishness. Repeatedly in the legend, furthermore, the achievement of non-duality occurs spontaneously. In those passages describing success, it happens without preconceptions; in each case there is immediate awareness.

The *zhi-byed* and *gcod* teachings for which Pha-dam-pa is best known are doubtless far more complicated than those concepts we have been discussing. Eventually, especially with the anticipated publication of newly discovered documents on Pha-dam-pa along with several recently printed books on *zhi-byed* and *gcod*, translations and commentaries will be forthcoming. Meanwhile only brief and fragmentary accounts are available, most of these on the *gcod* tradition. It is hardly satisfactory but for the present discussion, I have selected a passage from the most detailed commentary to date on this religious tradition. This account, by the doyen of Tibetan Studies, Professor Tucci, does manage to capture the essential points as far as we now understand them:

> *Gcod* seeks to cut the discursive process at its roots, and it wants to facilitate the birth of immediate awareness that (in fact) nothing generates from nothing. In the form of nothing, we are free, liberated from all duality of good and evil, and thus from all anxieties of life and also from all treacherous appearances or disruptive apparitions.
> (Tucci, 1970, p.106.)

We can recognise here the specific teachings of the legend: rock equated with nothingness; success through immediate awareness, and the goal of non-duality. It is significant that the legend employs for its own summary, the imagery of gLang-skor and the Indian origins of Buddhism (and Pha-dam-pa's work in particular), drawing them together with the principle of non-duality.

> Of the burning ghat of Sitavana and the gLang-skor *dur-khrod*
> There is no difference.
> Neither is there a distinction between
> Waters of the Ganga and the springs of gLang-skor
> Of Vājrasana(Bodhgaya) and gLang-skor itself,
> They are the same.
> These are identical holy places, it is said. (Aziz, 1979, p.37.)

Even from this preliminary analysis, it is possible to identify several levels of meaning transmitted in the legend. First is the historical level to which I have devoted least attention here since it will be pursued in later analyses when additional texts are available. Second is the principle of non-duality; in the legend, non-duality is expressed in a symbolic way as

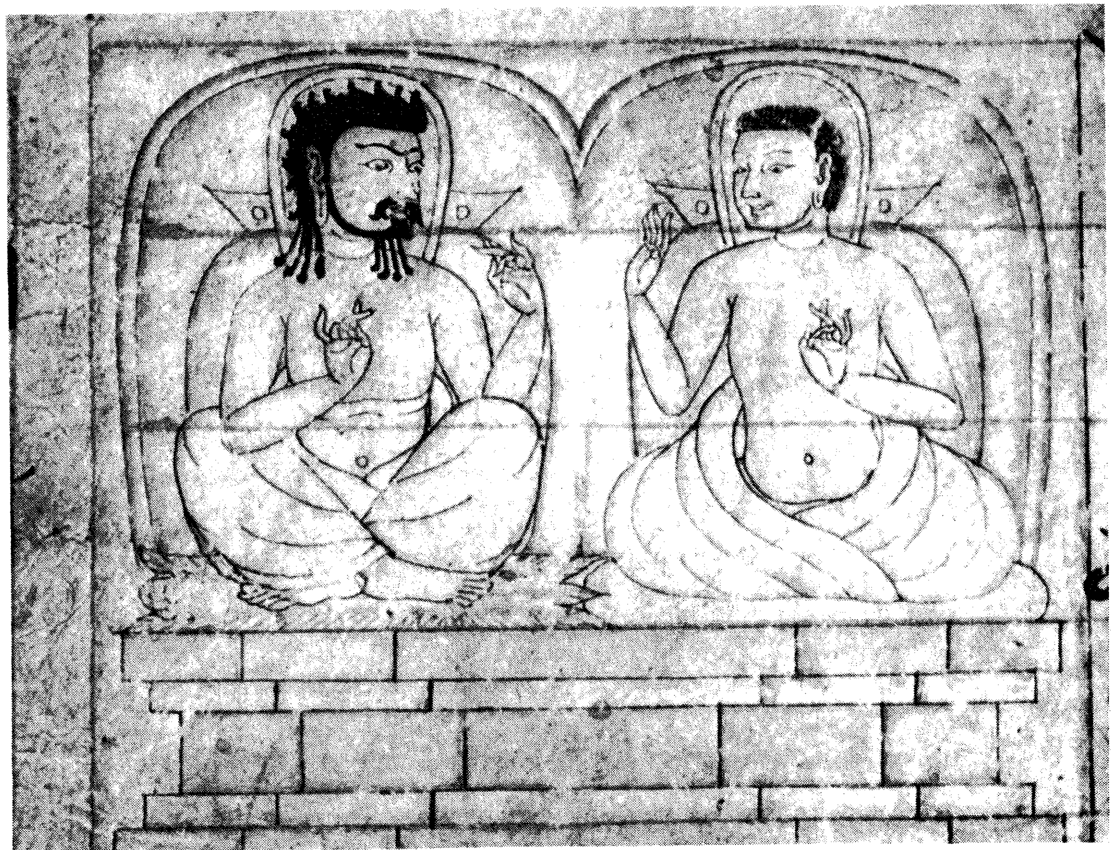
well as through explicit instruction as we can see in the passage quoted above where gLang-skor is made indistinguishable with Bodhgaya.

The third message of the legend is the possibility - indeed the preference - of immediate awareness. This ideal is embedded in the story and it is also implied in the very act of witnessing these relics during the course of one's pilgrimage to gLang-skor. As with any pilgrimage to a sacred place, a pilgrim may experience a sudden awareness of the 'truth' and acquire purity of mind approaching that of the teacher - that is to say, to merge oneself totally with the teacher. One might, theoretically, repeat Pha-dam-pa's earlier experience there, witnessing his relics merge 'themselves with one another' and then with the image of Pha-dam-pa.

Finally there is the principle of faith. The importance of one's predisposition is referred to repeatedly in the legend. It is also built into the act of pilgrimage,seeing the relics and hearing the legend.[10]

The element of faith, although highly abstract and not easily subject to analysis, is an essential element in the history of the legend. This is, when all is said and done, the foundation for the Ding-ri villagers' continuing work as custodians of Pha-dam-pa's traditions. It also provides the drive behind the cultural forms in which their history is cast, forms such as the recitation of the legend, rituals, the characteristic chant of Pha-dam-pa offerings, and the shrine itself. To understand fully the power of a legend such as this, we have to see it not only as a record of the past and a reaffirmation of present beliefs, but also as a guide for the future. This has been shown in another paper in the present collection (Macdonald, A.W.) with regard to Sherpa and Tamang myths. Certainly in the case of Pha-dam-pa, the force of this legend in spreading his reputation far and wide undoubtably gave shape to his position in Ding-ri religious history.





*top:* gLang-skor Nang-rten.
*bottom:* Pha-dam-pa and his disciple Kun-dga.

## Notes

1. We do not know the date of Pha-dam-pa's birth, but the date of his death is given as 1117. This can be confirmed by reference to his contemporaries, Mi-la Ras-pa (1052-1135) and Ma-gcig Lab-sgron (1055-1145 or 1153).
2. De-shung Rinpoche, 1978, by personal communication.
3. This is entitled *Rgyal-ba dGe-'dun Grub-kyi rnam-thar nor-bu'i 'phreng-ba* by Ye-shes rtse-mo (15th Century).
4. I have heard that a powerful oracle was also housed at gLang-skor and visitors to it sought divinations on whatever concerned them. As far as I understand, the oracle was embodied in an image, but I cannot say if it was Pha-dam-pa's image.
5. For reasons still not understood, Ma-gcig (an important disciple of Pha-dam-pa) is more often presented as master of the *gcod* and, in Nepal at least, she is now the more popular teacher associated with these teachings. Much work remains to be done on the difference between the two main branches of Pha-dam-pa's tradition and why both *gcod* and Ma-cgig have become so strong.
6. This is entitled *Bod-yul La-stod Ding-ri gLang-skor-gyi nang-rten byin-chan-khag-gi lo-rgyus dad-pa'i sa-bon ces-bya-ba bzhugs-so*. 1978. 13 folios.
7. See Aziz, 1979, p.23 for the itemization of these relics.
8. Zur-khang Lama (Dpal-rgyas dbang-po or Rgyal-sgom-pa), Chö-je Lama (Chos-rje rgyal-ba) and Chimme Lodrö ('Chi-med bLo-gros) are three persons mentioned. Place names are Shing-rdo-rje-thog and the Lo-brag Cave.
9. The gLang-skor custodians have recently permitted us to copy four ancient volumes of gLang-skor manuscripts that concern Pha-dam-pa's work. These are now being prepared in India for publication in Tibetan.
10. Pilgrims to the relics are invited to undergo a simple test, lifting the sacred Ding-rdo rMug-po stone to their head. Those to whom it is solid black possess much bad karma; those who see it as murky are normal sentient beings with some inevitable impurities; and the pilgrims who see the stone in its translucent white form have great blessings.

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## THE TIBETAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST*

**Christopher I. Beckwith**

It is by now fairly well known that during the heyday of their Empire Tibetans were militarily involved in the region known today as West Turkistan. The handbooks generally mention one or two exploits of Tibetan arms in this distant region as examples of the extent to which Tibetan influence then extended.[1] The history of the Tibetan Empire can of course really be understood only in the context of the early medieval history of Eurasia as a whole. And when dealing with the expansion into Central Asia, it is particularly necessary to look at the contemporary situation throughout Inner Asia. In the following paper, a summary of preliminary research into the history of the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia, I have combined and interpreted material from various sources in an attempt to provide an historical sketch of the Empire in the West. Tibetan motivations, the sources, and the specific events will be discussed.

I. First of all, so far as general motivation is concerned, it may be assumed that the system of sacral kingship provided a strong impetus to expansion. Since the early medieval ruler was theoretically considered by his people to be an emperor, subject to no other ruler, it was only natural for him to try and force the independent peoples of the four directions to submit. Certainly profit was also a great motivating force from the very beginning, but all of the major empires of the early Middle Ages did, in fact, attempt to expand in all directions simultaneously, whether or not it was profitable or even possible to do so. The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and other Tibetan sources state about several emperors that they conquered the kings of the four directions and forced them to pay tribute.[2] Similarly, the Chinese and Arabic histories also make such imperialistic claims for their rulers. One may observe that the Tibetans apparently viewed expansion northward as more profitable, and certainly more healthy, than expansion to the south. However, expansion was in any case ideologically necessary and remained so even after the emperors officially embraced the rulership ideology of Buddhism - just as the replacement of the sacral Merovingian kings by annointed Christian Carolingians hardly eliminated Frankish expansionism in the same period.[3]

Secondly, since Tibetan involvement west of the Pamir divide was often, if not always, connected with Tibetan designs on the Tarim region - present-day East Turkistan or Sinkiang -the question of strategy must be raised. Did the Tibetans merely raid neighbouring states at random and accidentally wind up conquering the whole of the Tarim region twice within the two centuries of Tibet's experience as a great power? Or did, perhaps, the Tibetan military first reconnoitre the lands around them and then develop a strategy for conquering them? According to the evidence of both Chinese and Tibetan sources, the Tibetans were very well informed about the geography of their neighbours.[4] The Chinese also frequently relate that the Tibetan

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* I wish to thank my colleagues Professor Larry V.Clark (Indiana University) and Professor Robert Dankoff (University of Arizona)for their assistance in the gathering of materials for this paper.

For simplicity's sake I have generally used conventional transcriptions (such as Kirghiz for Qirġiz) or equivalent translations (such as Turkistan for Drugu yul) for ethnic and place names,while referring in the notes to original sources rather than quoting them in transliteration in my text.

intelligence system kept the enemy so up to date on Chinese strategic planning that Chinese military actions were often easily thwarted or avoided altogether.[5] After all the evidence is examined one can only conclude that the Tibetan conquest of the Tarim region at least was the result of a carefully planned and executed strategy, combined with diplomacy and a sufficiently fierce army.

With regard to particulars, the actual strategy used by the Tibetans against the Chinese-held Tarim area was an envelopment on a grand scale. One wing attacked in the far Northwest, having gone through or skirted the Pamirs and western T'ien Shan range, and the other attacked from several points in the Northeast. When the Chinese lines had been cut, the two wings joined in the far North, thus capturing the region by envelopment.[6] The Chinese of the day became aware of this strategy and after recapturing the so-called 'Four Garrisons' of the region from Tibet in 692, kept the Tibetans from retaking the North for half a century by their aggressive watch on these two Tibetan exit points.[7] However, the Empire expanded straight to the West and straight to the East instead, so that in 763, after the T'ang dynasty had been weakened by the rebellion of the Turco-Sogdian merchant turned general, An Lu-shan, the Tibetan army was in a position to capture the capital, Ch'ang-an, and again cut the Chinese lines into the Tarim. A couple of decades later, allied with several Western Turkic tribes and the local populace, the Tibetans again defeated the Chinese and Uighurs at Beshbaliq, the northernmost Chinese fortress in the region. This time, the Tarim region together with parts of its western and northwestern marches was to remain in Tibetan hands for three-quarters of a century until internal problems within Tibet proper caused Tibetan authority and military power to break down. The much-vaunted Chinese reconquest *never occurred*. The Chinese only recaptured the eastern fringe of the Tarim region, that is, not much more than the area of present-day Kansu, plus the nearby Hami and Turfan oases.[8] The remainder, the important part, fell into Qarlug, Uighur, or Kirghiz hands, or reverted to indigenous control. In fact the Tibetan Empire's conquest had effectively removed the region from direct Chinese control and it was to remain free of China until after the Manchu conquest nearly a thousand years later. This is the context in which, largely because of our dependence upon Chinese sources, we must view the activities of the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia to the West.

II. There are three groups of sources for the history of the Tibetan Empire west of the Pamir divide. In order of importance, they are the Chinese, the Tibetan and the Arabic historical works which deal with the early medieval period.

The Chinese sources are the only ones which contain enough material, crudely understood by their authors, to enable one to reconstruct even a vague picture of Tibetan involvement in the West. While most of the material concerning the subject at hand has been dealt with by Satô Hisashi in his *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyû*,[9] and additional material may yet be gleaned from Edouard Chavannes' *Documents sur l'histoire des Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*,[10] in the absence of a comprehensive study nothing can replace a thorough perusal of the Chinese sources in the original. Furthermore, despite their relative clarity and abundance one must employ 'skepticism and wariness... in using the standard sources,' as the late Arthur F. Wright pointed out.[11]

Now since the major Chinese histories were all compiled under official auspices and had as their *raison d'être* the practical purpose of educating the ruling class in proven methods of ruling successfully,[12] it is no surprise to learn that whenever the Chinese lost control of an area, they also lost

interest in recording anything at all about it. We hear much about Chinese victories, reconquests and so forth, but very rarely about Chinese *defeats*. Even more rare is the account of a non-Chinese army defeating another non-Chinese army outside of China. So it happens that after the An Lu-shan rebellion began in 755, Chinese historical information on the far West begins to dry up: and after the Tibetan reconquest of the Tarim region, completed by 787, the Chinese sources are practically silent on Tibet, the Tarim area and West Turkistan. In fact many works dealing with the T'ang period which were composed centuries later under the Sung dynasty, conveniently fail to mention that the Chinese ever lost the Tarim region (and much of western China) to Tibet after the Chinese reconquest of 692![13] The few laconic remarks which do occur are still, however, of great value in verifying the more specific events recounted in the Arabic sources.

Although up to the present year the value of the Old Tibetan sources for the history of Central Asia has not been well enough appreciated, we are fortunate that Professor Uray has now provided us with an excellent survey of the available sources and the studies done on them.[14] Since his article deals with the sources for the period up to 751, it ought perhaps to be pointed out again that the *Annals,* our best source, is missing the portion which dealt with the period after 764. Therefore, the necessity of relying on the Chinese and Arabic sources is apparent. It is expected that the second volume of *Choix de documents tibétain* which is to include the manuscripts of the major Old Tibetan historical works will appear soon, thus greatly facilitating research in this field.

The historical material in Arabic which deals with Tibet was summarized very well already by W.W.Barthold, in his 1934 *Encyclopedia of Islam* article.[15] Although some of the individual events mentioned in the Arabic sources were thought by Sir Hamilton Gibb to be fictitious,[16] after a careful comparison with Tibetan and Chinese materials has been made his conclusions in this regard now appear to be mistaken. Professor Petech has provided us with an excellent study of the Arabic geographical literature on Tibet; his work remains the standard reference on the subject.[17] Finally, valuable material is to be found in an unexpected place, al-Azraqî's *Akhbâr Makka al-musharrafa,* a history of Mecca written by 837 and revised by 865.[18] The Arabic sources become most important for the period after 764, the last year covered by the *Old Tibetan Annals,* and even more so after the Tibetan conquest of the Tarim region, by which time Chinese information is nil.

III. Tibetan military involvement in the West can be roughly divided into seven periods:

1. In the first period, from about 660 to 679, the Tibetans were allied with various tribes to the Western Turks, who were based in the region stretching from present-day western Dzungaria to the area of present-day Uzbekistan. Together with the Turks, several raids were undertaken against the cities of Kashgar, Khotan, and Kucha in the western Tarim Basin.[19] Although the Tibetans seem mainly to have been aiming at the conquest of the Tarim countries, which conquest was completed in 670, they did not hesitate to subjugate small countries to the West which may have been in the way, such as Wakhan, which submitted after the *Hsien-ch'ing* period (656-661). The Chinese source says 'Because the land is on the road from the Four Garrisons to Tukhâristân, therefore it (had to) submit to Tibet'.[20] This strongly implies that the Tibetan army was using the Wakhan as a corridor to the Turks via Tukhâristân. Since two powerful tribes of the western half of the Western Turks, the Nu-shih-pi, who were based in the lands to the West of the Issyk Kul, were compelled to submit to Tibet in 667,[21] it appears that

Tibetan power in the area was already significant. The pattern of action was probably however mainly one of raids, much like those conducted by the Arabs into the western part of Central Asia at the same time.

2. The second period was one of major offensives in several directions, beginning in 686 with a three-year campaign against Turkistan, including the land of Guzan.[22] This latter region corresponds apparently either to the old Kuṣâṇa, which had become the Turkish kingdom of Kusân under the Kâbul-shâh, or to Kucha.[23] The campaign was soon followed by terrible defeats in the North: in 692 the Chinese recaptured the Tarim region, and two years later the Tibetans and their Western Turkic allies were defeated in Dzungaria and near the Issyk Kul further west by the Chinese commander of the Tomak garrison.[24] A Tibetan fortress in the latter region was also captured[25] and in nearby Sogdiana, a Tibetan general was captured by Sogdians.[26] At this point the Tibetan sense of humour shines forth in the Chinese accounts - having lost so much, the Tibetans could still suggest to the Chinese in 697 that they simply *give* to Tibet the western half of the Western Turk tribes, namely the Nu-shih-pi tribes located west of Tokmak![27] The text of this proposal mentions however that the Tibetan lines were then only a short distance from these tribes, so despite the silence of the Chinese sources, it is clear that the Tibetans were still strongly entrenched in the West. A brief notice in one Chinese source mentions the defeat in 700 at Tokmak of a Tibetan general named Po-lu, who was then leading a tribe of the Nu-shih-pi group of Western Turks.[28] And the Western Turkic prince A-shih-na T'ui-tzû, apparently the same as the one called by the Tibetans Toñ Yabghu Khaghan,[29] who had made obeisance at the Tibetan court in 699 was sent, in 700, to Turkistan.[30] As the Chinese sources indicate, he led a Tibetan army into Farghâna, in part to protect the people there from the depredations of the Türgish.[31] Tibetans from this army were perhaps the ones who in 704 particip-ated in the attack on the Arab rebel Mûsâ in Tirmidh, deep inside Tukhâristân.[32] This action, which was undertaken together with Western Turkic allies, was apparently led by Nîzak, the Hephthalite prince of Bâdghîs in Tukhâristân. The event seems to be the first indication of Tibetan cooperation with the Arabs, a characteristic pattern of the third period.

3. The Tibetan-supported Western Turk Khaghan, A-shih-na T'ui-tzû, was still in or near Farghâna in 708,[33] the year in which the funeral ceremony for the Khatun, the Western Turkic consort of the Tibetan emperor, was held.[34] Thus it is no great surprise to see the Arabs and Tibetans together installing A-liao-ta, a pretender to the throne of Farghâna, as king in 715.[35] Two years later, the Türgish, Arabs, and Tibetans allied together for an attack on Kashgar, their ultimate aim being the recapture of the Tarim region from the Chinese.[36] The Tibetan relationship with the Arabs at this time was so close that according to al-Ya'qûbî, the Tibetans sent an embassy to the Arab gover-nor of Khurâsân requesting a teacher of Islam.[37] An envoy from the overlord of Tukhâristân to the Chinese court in 718 described his homeland as being bordered on the one side by the Arabs and on the other by the Tibetans; he did not mention China at all in this regard.[38]

4. At this point one may speak of a fourth period, from 722 to 757, during which most of the material available is concerned with the Tibetan conquest of the Pamirs and the countries in and around those mountains. In 722 the Tibetans attacked 'Little Balûr'. The Chinese governor in Beshbaliq reported to the throne that 'Balûr is T'ang's western gate - if Balûr is lost all of the Western Regions will be Tibetan!'[39] The subsequent Chinese victory there was apparently very short-lived since two years later the secret letter from the Chinese princess in Tibet, Chin-ch'eng, to the king

of Kashmîr had to be relayed on to China via the king of Zabulistân, a country to the southwest of Turkhâristân and 400 *li* to the west of Kâbul.[40]

Although it was not known where in Turkistân the Tibetan army actually went in 729,[41] it is almost certain that its movement was coordinated with the Türgish army under the Khaghan Su-lu who was asked by the Sogdians for help against the Arabs and who appeared in the heart of Sogdiana, near Samarqand, in 729.[42] Whether this represents a break in the friendly relations between Arabs and Tibetans is unknown. The Türgish were throughout the last two decades of their power allied with the local rulers of Transoxiana against the Arabs and at the same time with the Tibetans, but in 732 both Arab and Türgish envoys paid homage at the Tibetan court.[43] The Tibetan alliance was strengthened further by the marriage of a princess to the Türgish khaghan in 734.[44] In the same year, the Tibetans defeated (Great) Balûr, or Bruźa, the country situated, according to one Chinese source, between Tibet and the kingdom of the Kâbul-shâh.[45] Two years later they attackled Little Balûr,which country had slipped out of Tibetan control again.[46] In the following year, Balûr or Bruźa was conquered by the Tibetans and its king paid homage at the Tibetan imperial court.[47] Three years later in 740, a Tibetan princess was given to to the king of Balûr, now a Tibetan vassal.[48] At this time the Türgish allies of the Tibetans began having first internal, and then external difficulties. They had been badly defeated by the Chinese commander of Beshbaliq in 736,[49] they were badly defeated by the Arabs in 737,[50] and in the following year the khaghan, Su-lu,was killed and the empire split into two hostile halves.[51] Although one faction at least was still allied with Tibet as late as 744,[52] this break-up had a very adverse effect on the progress of Tibetan expansion in the West. In 742 the king of Wakhan, a country which had submitted to Tibet almost a century earlier, had sent an envoy to China requesting permission to submit.[53] Three years later, the Tibetans in Balûr were attacked by a Chinese army[54] and in 747 the famous Korean general in Chinese service, Kao Hsien-chih, defeated the Tibetans there, capturing that country and the country called in Tibetan sources Gog or Kog.[55] The strategic importance of Balûr was well understood by the great Chinese historian Sssû-ma Kuang, who noted that up to then 'over twenty neighbouring countries had submitted to Tibet, and tribute did not arrive in China.'[56] Kao Hsien-chih's highly-touted victory was also a very short-lived one. Only two years later the Tibetans were on the borders of Tukhâristân, having obtained the submission of the intermediary state known in Chinese as Chieh-shih or Chieh-shuai.[57] This state almost certainly corresponds to the Kog or Gog of the Tibetan sources and can therefore probably be identified with either the Kokcha River region or the Khwâk Pass region, both in present-day northeastern Afghanistan. The very next year, Kao Hsien-chih defeated the country, capturing its king and some Tibetans;[58] but his victory again did not last. In the following year, 751, his army was destroyed by the Arabs and Qarluqs in the famous Battle of Talas[59] and he barely escaped with his life. This defeat might not have spelled the end of Chinese power in Central Asia if the equally famous rebellion of An Lu-shan had not broken out only four years later in 755. For the Tibetan Empire the pressure was off and in 757 envoys from the 'Upper Region', meaning the countries of the Black Ban'jag (perhaps Qala Panja [interpreted as Qara Panja], a fortified place in the western Wakhan Valley), of Gog (in other words, Khwâk or Kokcha), and of Shignân, came to court to do obeisance.[60]

5. The fifth period began in 756-757, when the Qarluqs moved into the old lands of the Western Turks around the Issyk Kul.[61] In 758-760, the Khirghiz were defeated by the Uighurs,[62] who became the rulers of a steppe

empire (based in what is now Mongolia) and who became overnight the allies of T'ang China and the enemies of Tibet. Soon afterwards, the Kirghiz and Qarluqs allied with the Tibetans to secure a trade-route which ran from Tibet through northern Central Asia to the Arab Caliphate. Caravans going back and forth went through Qarluq territory and were protected from the Uighurs by Kirghiz escorts who were paid in Arab silk brocades.[63] In 763, Tibet captured Ho-hsi and Lung-yu, the two westernmost provinces of T'ang China (properly speaking, that is, not including foreign colonies), thus cutting off the whole Tarim region from direct Chinese control and also making it easy for the Tibetan armies to capture the Chinese capital in the winter of the same year.[64] From this time until 786 most Tibetan energy seems to have been spent in finishing the conquest of the Tarim region.

6. The next period began in 786, which year signalled a major change in Tibetan policies towards the West. Supposedly, according to an Arab source, Tibet had submitted to the Arabs during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdî who died in 785.[65] This may at least indicate that the two empires had been at peace. However in that year, or in 785 when Hârûn al-Rashîd took the throne, a serious war broke out between the two powers.[66] The Tibetan position in general was greatly strengthened by the alliance with the Qarluqs, Sha-t'o, and other Western Turks, so that in 790-791 Tibet was able to inflict decisive defeats on the Uighurs and Chinese at Beshbaliq.[67] However, according to Chinese reports, most of the Tibetan armies were in the West fighting the Arabs at the time.[68] In 809, Tibetan troops along with Qarluqs and others assisted the rebel Râfi' ibn Layth in Samarqand[69] in his rebellion against the 'Abbâsid government.[70] Hârûn al-Rashîd's son, al-Ma'mûn, inherited from his father in 809 both Khurâsân and a protracted war with the Turks and the Tibetan Empire, including the latter's vassal, the Kâbul-shâh.[71] In 812 or 813, the Kâbul-shâh, who is called in one Arabic source not '*Khaqân al-Tubbat*', i.e. the Emperor of Tibet, but '*Malik min mulûk al-Tubbat*', literally 'a king from among the kings of Tibet',[72] submitted to al-Ma'mûn[73] and the Caliph subsequently inflicted defeats on the Qarluqs and on the Tibetans.[74]

7. The final period to be considered is apparently one of unbroken peace, both between Tibet and the Arabs and (after the treaty of 821) between Tibet and the Chinese. It is not possible to say anything more because there is simply nothing at all to be found in the sources relating to Tibetans in the West. However, it appears that Tibetan power in the northern Tarim and Dzungaria (at least) lasted until 866 when the last Tibetan forts there were captured by the Uighurs.[75] Moreover, despite al-Ma'mûn's claim to have defeated the Tibetans, the Arab and Persian geographies make it clear that Tibetan control of the southern Pamirs and even the southeastern parts of Badakhshân and Farghâna lasted well into the tenth century.[76]

In conclusion something should be said of the effects of all this warfare.

First of all, there was a very lively trade between Tibet and the Arab Caliphate.[77] Not only war material such as chain mail armor but also silk brocades and other products were imported into Tibet, while Tibetan musk, the most highly prized perfume of the Middle Ages, as well as gold and other things went West.[78]

It is only natural that along with the commerce went intellectual trade. For example, according to Tibetan histories of medicine, the first two known court physicians translated, taught, and practised Greek medicine. They are said to have come originally from the Eastern Roman Empire or the Arab Caliphate and the second physician -- after establishing a strong tradition in Tibet -- eventually left to go back 'to his own country'.[79]

In peace as in war, then, early Tibet apparently had much more to do with the West than has generally been recognised.

## Notes

1. See for example the latest, Helmut H.R. Hoffmann, *Tibet: A Handbook* (Bloomington, 1976); cf. also Tsepon W.D.Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, 1967), p.48.
2. *OTC*, paragraphs 7 and 8.
3. See Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969).
4. The most interesting extant Old Tibetan geographical work has been edited and translated by Jacques Bacot: *Reconnaissance en Haute Asie Septentrionale...* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1956; Société Asiatique, 1957). Cf. Louis Ligeti, 'A propos du « Rapport sur les rois demeurant dans le Nord » ' (*Etudes tibétaines*, Paris, 1971, pp.166-189).
5. *TCTC*, Vols. 7-9.
6. Satô, 319-321.
7. *TCTC*, 205: 6487-6488; 210:6661; 211:6728; 212:6752; 215:6884 ff.
8. *TCTC*, 254: 8048-8049. Turfan was lost to the Uighurs in 866 (*TCTC*, 250: 8113).
9. See note 6.
10. I have frequently cited this work which often discusses source problems in detail.
11. Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty* (New York, 1978), p.19.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.16-19.
13. The sections devoted to the various nations of the 'western regions' in the two *T'ang shu*, the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* and other works are guilty of this. Wright has mentioned the practice of *hui* ('concealment') by the best historians (*op.cit.*, p.16) but it would appear that the historians went much farther in their attempts to avoid making China look bad in comparison with foreign countries.
14. See the Abbreviations.
15. 'Tibet', in Vol.4, pp.741-743.
16. Sir Hamilton A.R.Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (New York, 1923; repr. N.Y., 1970), pp.24 ff.
17. Luciano Petech, 'Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana' (Acc.Naz.d.Lincei, Ser.8, *Rendiconti*, Vol.II, 1947, pp.55-70).
18. See the Bibliography. For the dating, see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Bd. 1 (Leiden, 1967), p.344.
19. Kashghar in 663 (*TCTC*, 201: 6333); Khotan in 665 (*TCTC*, 201: 6344); Kucha in 676 (Chavannes, 74; cf. *TCTC*, 202: 6390).
20. *HTS*, 221b: 6255.
21. *TCTC*, 201: 6332-6333.
22. *OTA*, years 686, 687, 688.
23. See the excellent discussion by J.Harmatta in 'Late Bactrian Inscriptions' (*Acta Antiqua*, XVII, 1969, 297-432) pp. 409-412. The usual form of the name in Arabic and Persian texts appears to be Kusân, rather than Kushân. Guzan might also correspond to Kucha, as suggested by Uray (p.281). Kucha may appear in later Tibetan texts as Khusen (corresponding apparently to the Old Turkic Küsẹn cited by Uray, *loc.cit.*). Kucha appears in Old Tibetan in one instance as Kvatsi (the latter being a transcription of the Chinese, as shown by Uray, *ibid.*) On Guzan, cf. *TLTD*, I:24 n.4, 263, and R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (London, 1967), p.94.
24. *TCTC*, 205: 6487-6488.

25. *TCTC,* 205: 6493; Satô, 354.
26. *OTA,* year 694.
27. *HTS,* 216a: 6080; *TCTC,* 205: 6508.
28. Chavannes, II, 26.
29. See the citations in Uray, note 13.
30. *OTA,* years 699 and 700.
31. Chavannes, 188. His uncle A-shih-na t'e-chin Pu-lo, younger brother of the Tabghu of Tukhâristân, is also said to have been installed by the Tibetans (*TCTC*, 209: 6627, gloss; Satô, 354-355). Although the names Po-lu and Pu-lo are indeed different, one may entertain doubts about the identification of T'ui-tzû with Toñ Yabghu Khaghan.
32. Ṭabarî, II: 1103.
33. Chavannes, 188-190: *TCTC*, 209: 6625-6628.
34. *OTA,* year 708.
35. *TCTC,* 211: 6713-6714.
36. Chavannes, 284-285; *TCTC,* 211: 6728.
37. Yaʿqûbî, *Pays,* p.124.
38. Chavannes, 201.
39. *TCTC,* 212: 6752.
40. *TCTC,* 212: 6762; Chavannes 160 ff., 205, 206.
41. *OTA,* year 729.
42. M.Shaban, *The ʿAbbâsid Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970), p.112.
43. *OTA,* year 732.
44. *OTA,* year 734; *CTS,* 194b: 6827.
45. *CTS,* 198: 5310.
46. Satô, 468 ff.
47. *OTA,* year 737; *TCTC,* 214: 6827.
48. *OTA,* year 740.
49. *TCTC,* 214: 6813.
50. Shaban, *op.cit.,* pp. 124 ff.
51. *TCTC,* 214: 6833.
52. *OTA,* year 744.
53. *TCTC,* 215: 6856.
54. *OTA,* II, 745; cf. Uray, 283.
55. *OTA,* II, year 747; *TCTC,* 215: 6884-6886.
56. *TCTC,* 215: 6884.
57. *TCTC,* 6897; *HTS,* 221b: 6252.
58. *TCTC,* 216: 6898.
59. *TCTC,* 216: 6907-6908; cf. Chavannes, 142-143.
60. *OTA,* II, year 757. (This should apparently be a bird year. The events of the winter of 763, cannot have been recorded originally in 762!)
61. *HTS,* 217b: 6143. They went to war against both the Türgish and the Arabs: see Bacot (*op.cit.,* in note 4) lines 84-86; Bacot's translation is incorrect here.
62. *HTS,* 217b: 6149.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *TCTC,* 223: 7146-7147.
65. Barthold, *loc.cit.,* in note 15.
66. *CTS,* 198: 5316; *THY,* III: 1790; *CTS,* 129: 3202.
67. *TCTC,* 233: 7520-7522.
68. *HTS,* 221b: 6263.
69. *HTS,* 222a: 6277,the year 801 mentions an army of Arab and Sogdian soldiers with Tibetan generals. This is somewhat enigmatic.
70. Yaʿqûbî, *Târîkh,* II, pp.435-436- Râfiʿ also sought the help of the Qarluq Yabghu who had been coverted to Islam.

71. Ṭabarî, III: 815.
72. Azraqî (quoting Sa'îd ibn Yahyâ al-Balkhî), 225.
73. Azraqî, 225, 227; cf. Ya'qûbî, *Târîkh*, II, pp.448, 452.
74. Azraqî, 229-231.
75. *TCTC*, 250: 8113.
76. See for example Vladimir Minorsky, ed. & trans., *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam* (2nd ed., London, 1970).
77. See for example 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jâḥiẓ, *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân*, Vol.7. (Egypt, n.p., 1965), p.230.
78. C.I. Beckwith, 'Tibet and the Early Medieval *Florissance* in Eurasia: A Preliminary Note on the Economic History of the Tibetan Empire' (*Central Asiatic Journal*, XXI, 1977, 89-104), pp.100-101.
79. See my forthcoming article on the introduction of the Greek medical tradition into Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol.99, no.2, 1979).

## Abbreviations

Azraqî: Abû al-Walîd al-Azraqî, *Akhbâr Makka wa mâ ga a fîhâ min al-âthâr*, edited by Rushdî al-Sâlih Malḥas (Mecca, 1965).

Chavannes: Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (I: Saint-Pétersbourg, 1903; II: n.p., n.d., ed. Paris, 1942; repr. Taipei, 1969).

*CTS*: Liu, Hsü, et al., *hiu T'ang shu*, 16 Vols. (Peking, 1975).

*HTS*: Sung, Ch'i & Ou-yang, Hsiu, et al., *Hsin T'ang shu*, 20 Vols. (Peking, 1975).

*OTA*: *Old Tibetan Annals* MSS;II, as given in Jacques Bacot, et al., *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, 1940-1946).

*OCT*: *Old Tibetan Chronicle* MS, paragraphs numbered as in Bacot, *op.cit.*

Satô: Satô, Hisashi, *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyû*, 2 Vols. (Kyoto, 1958-1969).

Ṭabarî: Abû Ga'far Muḥammad ibn Garîr ibn Yazîd al-Ṭabarî, *Tarikh al-rusul wa al-mulûk*, 15 Vols., edited by M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879-1901; repr. 1964-1965).

*TCTC*: Ssû-ma, Kuang, *Tzû-chih t'ung-chien (& Tzû-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i* in glosses) 10 Vols. (Peking, 1956).

*THY*: Wang, P'u, *T'ang hui yao*, 3 Vols. (Taipei, 1960).

*TLTD*: F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 4 Vols. (London, 1935-1963).

Uray: Géza Uray, 'The Old Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: A Survey' (in J. Harmatta, ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest, 1979, pp.275-304).

Ya'qûbî, *Pays*: Aḥmad ibn Abî Ya'qûb al-Ya'qûbî, *Les Pays*, translated by Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1937).

Ya'qûbî, *Târîkh*: Aḥmad ibn Abî Ya'qûbî, *Târîkh al-Ya'qûbi*, 2 Vols. (Beirut, 1960).

# MOUNT TARGO AND LAKE DANGRA: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIGIOUS GEOGRAPHY OF TIBET

**Per-Arne Berglie**

'On April 26 we march north-westwards in a sharp wind over the pass Tarbung-la. The sacred mountain exhibits all the beauty of its sixteen peaks, and north, 33° west, is seen the gap where we expect to find the Dangra -yum-tso. The view is of immense extent. The valley widens out and passes into that of the Targo-tsangpo. Four antelopes spring lightly over the slopes; black tents are not to be seen.'[1] With these words the Swedish geographer and explorer, Sven Hedin, describes his meeting with Mount Targo and Lake Dangra in the spring of 1907. Later he writes: 'We, too, set out, and I left the Dangra-yum-tso to its fate, the dark-blue waters to the blustering storm and the song of the rising waves, and the eternal snowfields to the whisper of the winds. May the changing colours of the seasons, the beauty of atmospheric effects of light and shade, gold, purple, and grey, pass over Padma Sambhava's lake amidst rain and sunshine, as already for untold thousands of years, and the steps of believing, yearning pilgrims draw a chain around its shores.'[2]

Little seems, however, to be known about these places of pilgrimage about which Sven Hedin wrote those moving words. Besides Hedin's narrative we have a few reports from other travellers in this part of Tibet.[3] They are more or less detailed, but few of them contain material relevant in this context. The aim of the present paper is not to discuss the roles of Mount Targo and Lake Dangra in Tibetan religion from a wider perspective, but simply to draw attention to the great importance of these sacred places in the rituals and beliefs of some spirit-mediums of the *dpa' bo* type.[4] Before turning to what the *dpa' po* told me about Mount Targo and Lake Dangra, I will attempt to make a brief summary of what is known about this mountain and lake from other sources and of interest to us in this connection.

Trotter's account of Nain Singh's journey in the eighteen-seventies mentions a local tradition according to which Targo as the father and Dangra as the mother are the progenitors of the whole world. Unfortunately I have not been able to find further details of this myth. Furthermore, Nain Singh reported the presence of *bon po* in the Targo-Dangra area.[5]

According to Paul Sherap, Mount Targo had one or two small *bon* lamaseries at its foot. There was also a larger lamasery on the south side of the mountain.[6] The reports of Sherap, Hedin and Roerich do not however quote any popular beliefs concerning these holy places. Finally, we know from the texts, both *chos* and *bon*, that Targo and Dangra were places where *gter ma* texts were hidden and later found.[7]

Regrettably little is thus known about these two places which play such prominent parts, at many levels, in the rituals of the *dpa'bo*. This prominence was especially emphasized during one of the séances, when the possessing deity expressed his fears as to the possibility of the *dpa'bo* continuing their activities in exile, as it was now impossible for them to visit Mount Targo in order to be tested or initiated. How is one now to tell a good *dpa'bo* from a bad, as the god put it. Here a visit to Targo is seen as an absolute necessity not only for the *dpa'bo* themselves, but also for their clients, as the trustworthiness of a *dpa'bo* who has not been to Targo, is subject to doubt. The *dpa'bo* who had most to tell about Targo and Dangra had himself twice visited the area at the beginning of his career as a spirit-medium in the mid-1940's. According to him there were two caves in Mount Targo: one smaller and the other larger. In the larger cave

Padmasambhava had been meditating. In addition to the entrance opening, the cave had a small loophole through which the light came in. Inside the cave there were three stones: one as high as a man for the *dpa'bo* to place his mirror or mirrors on (mirrors are necessary parts of a *dpa'bo's* equipment: it is in them the gods stay during the séance); another smaller stone for the *dpa'bo* to burn incense on; and finally a third stone for the *dpa'bo* to sit on. Outside the cave above the entrance, there were inscriptions which in great detail told about the activities and the various functions of the *dpa' bo*. These inscriptions which my informant called *gter yig* had, according to him, been carved by the gods. It was to this cave that a *dpa'bo* had to go in order to find out if he was a good, a mediocre, or a bad one. If a *dpa' bo* of bad quality ventured to play there, he was bound to die during the possession, blood coming out through his nose. His body could afterwards be found lying outside the cave, his equipment attached to a string inside the cave. This string, so I was told, had been fastened there by Padmasambhava himself. A mediocre *dpa'bo* should do better. He could carry the séance through without misadventures, but without thereby gaining any merits. A *dpa'bo* of good quality, a *dpa' rab*, could not only make an excellent performance in the cave but was also sure to find some treasure, gter, when leaving it. It could be a *gshang,* the flat bell used by the *dpa'bo*, a drum or, perhaps, a *mtshal*-stone. In this connection it is of interest to mention that during one séance the possessing god told the audience that it was a mistake to say Targo, one ought really to say *gter sgo,* 'door to the treasures'.

About the smaller cave in Targo my informant had not much to tell. The cave, he said, was for the *dpa'bo* with *the'u rang*, or *dre*.. He did not know what went on there. Perhaps one should see this smaller cave as a counterpart to the other, serving as an antithesis emphasising what went on in the larger cave. I doubt whether spirit-mediums possessed by *the'u rang*, or *dre* could be found, even if accusations to that effect sometimes could be heard behind the backs of certain *dpa'bo*. Finally,it should be mentioned that this informant denied any bon po presence in the Targo area.

A different version was obtained from another spirit-medium who had not himself visited Targo, but passed on what he had heard from another *dpa'bo*. To ordinary people, he said, the caves in Mount Targo appeared as ordinary caves. Not so to a *dpa'bo*. When he plays in the large cave three ladders will appear to him. He must then try to climb them. A good *dpa'bo* will be able to fly up the ladder riding on a *thang dkar* bird, the mount of the lha. The *dpa'bo* of mediocre quality will manage to climb the ladders in the ordinary way, while the bad *dpa'bo* will fail completely. When he tries to climb, his *rigs lnga,* head-dress, and his drum will become heavy as rocks, holding him down against the ladder. In that position he will soon die. The climbing is watched over by three deities standing close to the ladders during the séance.

The climbing of the ladders and the flight on the *thang dkar*, birds of this version are of interest from from a more general point of view. The ritual climbing of a tree or a post plays an important part in the shamanic initiations of many peoples in Central and North Asia.[8] The procedure at Targo must be viewed, I think, as a kind of initiation.

Through these narratives about the Targo ritual, the beliefs in sacred caves, often connected with Padmasambhava, are also brought to one's attention. A comparative study of them still remains to be made and must await regional investigations not only of the religious geography of Tibet, but also of that of Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal. From the northeastern parts of Nepal we already have information about such a cave where, interestingly

enough, there seems to be a connection with local spirit-medium activities.[9]

When we now turn to the spirit-mediums' conceptions of Mount Targo and Lake Dangra and their gods, let us first note a basic ambiguity. On one hand Targo and Dangra were conceived of as supernatural beings in themselves, as a sacred mountain and a sacred lake married to each other. Out of their union one daughter has come, Lake Dang chung, the smaller lake north to Lake Dangra. On the other hand both the mountain and the lakes are thought to be inhabited by several gods and goddesses important to the functions of the *dpa'bo*. Some of them, moreover, were the owners of animals which play a very important part at the *dpa'bo's* curing séances. The curing of illness is the main activity of these spirit-mediums.

It would take too long to discuss the names of all the deities connected with Targo and Dangra mentioned during the séances. I shall therefore only mention the most interesting and important ones. The foremost god is Targo dGe rgan mchor po or, as he is also called, Targo dGe rgan chos rgyal. In spite of his prominence he is somewhat anonymous. He led his gods to the altar during the invocations but then, at least at the séances at which I was present, took no further part in the happenings that followed. Definitely more active was another member of the Targo group, namely Targo Ngo dmar mtshal mig. He is according to one informant, the *bka' blon*, the minister, of dGe rgan mchor po. This god has as his name says, a red face with bulging eyes of mtshal. *mTshal* is a reddish, glittering mineral, probably cinnabar, to be found, according to one of the *dpa'bo's*, only in two places in Tibet: at Mount Targo and in a place near Gangs rin po che (Kailāśa). It will be remembered mtshal was one of the treasures a good *dpa'bo* could hope to find when leaving the cave in Mount Targo. *mTshal* is thought to be a very potent medicine, to be used for a wide range of maladies and complaints. Disregarding its real occurrence in Tibet, the connection between Targo and this mineral medicine is worthy of notice.

Targo Ngo dmar mtshal mig often took possession of the *dpa'bo*. A characteristic of this god is that he always willingly proves his insensibility to fire and heat and that he also does not like women. Thus it could happen that the spirit-medium possessed by Ngo dmar mtshal mig jumps to the fireplace, snatches a few pieces of glowing charcoal and throws them at the women present, screaming wildly. This always occurred in the initial phase of the possession and when all the women had run out of the house, the *dpa'bo* would return to his seat and ask what he was supposed to do this time. Later when the séance had been going on for a while, the women could return and continue to listen without danger. During the so-called *rigs lnga* game at the end of every séance, one of the *dpa'bo's* when possessed by Ngo dmar mtshal mig sometimes set fire to some pieces of cloth, which he then put in his mouth. Lastly it could be added that this god always was very arrogant and superior in his behaviour towards help-seeking people.

Leaving the gods of Targo, let us turn to the goddesses of Dangra. The leading deity in this group is Dangra las btsan dbang mo, or Dangra las kyi dbang mo. In the invocations the Dangra goddesses were always mentioned directly after the Targo group and before the gods of the Nam ra group and the Thang lha group. This goddess took no great part in the séances, and I did never witness her taking possession of a *dpa'bo*. About her daughter, Dang chung g.yu yi zur phud, the informants could be more specific. Dang chung is the smaller lake to the north of Dangra, but also a goddess living in the lake. The lake is also inhabited by several other beings whom Dang chung could gather through blowing on her turquoise horn. Of these other deities, only the group of mKha' 'gro shes rab brgyad cu, the

eighty *prajñaḍākinis*, will be mentioned here.

To the groups of Targo and Dangra divinities belong not only to gods and goddesses but also animals; that is, supernatural beings in animal form. These animals are of great importance to the *dpa'bo*, as they are very effective curers of various diseases. The audience was always interested in that part of a séance where an animal took possession of the *dpa'bo*. Great attention was then paid to the performance of that specific part. An element of acting, of show, was perhaps present at all the séances, but was always very clear in these animal possessions. The suggestive power of spirit-possession was particularly evident at curing séances.

There are three animals belonging to the Targo group: Targo Zangs spyang dmar po, 'the red copper-wolf'; Targo Dred nag sog dkar, 'the black bear with white shoulders' and 'Jibs rogs 'Ug gu mchu ring, 'the sucking-helper, the owl with a long beak.' Targo Zangs spyang dmar po wears a collar of red copper. In his mouth are two long fangs, also of copper. He is effective in healing wounds but also in curing illnesses caused by a group of evil beings called *mi shi btsan skyes*, 'a man dead, a btsan born.'[10] Targo Dred nag sog dkar has black fur and blue skin. His paws have long claws and he usually walks in a waddle on two legs, somewhat hunched up and bending forwards. Zangs spyang dmar po sucks the illness out of the patient's body and Dred nag sog dkar rips it out with a powerful blow of his paw while turning away from the patient, without looking at him. The latter is a specialist in curing illnesses caused by evil *klu* and *sa bdag*. He is said to reside outside the cave in Mount Targo.

The third animal, 'Ug gu mchu ring, also lives near the cave, where he sharpens his iron beak against the ground. He is proficient in curing people who suffer from dizziness or faint easily. Thus every animal has an easily recognized pattern of behaviour from which everyone present could judge the performance of the *dpa'bo*. After curing sessions it was common that the body of the patient was examined and marks of teeth, claws or a beak were searched for. Such a mark would be a final proof of the authenticity of the possession but would also show that the illness was removed without doubt.

Finally it must be mentioned that Targo does not only contain good and helpful gods. A group of evil beings is also known: Targo Shan pa spun bdun, 'the butchers, the seven brothers'. This group of demons, as is the case with all the evil creatures of the *dpa'bo* is only vaguely conceived. It did not occupy a special place at the séances but was just one of the many malignant powers to be chased away from the neighbourhood at the beginning of every séance.

As we have seen, the deities connected with Mount Targo and Lake Dangra are of many kinds and their importance is emphasized at many levels: they are mentioned at the beginning of the invocations, before many better known groups, e.g. the Thang lha deities; they play a decisive role at the test, or initiation, of a new *dpa'bo* and finally, to them also belong animals carrying out important tasks at the séances. When this importance is compared to the scarcity of information coming from other sources on these holy places, many questions pose themselves. As the *dpa'bo* I met did not come from the Targo-Dangra area, they had no primary connection with it. Does this mean that the religious life in traditional Tibet was to a high degree segmented and compartmentalized and the knowledge and cult of these gods restricted to spirit-mediums? This of course is difficult to answer in the present state of our knowledge of Tibetan folk religion.

Further problems relate to the typology of these deities and to their relations with others of these spirit-mediums' gods. From Northern Asia we know that the shamans have divinities of different kinds, on one hand tutelary

spirits, on the other helping spirits, often in animal form. The former are usually more powerful beings connected with the call and initiation of the shaman, the latter are invoked to the sêance in order to help the shaman perform hi tasks. There is thus a varying degree of intimacy between the shaman and his spirits, and also a varying degree to which the spirits are at the disposal of the shaman. According to what we know of the Targo-Dangra deities, we should call them helping spirits in view of their functions at the sêances but they are also similar to tutelary deities in that some of them supervise the test or initiation in the cave at Mount Targo. In addition to their roles as initiators and helpers, it seems to be evident from the belief in the existence of the inscriptions outside the Targo cave which tell about and establish the *dpa'bo*-ship, that Mount Targo and its gods play a fundamental role in the life of the *dpa'bo*.

We know that the *dpa'bo* have a foundation myth in which Padmasambhava plays the leading part.[11] We also know of his connection, in one way or another, with the Targo-Dangra area. Could it be, as seems to be the case elsewhere in Tibetan folk religion, that the figure of Padmasambhava has been, so to speak, a point of intersection? Was it through him and his historic or legendary activities that Mount Targo and Lake Dangra came to assume their central positions among the *dpa'bo*?

## Notes

1. Hedin, 1909, p.25.
2. Hedin, 1909, p.31.
3. Trotter, 1877, pp.105 ff; Combe, 1926, p.104, p.115, pp.163 f; Roerich, 1931, pp.427 ff.
4. On *dpa'bo*, see Berglie, 1976, and Berglie, 1978.
5. Trotter, 1877, p.106.
6. Combe, 1926, p.164.
7. Troussaint, 1933, p.242; Karmay, 1972, p.168.
8. Eliade, 1964, pp.110 ff. From the legend of the Buddha we know the episode where he descends on a triple staircase from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. On this motif see for instance Lamotte, 1958, p.372.
9. Reinhard, 1978.
10. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1956, p.417.
11. Berglie, 1976, p.96.

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# ANALYSIS OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF PADMASAMBHAVA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN TRADITION: CLASSIFICATION OF SOURCES

A.M. Blondeau

The word 'biography' here is intended to refer only to works entirely devoted to the life of Padmasambhava, and does not include the more or less extensive biographical elements which are to be found in all the *chos-'byung*, the *bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, in liturgical collections, etc.

According to the rNying-ma-pa texts it is impossible to tell of all the heroic deeds of the Master, but Padmasambhava is nevertheless said to have revealed ten thousand nine hundred stories from his life which his five wives supposedly recorded in writing and hid for the benefit of future generations. The source of this fabulous number is without doubt the *Padma thang-yig Shel-brag-ma*[1] 'discovered' by O-rgyan gling-pa, whose terms are repeated verbatim by the different *bka'-thang* and subsequent biographies.

Leaving aside this mythical number, one may wonder with how many biographies the Tibetans were actually acquainted. The number has obviously increased with time but we have a good point of reference in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba who, in the mid-sixteenth century claims personally to have seen fifty different *thang-yig*.[2] At present we know of far fewer than fifty biographies of Padmasambhava. Nevertheless, the recent publications by Tibetans in India have revealed some previously unknown texts which enable us to situate the two biographies which until now were regarded in the West as the standard accounts of the life of Padmasambhava in the overall context of the hagiographic literature devoted to Padmasambhava, namely the *Shel-brag-ma* and the *gSer-phreng*.3

In the face of the profusion of contradictory biographies of Padmasambhava the Tibetans asked the same questions as we do, and they finally adopted a typology which, although apparently belated, nevertheless allows one to clarify the problem.

The most explicit is made by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas in the *dKar-chag* (Vol. *kha*) of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, when he talks about the reasons which led him to choose the *Zangs-gling-ma* and the *rNam-thar rGya-gar lugs* 'in the Indian tradition', by Tāranātha as biographies of Padmasambhava for inclusion in his compilation. He begins by justifying the presence of these biographies in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* on the basis of the fact that Padmasambhava is the master who set forth the teachings gathered in this collection. He then recalls the two existing opinions on the finitude or infinitude of the *rnam-thar* of the Master. He goes on:[4] 'Most of the [biographies which have] come down to us in the form of *gter-ma* are explained as being of the same type, that is to say only biographies of the *rdzus-skyes* [type]; the History of Phur-pa *(Phur-pa'i lo-rgyyus)* [which belongs to] oral transmission *(bka'-ma)*, plus some *gter-ma* such as that of Ba-mkhal smug-po,[5] are explained as being of the mngal-skyes [type]: there are thus two widely known traditions. For the first tradition there is an infinite number of texts of all kinds, developed or summarised, but I have included here the essential basis of all the *bka'-thang* which have come down [to us] in the form of *gter-ma*, which is called *Slob-dpon chen-po Padma 'byung-gnas-kyi skyes-rabs Chos-'byung nor-bu'i phreng-ba (History of the births of the great ācārya Padma 'byung-gnas, Origin of the Dharma which is a garland of jewels)* in forty-one chapters, which is known by the name *rNam-thar Zangs-gling-ma*, [and which was]

discovered at the Khams-gsum Zangs-khang-gling of bSam-yas by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer ... For the second [tradition] I have included only the *Slob-dpon Padma'i rnam-thar rGya-gar lugs Yid-ches gsum-ldan* (Biography of the ācārya Padma according to the Indian tradition, Supported by three bases for faith, written by the Venerable Omniscient Tāranātha, a reliable composition [based on] what is widespread knowledge in the common [tradition] of India.

According to this passage we have an intersecting classification: that of the *gter-ma* which, with the exception of Ba-mkhal smug-po, adopt the version of the *rdzus-skyes*, 'miraculous birth', and that of the *bka'-ma* which adopt the version of the *mngal-skyes*, 'birth in the womb'.

As Sog-bzlog-pa[6] says, the *rdzus-skyes* version is the more famous one: this is the version of the birth of Padmasambhava in the lotus and his adoption by Indrabodhi. The *mngal-skyes* version, on the other hand raises a number of problems by the very fact of Kong-sprul's choice of the *rNam-thar rGya-gar lugs* as a typical example because Tāranātha differs from the common version on the birth and the Indian part of the biography of Padmasambhava. The common version is summarised by Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal:[7] it tells of the birth of Padmasambhava as the grandson of a king of Oḍḍiyāṇa, gTsug-phud rigs-bzang, under the name of Rakshaṇta.[8] But, Byang-bdag adds, 'since [Padmasambhava] is absolutely incontrovertibly the great sovereign who achieved the abandonment of both life and death, this birth simply belongs to the miraculous birth (*rdzus-skyes*)'. Indeed, this narrative appears as one of the previous births of Padmasambhava in the *Shel-brag-ma*, the *gSer-phreng* and Padma gling-pa; it forms the ninth chapter of each of these *gter-ma*. Byang-bdag also remarks at the beginning of his work:[9] 'there are also some accounts of the Guru's birth in the womb but what I have written here is exclusively in the tradition of the *Sindhu rgya-mtsho-ma*'.[10]

About this time Sog-bzlog-pa makes the same classification of the biographies of Padmasambhava adding two hybrid categories: the narratives which do not decide between the *rdzus-skyes* and the *mngal-skyes* versions and those which maintain that both are true.[12] Like Byang-bdag, Sog-bzlog-pa reconciles the two versions but he criticises Byang-bdag for giving precedence to the *rdzus-skyes* version; and he argues that Padmasambhava adopted one or the other form of birth depending on the nature of the beings to be subjugated: for the *mi-ma-yin* who would never have submitted to someone born in the womb, he appeared spontaneously on the lotus; and like the buddhas who took on the appearance of beings born in the womb, he too was born in the womb for the sake of beings born themselves in the womb since they could never have been subjugated by one of miraculous birth.[13]

Again at the same time(the *rGya-gar lugs* dates from 1610), Tāranātha puts forward the same classification in explaining his choice of sources: 'Although many narratives of the coming [of Padmasambhava] to Tibet appear in the *rnam-thar* and the [biographies] known under the name of *Thang-yig*, I have rather left them out. Among the [texts] known under the name of *rNying-ma bka'-ma* in many religious cycles such as the *Man-ngag lta-phreng*,[14] *Phur-pa, rTa-mgrin*, etc., there are accounts which are broadly similar and apparently reliable but which nevertheless contain many contradictions. And in addition there are those which say that the Ācārya was born miraculously, and those which say that he was born in the womb, and those which do not resolve the issue, etc.'[15]

Thus it is apparent that this typology of the biographies of Padmasambhava was widely accepted at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The question remains open as to who originated it and when. (Of course the division into *rdzus-skyes* and *mngal-skyes* was not invented for this particular case; it corresponds to the standard data in the *Abhidharma* on the four types of birth.)

It probably was not applied to the biographies of Padmasambhava before the sixteenth century because neither the *bka'-thang* of the fourteenth century (*Shel-brag-ma* and *gSer-phreng*), nor that of Padma gling-pa (1450-1521) define themselves as *rdzus-skyes*; as we have seen, they even incorporated the *mngal-skyes* version. On the other hand, they were quite familiar with these notions concerning types of birth which were available for application to Padmasambhava. The *Shel-brag-ma* and Padma gling-pa have a résumé in chapter ten of an *Abhidharma* tradition which differs from the *Abhidharmakosha* (the passage does not appear in the *gSer-phreng*); in it they give the origin of the four types of birth on the basis of the four elements. The *gter-ston* were also familiar with the canonic texts describing Sukhāvatī where 'as far as birth is concerned the name of the four kinds of birth does not exist, except for the miraculous birth under a lotus: even if one looks for it one cannot find it.'[16] Finally in chapter two which expounds the miraculous birth in the lotus of five young boys who are five forms of Avalokiteshvara, a duplicate of the miraculous birth of Padmasambhava,[17] the young boys do good in innumerable worlds by means of miraculous births and births in the womb (*rdzus-skyes mngal-skyes*). A more convincing argument in favour of the belated invention of this classification is its absence from the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (which does however give the two versions but links one to the *thang-yig* and the other to the *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus*), and also from the *chos-'byung* by Padma dkar-po.[18]

The classification established by the Tibetans does not solve all the problems but it does at least allow one to introduce some order in the biographies known today by placing them in one or other category.

As far as the texts which adopt the *mngal-skyes* version are concerned we are confronted, according to Kong-sprul, with two types of work: the *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus* and the biographies proper of Padmasambhava, both of which derive from the oral transmission (*bka'-ma*).

The most extensive *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus* which I know of at present is that of Sog-bzlog-pa quoted above (note 13). It includes a brief biography of Padmasambhava at the beginning which does not differ fundamentally from the summary by Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal. But having summarised the life of Padmasambhava according to the *Zangs-gling-ma*, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba also recounts it according to the *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus*.[19] In this brief passage he quotes an episode which does not appear in Sog-bzlog-pa and which immediately calls to mind the manuscript of Tun-huang, *Pelliot tibétain 44*:[20] the submission, linked to the quest for the *Phur-pa*, of the four *bSe'i lha-mo*, an episode which is also included in the *lHa-'dre bka'-thang*.[21] Thus *Pelliot tibétain* 44, the oldest record (tenth century?) that we have of the legendary life of Padmasambhava, can also be fitted into this classification and may be regarded as the first of the *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus*.

For the biographies proper, in the absence of the *gter-ma* by Ba-mkhal smug-po, we shall have to refer to the *rNam-thar rGya-gar lugs* by Tāranātha. Tāranātha relies on Indian oral traditions inherited from his masters for the birth and Indian life of Padmasambhava, which explains why this part differs from the purely Tibetan tradition. Lack of space prevents me from discussing these differences here. Then, when he comes to Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet, he remarks:[22]

> There is no developed history of his coming to Tibet in the Indian oral tradition apart from the words: "having gone to Himavat, he tamed all the harmful *nāga* and *yaksha*; through his magic he brought the king to the faith, etc." (Discussion on the question of whether he was in 'Gro-lding or Tibet first. Passage quoted above on the different versions of the biography. Reference to the contradictory data about the length of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet.) Another view of this matter is that in the eyes of his disciples whose vision is pure, he is still alive now; and that, whatever length of time is adopted [for his stay], it is appropriate since he is [capable] of simultaneously and permanently manifesting an apparition of his body in all paradises. This is true, but the juxtaposition of the early and the late periods is nevertheless not correct because what was the general opinion of men at that time has to be regarded as more correct than anything else. This is why having [on the one hand] seen: the authentic *rBa-bzhed*, reputed to be made up of three manuscript versions of the Testament of the King; a supplement written by a bKa'-gdams-pa who continued the *rBa-bzhed* after the *snga-dar*, and the *Bla-bzhed*; and [on the other hand] having also seen some early historical manuscripts of the account based on an extraction of the meaning of the *rGyal-bzhed*, [I have concluded]that apart from some more or less extensive details, their narrative appears in essence to be the same. All the excellent and holy scholars also regarded these three [texts] as three reliable sources. As for the accounts of the *ācārya* Padma which they contain, they also appear to be broadly similar to the accounts of the *bKa'-ma-pa*.

This passage reveals a great deal about the attitude of the Tibetan 'rationalists' towards the explanations given by the devout to justify the contradictions in the biographies of Padmasambhava. Furthermore, it supports the opinion of all Tibetan historians as to the antiquity and the authenticity of the *sBa-bzhed*, of which we at present only know the *zhabs-btags-ma* version, expanded by a bKa'-gdams-pa.[23] Finally, on the question we are dealing with, it shows that the biographical data given in the *sBa-bzhed* is of the same kind as the *bKa'-ma*, and therefore belongs to the *mngal-skyes* type. Consequently there is nothing strange about the fact that it differs from the *bka'-thang*, which one would not try to compare merely with the *sBa-bzhed*, but rather with the whole tradition of the *bka'-ma*.

If we turn our attention now to the biographies which adopt the *rdzus-skyes* version, these are, as Kong-sprul says, the *gter-ma*. One may add to these those biographies which rely on the *gter-ma* for their composition. I shall not discuss the numerous small biographical texts here,*rnam-thar bsdus-pa, gsol-'debs*, etc., but only the developed biographies known to us, and I shall try to classify them chronologically,without forgetting that we lack certain milestones such as the *rNam-thar mdzad-pa bcu-gcig-ma* by Gu-ru chos-dbang (1212-1270 or 1273) and many others;[24] and without forgetting either that their present form is not necessarily the same as that of their 'discovery'.[25] I shall only mention the texts that I have read, and I shall do so briefly as they are well known.

The earliest of these *gter-ma* is the *Zangs-gling-ma* by Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192 or 1136-1204), who also discovered a part of the *Maṇi bka'-'bum* which is important in the elaboration of the legendary material surrounding Srong-btsan sgam-po/Avalokiteshvara and Khri-srong lde-btsan/ Padmasambhava.[26]

In the fourteenth century O-rgyan gling-pa (1329-1367) discovered the *bKa'-thang sde-lnga* which is not strictly speaking a biography of Padmasambhava, and the *Shel-brag-ma* which, while it follows the outline of the *Zangs-gling-ma*, has many new developments compared to it. The *gSer-phreng* discovered by Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa (1340-1396) often seems to be an interpretative gloss on the *Shel-brag-ma*, from which it nevertheless differs on a number of points. The links between these two texts remain to be elucidated. Still in the fourteenth century bZang-po grags-pa[27] discovered the *gSol-'debs le'u bdun-ma* (arranged in its definitive form by rGod-kyi ldem-'phru-can, the initiator of the Byang-gter which sticks closely to the *Shel-brag-ma*.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in 1513 at bSam-yas according to the colophon, Padma gling-pa discovered his *bka'-thang* which also sticks closely to the *Shel-brag-ma*.

In the seventeenth century sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje, alias bSam-gtan gling-pa (born in 1655),[28] discovered both a biography of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal[29] and the *Gro-lod bka'-thang*,[30] which should perhaps be classed in the *gsang-ba'i rnam-thar* mentioned by Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal in the colophon to his biography of Padmasambhava. The beginning of the *Gro-lod bka'-thang* is a duplicate of the birth of Padmasambhava in the lotus at Oḍḍiyāṇa, but transposed to rDo-rje gro-lod in the Padma-'od paradise.

One therefore has a sense of there being a single tradition coming from Nyang-ral, and expanded until the virtually definitive version by O-rgyan gling-pa whose *Shel-brag-ma* remains the most famous biography amongst Tibetans.

Among the other authors who rely on these *gter-ma* for their biographies of Padmasambhava, there is Sog-bzlog-pa and Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal. Finally one should mention the *Gu-ru'i rtogs-brjod* written at dPal-yul in 1861(?) by a disciple of Kun-gzigs 'Jam-dpal dgyes-pa ('Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po?), bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, and published by a member of the bKras-mthong-ba family at the time of the thirteenth Dalai Lama. The text rigorously follows the *Shel-brag-ma*; it too has 108 chapters but it is written in *snyan-ngag*.

In conclusion, although the filiation between the biographies of Padmasambhava seems clearer as a result of the Tibetan classification, there remains a number of unanswered questions: the date and identity of the inventor of the classification, and the more intricate question about the presence of the *mngal-skyes* version within the *rdzus-skyes* versions of the *bka'-thang*. One possible hypothesis is that they neutralised a version which they found aberrant by incorporating it simply as a previous birth. Finally and above all, there remains the problem of deciding whether one version is likely to be more authentic than the other. One might be inclined to agree with the view of the Tibetan 'rationalists' and regard the *mngal-skyes* version as more plausible, as it seems less mythical and belongs to the *bka'-ma* transmission which has an undisputed reputation. At any rate, it merely offers another point of view on the *legendary life* of Padmasambhava. Without parallel early Indian or Tibetan documents it is impossible to derive from them direct historical information on the life of this Master.

Addendum: At the time of this communication, I was not aware of the *Dri-ba'i lan nges-don gsal-byed* by *rTse-le rGod-tshang-pa sna-tshogs rang-grol (gSung-'bum,* New Delhi, 1974, Vol. III, pp.271-343). The first question of that otherwise very interesting text concerns the problem of the *rdzus-skyes* and *mngal-skyes* versions. But the author's argumentation for the purpose of concilating them is on the whole the same as Sog-bzlog-pa's, and therefore does not bring in anything new on this point.

## Notes

1. sDe-dge edition, f.1. Hereafter referred to as *Shel-brag-ma*, which is the name the Tibetans know it by; it is called after the place where it was discovered.
2. *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, written between 1545 and 1565. Ed. Lokesh Chandra, Part I, *tha*, p.229. (On the *thang-yig* as a literary genre, cf. A.M. Blondeau, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Ve section - Sciences religieuses,* Vol. LXXXIV, 1975-1976, p.113.) This passage also judges the authenticity of the *thang-yig* and provides information on their state in the sixteenth century: 'Generally speaking, there is the opinion as to the *Thang-yig* in 101 chapters, in verse and prose. But as it contains an enormous number of apocryphal additions, and as I myself have seen fifty different *[thang-yig]*, it cannot be trusted. However, as these texts cause an increase in faith amongst people who believe without critical examination, I shall not disparage them, for the aim of the teaching of the Dharma is to establish in the faith those beings who are to be converted. Since the *gsan-yig* of many saints and scholars in the past speak of the "three *rnam-thar* of the *Ācārya*, *[namely]* developed, average and short", and since the developed biography seems to be the *gter-ma* by Nyang-ral in 48 chapters, I think his narrative is correct. Even though it also seems from time to time to include some small apocryphal additions, I shall take it as the basis of my own narrative.'
The *thang-yig* (one or more) in 101 chapters in question can only be either the *Shel-brag-ma* (in verse), which has 108 chapters in the traditional editions, or else the *gSer-phreng* (in prose), which at present has 117 chapters. Furthermore, the biography which, with some reservations, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba regards as the most reliable is the *Zangs-gling-ma* by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer thought to be the oldest known *thang-yig* (cf. A.M.Blondeau, *Annuaire* ..., vol. LXXXV, 1976-1977, pp.89-91). But he quotes it in another version from Kong-sprul's edition (in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*), which only has 41 chapters. (The recent edition in India is identical to that of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*. On the existence of two *thang-yig*, one large and one small, attributed to Nyang-ral, see below, note 24.) We therefore have further

evidence here of the revisions undergone by the *gter-ma* since their 'discovery', which makes any hypothesis based on their chronology so difficult.

3. *U-rgyan gu-ru Padma 'byung-gnas-kyi rnam-thar rgyas-pa gSer-gyi phreng-ba thar-lam gsal-byed*, discovered by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa at Pu-ri Phug-mo-che, edited by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, Kalimpong, 1970.
4. *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-por ji-ltar bzhugs-pa'i dkar-chag dang sMin-grol rgyab-rten dang bcas-pa'i brgyud-yig dNgos-grub sgo-brgya 'byed-pa'i lde'u -mig zhes-bya-ba,* mTshur-phu edition, f.6b-7b.
5. In his *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar (Rin-chen gter-mdzod,ka*, 102b; ed. Tseten Dorji, 1973, f.127b) Kong-sprul gives some information on this *gter-ston* who he claims to be contemporary with Nyang-ral. Of these *gter-ma*, only the *O-rgyan mngal-skyes-kyi rnam-thar* seems to have survived to Kong-sprul's day. I have no knowledge of this text. According to Khetsun Sangpo (*Biographical Dictionary of Tibet*, I, p.123) there existed a base text and a commentary on it (*rnam-thar rtsa-'grel*).
6. *Slob-dpon sangs-rgyas gnyis-pa Padma 'byung-gnas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa Yid-kyi mun-sel zhes-bya-ba*, f.18a.
7. *Gu-ru'i rnam-thar ngo-mtshar phun-tshogs rgya-mtsho*, Gangtok, 1976, p.714.
8. The name of the prince appears with some variants: Rakshantara in the *gSer-phreng*; Shāntarakshi in the *Shel-brag-ma*; Shantarakshita in Padma gling-pa (*U-rgyan slob-dpon Padma 'byung-gnas-kyi 'khrungs-rabs chen-mo zhes-bya-ba Sangs-rgyas bstan-pa'i byung-khungs mun-sel sgron-me-las rnam-thar don-gsal me-long,* 2 Vol., Gangtok 1977). This last form recalls the name given to the hero in the *Zangs-gling-ma* (Chap.2) after his expulsion to the burial ground of bSil-ba'i tshal: Srin-po Shāntarakshita.
9. *Gu-ru'i rnam-thar*, p.28.
10. Byang-bdag mentions this text in the colophon as his main source, but I have no knowledge of it. Judging by Byang-bdag's borrowing its opening is slightly different from that of the unknown *thang-yig*. It seems also to be the source of the brief summary of the biography of Padmasambhava which Padma dkar-po gives in his *chos-'byung* (1575-1580), f.100b.
11. In the colophon Byang-bdag claims to have composed this *rnam-thar* in *lcags-mo-phag* (1611) at the age of 53. This does not tally with his presumed dates: 1550-1602. At any rate it is contemporary with Sog-bzlog-pa, born in 1552, who composed his *Gu-ru'i rnam-thar* in *me-rta* (1606).
12. *Gu-ru'i rnam-thar*, f.19a.
13. *bDag-po Rin-po-che'i chos-'byung-gi bgag-pa, gSung-'bum* (2 Vol. New Delhi 1975), Vol. II. p.245; *Phur-pa'i lo-rgyus, ibid.*, Vol.I, pp.115-116.
14. Attributed to Padmasambhava.
15. *rNam-thar rGya-gar lugs*, p.409. (In *Gro-lod bka'-thang sogs*, edited by Tseten Dorji, 1973.)
16. *gSer-phreng*, Chap.1, f.3a. On the problems raised by the description of Sukhāvatī in the *bka'-thang*, cf. A.M.Blondeau, *Annuaire ...*, Vol.LXXXVI, 1977-1978, pp.86-87.
17. *gShel-brag-ma, gSer-phreng,* Padma gling-pa: Chap.2. On the question of this duplicate cf. A.M. Blondeau, *Annuaire ...,* Vol. LXXXVII, 1978-1979 (not yet published).
18. See note 10.
19. *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston, tha,* pp.234-235.
20. Edited and translated by F.A. Bischoff and Charles Hartman, *Padmasambhava's invention of the phur-bu, Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou,* Paris 1971, pp.11-28.

21. See A.M. Blondeau, *Le lHa-'dre bka'-thang, Etudes tibétaines* ..., p.55 note 43.
22. *rNam-thar rGya-gar lugs*, pp.408-409.
23. R.A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bzhed*. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, Paris, 1961. The same text has been published by P.T. Takla, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1968.
24. In the colophon of his *Gu-ru'i rnam-thar*, Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal gives a list of interesting sources in this respect (p.715): apart from the *Sindhu rgya-mtsho-ma* (see note 10) and the *mDzad-pa bcu-gcig-ma* by Gu-ru chos-dbang, he claims to have used the two *thang-yig*, the large and the small, by mNga'-bdag Nyang; the *thang-yig*, by the *rig-'dzin chen-po* Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, rDo-rje gling-pa, Ratna gling-pa, U-rgyan gling-pa; the *rNam-thar sNubs sgrigs-ma che-ba*, by sNubs-ston; the *sNubs sgrigs-ma chung-ba* by sNubs-rgyal sras-pa; the *rNam-thar thor-bu-ba* by the *rig-'dzin chen-po* Padma gling-pa; the *Gu-ru'i gsang-ba'i rnam-thar* by *mkha'-'gro* Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal. Likewise, in the colophon, of the *bKa'-thang* by Padma gling-pa there is a reference to a biography *gNam-lcags brag-ma* which I have not identified.
The dates given here for the *gter-ston* are those provided by Kong-sprul in his *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar*, which are repeated by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che in the *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung*. I think they should be used as a working hypothesis unless they are attested elsewhere. In fact when other sources give chronological information about some of the *gter-ston* it does not always coincide with that given in the *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar*.
25. Cf. note 2.
26. Cf. A.M. Blondeau, *Annuaire*..., Vol. LXXXVI, 1977-1978, and Vol. LXXXVII, 1978-1979. The *Zangs-gling-ma* is in Vol. *ka* of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* ed. mTshur-phu; it is published in sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje, *The Life of Lady Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal*, Tashijong, Palampur, 1972.
27. Cf. *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar*, f.118b; Khetsun Sangpo, *Dictionary* ..., III, pp.519-522.
28. Cf. *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar*, f.157b; Khetsun Sangpo, *Dictionary* ..., III, pp.804-805.
29. See note 26.
30. See note 15.

# THE *PHA-SPUN* OF LADAKH

**Martin Brauen**

During my studies on the folk-religion of Ladakh, I repeatedly came across the notion of the so-called *pha-spun*. When I began to compare the available written information on these *pha-spun*, I noticed how inconsistent and even contradictory the accounts of the various authors were. To begin with I would like to refer to some* of these statements and will then try and show what my own research has revealed with respect to the *pha-spun*.

The *pha-spun* in the Western Literature.

The Hebers,[1] in their interesting book *Himalayan Tibet and Ladakh* mention the existence of 'brotherhoods, the members of which are called '*pa-spun*' (man-bretheren).' These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. Francke[2] calls the *pha-spun* father-brotherships. According to him the individuality of a Tibetan is fixed by three names:

- by his personal name
- by his house name
- by his clan name, the name of the *pha-spun*-ship.... The *pha-spun*-ship is an exogamic institution, i.e. a boy of a certain *pha-spun*-ship is not allowed to marry a girl of the same *pha-spun*-ship. ... Every *pha-spun*-ship has to look after the cremation of their dead, and monuments in commemoration of the dead, *mchod-rten* or mani walls, are generally erected by the whole *pha-spun*-ship of a certain village ... The historical interest of these clan names lies in the fact that they are often local names, viz., they indicate the locality from which a certain clan has immigrated into Western Tibet. Thus, from the names of the *pha-sspun*-ship of Khalatse it can be proved that the greater part of the population of this village (16 families out of 24) emigrated from Gilgit. Finally Francke is of the opinion that 'all members of a *pha-spun*-ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.'

In my opinion, Ribbach's[3] portrayal of the *pha-spun* is the most pertinent; he translates *pha-spun* as 'father-brothers', that is, brothers of the same father. To the Ladakhi this means a united brotherhood (Ribbach often speaks of a 'Sippe') within a village community - not consanguineous - worshipping the same god. On the occasion of all important events which take place within a family and 'Sippe', such as childbirth, marriage or death, the *pha-spun* get together to decide on common action and mutual assistance. Ribbach reports that the *pha-spun* are obliged to help each other in all situations and that their relationships and duties are governed by strict laws and rituals.

Geary[4] too in her little-known thesis discusses the notion of *pha-spun*. She defines the *pha-spun* as a 'grouping of village families into units recognizing a common ancestor' and says that they 'may be a survival of an original clan system, possibly based on regional sub-divisions, which has now almost disappeared.' Geary's view on the function of the *pha-spun* system are of particular interest. She is of the opinion that 'in remoter places, where the need for assistance is greater, the *pha-spun* organization is a kind of insurance against calamity, and does help to maintain the integrity and solidarity of Buddhist society.' When a member of a *pha-spun* group dies, the high cost of cremation is borne by a number of people who are not members of the deceased's family so that the latter will not run into debt.

* More detailed material about the *pha-spun* of Ladakh can be found in: Brauen, *Feste in Ladakh,* Graz, 1980.

Carrasco[5] after an analysis of what has been written in Western literature on the *pha-spun* came to the following conclusion: 'In Ladakh there are exogamous patrilineal clans, called *rus-pa*, 'bone', or more frequently *pha-spun*, 'brothers of the (same) father'. The clansmen worship a common god (*pha-lha*, 'father-god'). They gather together for all important family events such as births, marriages and funerals, and participate in strictly regulated rituals. They help one another in every way, and inheritance rights extend to the limit of the clan. A woman after marriage becomes a member of her husband's clan. The relation between clans and local groups is not clear, but it apparently is not a local group. There is enough information to see that the clan is an important group in Western Tibet but not enough to elucidate its role in economic and political life.'

Prince Peter[6] in his article on the *pha-spun* of Leh-Tehsil, expresses the view that it would be more accurate to call the *pha-spun* primarily a group of all the 'male descendants of one paternal ancestor and only secondarily, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *lha* (god), or who are associated for burial purposes.' Furthermore the *pha-spun* represent a group of men who 'are also associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.'

The accounts given here do not give a clear picture of the *pha-spun*. The various statements are unclear and, in some instances, contradictory. Some of the authors emphasize the common ancestor within a given *pha-spun* group and assume that all the members of a *pha-spun* group were once (or still are?) blood relations. Others speak of clans or 'Sippen' without clearly defining, however, what exactly they mean by these notions. Since even among social anthropologists the terms 'clan' and 'Sippe' are not unequivocal, I shall not use them but shall try instead to render a wider account of the characteristics of the *pha-spun* than has been given by the afore-mentioned authors. At the same time I shall try to refute some of the assertions made by others with which I do not agree.

*Pha-spun* membership and residence.

According to my recent studies made in Ladakh the *pha-spun* are people belonging to some more or less closely situated households who, through reciprocal privileges and duties which we shall discuss later, through the adoration of a mutual tutelary deity (*pha-lha*) and through a jointly owned furnace for the cremation of their dead (*spur-khang*), form a single group. Two to ten households or more can belong to such a *pha-spun* group; between four and six is the norm. Apart from a few exceptions every household belongs to a *pha-spun* group. Being part of a *pha-spun* group is not bequeathed to the male descendants only, as Prince Peter claims. All the children - boys and girls - succeed to their father's membership in a given *pha-spun* or, in *mag-pa* marriages, that of their mother. However if one of the newly-weds leaves his or her parental home, he/she loses the membership in the parents' *pha-spun* and joins the group of the family into which he or she marries. It therefore follows that blood relations can easily belong to different *pha-spun* groups. The fact that at the funeral it is the *pha-spun* who take care of all the things which would be unpleasant or even taboo to the blood relations or those who lived with the deceased proves that consanguinity (blood relationship) is not the decisive criterion with respect to *pha-spun* membership. If all the *pha-spun* were blood relations there would be no one to take care of the deceased. We shall come back to this when discussing the rules of exogamy applicable within the *pha-spun* groups.

The fact that blood relations, living together or in separate households, do not call each other *pha-spun* and do not consider themselves as such, but as *gnyen* (relatives), even if they do belong to the same *pha-spun* group, is an

indication that in ladakh *pha-spun* cannot be said to be the name for blood relations or a group of blood relations.

In Western literature, it is sometimes claimed that each *pha-spun* group has its own better or lesser known common ancestor or forefather.[7] In none of my conversations did I hear of any such common ancestor. Neither did I get a positive answer to my direct question concerning this.

But even if the individual *pha-spun* members did trace their origins back to such a forefather, it does not necessarily follow that these members are blood relations because the forefather does not have to be a consanguineous progenitor at all. He can be a mythical figure, a symbol to demonstrate the unity of a given *pha-spun* group.

Finally, it can be said that the criterion of blood relationship, or rather bone-(patrilineal) or flesh-(matrilineal) relationship, does not determine membership of a *pha-spun* group; residence is the decisive factor. A person belongs to the *pha-spun* group he or she is born into or into which he/she marries. Also the assumption that the *pha-spun* were once blood relations is hardly plausible since it is difficult to believe that consanguinity previously determined the *pha-spun* group to which a person belonged when today this is clearly not the case.

As Aziz[8] writes in her inspiring book *Tibetan Frontier Families*, systems of relationship have too often been said to be dependent on descent, thereby overlooking the importance of residence. It seems to me that most authors have made the same mistake in their accounts of the *pha-spun* groups.

*Pha-lha* and *lha-tho*.

I would like to continue by characterizing the *pha-spun* a bit more clearly: the focal point of a *pha-spun* group is always their *pha-lha* deity. He, his residence and, to a lesser extent, also his name serve the *pha-spun* group as symbol for their own unity because the *pha-lha* of one particular group and his residence are never identical with the *pha-lha* of another *pha-spun* group and his residence. The *pha-lha*'s support is always sought before going on a journey, before embarking on any other big undertaking and in the quest for good health and prosperity; also to bring luck, for instance, on the occasion of a forthcoming marriage. Not all the *pha-spun* gods belong to the same class of gods. This becomes obvious when comparing the names of the various *pha-lha* of Leh-Tehsil. Most of these gods belong to the so-called *pha-lha gser-lha*; then there are the *pha-lha* belonging to the rank of the *srung-ma* or the *rgyal-po*. Some of them are goddesses - *lha-mo* or *rgyal-mo*, whereas a few cannot be categorized at all; they are a sort of 'individualists'. Often *rDo-rje legs-pa* is the god of the blacksmiths who always form their own *pha-spun* group.

The residence of the *pha-spun* deity, but also that of the local gods residing on the hills, mountain passes and in the fields, is called a *lha-tho*. It is a heap of stones or a small house built of stone (*dar-bang*) with white-washed walls and decorated with red paint. In an opening at the top of the *lha-tho*, we find a bundle of juniper or willow twigs and, sometimes, sticks and wooden arrows. Often,people put horns of wild sheep and ibex around these bundles which are held together with a white sash (*sku-ske-rags*); in some *pha-spun* groups they put a vase (*bum-pa*) between the twigs.

The seat of the *pha-lha* is located either on the roof of the house or in the temple of a family which belongs to the *pha-spun* group in question. Therefore the deity presiding over a given *pha-spun* group has, as a rule, only *one* residence. Exceptionally, we find *pha-spun* groups with two or three *lha-tho* which, however, serve as the residence of only one *pha-lha* and not of several deities.

Exogamy.

The Ladakhi are not in agreement over the question of whether those belonging to the same *pha-spun* group can intermarry. I have met people who do not consider belonging to the same *pha-spun* group as an obstacle to marriage, others who do not recommend marriage between members of the same *pha-spun* group and still others who support the view that there is no question that intermarriage should be avoided.

There are indications that in olden times this exogamy rule was followed much more strictly than nowadays.[9] Even today it is partly followed - especially in the remote areas, but occasionally even in Leh and its surroundings.

The prohibition of marriage within one's own *pha-spun* group is founded on the assertion that the individual members of a *pha-spun* group are part of a big family and that marriage among the *pha-spun* would be incest.

Often the reason given for the existence of the exogamy rule is the burning of the dead: when a Ladakhi dies his closest relatives are not supposed to touch his body nor see him burn in the fire; this would be considered very harmful. Here the *pha-spun* come into the picture; they do not have any taboos towards the deceased as long as they are not his relatives. In other words contact with the dead body and its cremation are taboo for a relative,whereas for the *pha-spun* of the deceased it is a duty. Being closely related to a dead person - which can easily be the case when marriage within the same *pha-spun* group takes place - creates a big problem for the *pha-spun*, since the *pha-spun* concerned are faced both with a prohibition and a duty. Some Ladakhis claim that the exogamy rule exists so that the *pha-spun* might avoid such conflicts.

Joining a new *pha-spun* group.

On certain occasions - for instance when a family moves to a distant area or there is a big dispute within a *pha-spun* group - it is possible for a family to leave its *pha-spun* group to join another. Such changes seem to be more frequent in areas where families move around more easily, such as Leh and the surrounding district. Withdrawal from one's *pha-spun* group is rare in the more distant parts of the country where families seldom move.

If a certain household wishes to join another *pha-spun* group, all households belonging to that group must be consulted as to whether this new admission would be acceptable to them. If this is the case, the new member - that is, all those living in the same household - must invite all the other long-established *pha-spun* to a big feast which will seal the acceptance.

Besides changing to another *pha-spun* group, it is also possible to form a new group. In Leh, a respected influential family continued for some time to arrange for the acceptance of more and more families into its *pha-spun* group, even though some of the other members of the group were not happy about it. This led to quarrels and the large group's subsequent fragmentation into several smaller *pha-spun* groups.

Now and then, new *lha-tho* are built which can also result in the founding of new *pha-spun* groups. If after the death of a person misfortune strikes the family of the deceased, it can be seen as a sign that the soul of the departed has not found peace and therefore wanders about in the form of a spirit. In such a case it is possible that a monk who is called for consultation will come to the conclusion that the intruding spirit should be invited by way of certain rites to settle down in a newly erected *lha-tho* and thus become the god of a new *pha-spun* group. Many gods residing in *lha-thos* are, according to one Ladakhi informant, the spirits of deceased persons put to rest by way of such rites.

Duties of the *pha-spun*.

Let me add a few words on the responsibilities of the *pha-spun* towards each other. 'To be a *pha-spun* means to help each other when death occurs', one Ladakhi told me when I asked him about the duties of the *pha-spun*. Indeed, the *pha-spun* play a much more essential role within their group in the case of death than at any other time. At childbirth or in the case of marriage (two other 'rites de passage') their duties are of less importance.[10]

Some authors mention other duties unrelated to death. Ribbach, for example, describes a village dispute during which some *pha-spun* members tried to protect another who belonged to their group. In another passage he writes in very general terms that the *pha-spun* members were obliged to help each other in all situations.[11] According to Geary,[12] they help one another in agricultural work, a statement denied by the Ladakhis I interviewed. This, I was told, was the job of neighbours and friends who may or may not be *pha-spun*, and of the relatives.

Furthermore, none of my Ladakhi informants were able to confirm Prince Peter's contention that the *pha-spun* help each other financially when the need arises. Carrasco's statement that the inheritance rights extend to the entire clan (or *pha-spun* group) is completely erroneous. Bequest is possible only within the individual families or households who live together, usually from the house- and land - owner to the eldest son, but never within the entire *pha-spun* group.

Without going into further details, it can be said in conclusion that the descriptions of the *pha-spun* as given by other authors are in many regards incorrect. We have seen that it is not blood relationship but residence which principally determines membership of a *pha-spun* group. The fact that members of a *pha-spun* group help each other especially at funerals and other transitional periods such as childbirth and marriage, show that the *pha-spun* are a sort of *religious corporation*. The function of these corporations is mainly to reduce the individual's and family's economic and psychic burden to a tolerable level.

## Notes

1. Heber, 1976: 132.
2. Francke, 1914: 47-48, and Francke, 1904: 364-365.
3. Ribbach, 1940: 237.
4. Geary, 1948: 73.
5. Carrasco, 1959: 38.
6. Peter, 1956: 138, and Peter, 1963: 380.
7. See Francke, 1914, Geary, 1948, Peter, 1956, 1963.
8. Aziz, 1978: 5, 117, etc.
9. See Francke, 1914: 47-48, and Peter, 1963: 381.
10. For more information on these duties see Brauen, 1980.
11. Ribbach, 1940: 17.
12. Geary, 1948: 73.

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# THE TERM *DNGOS-PO'I GNAS-LUGS* AS USED IN PADMA DKAR-PO'S GZHUNG-'GREL

**Michael M. Broido**

Very roughly, Padma dKar-po's *gZhung-'grel* is about the Six Topics of Nāropa. Our understanding of such religious practices is still poor, as is our understanding of Tibetan books about them - not the same thing, as the anthropologists remind us. Such books fall roughly into three categories: instructions for single rituals, called, e.g. *cho-ga*; manuals on related *cycles* of ritual, called, e.g. *khrid-yig*: and more general works dealing with the theoretical background of a whole class of practices. A person performing a ritual normally has at most the *cho-ga* in front of him, but keeps in mind such information of the kind found in works of the other types. So Western accounts of such practices based solely on *cho-ga* may perhaps be expected to be unintelligible. And so they usually are.

I want to reverse this procedure by starting with a work of the most general type. The *gZhung-'grel* is one of the best and best-known of these. In a sense which I will explain, *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* is its most fundamental technical term; and I will also explain how Padma dKar-po uses this term. I do not regret this modest programme, for the present state of Vajrayāna studies calls for analysis of basic technical terms. (We may perhaps think of the state of Abhidharma studies which prompted Stcherbatsky to try and work out the meaning of 'dharma'.)

I will cover ten points. Synoptically:

(1) Method: reliance on Padma dKar-po's own statements.
(2) Method: trying to work out Padma dKar-po's intention.
(3) Personality types: *cig-car-ba* and *rim-gyis-pa*.
(4) Systems of exegesis of the Six Topics: *bSre-'pho* and *sNyan-rgyud*.
(5) *dNgos-po'i gnas-lugs* as the basic technical term in *bSre-'pho*.
(6) *gNas-lugs* as a kind of awareness which 'stays' with its object.
(7) The *dngos-po* listed.
(8) Hence *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* as a certain kind of experience.
(9) The distinction *lus/sems dngos-po'i gnas-lugs*.
(10) *dNgos-po'i gnas-lugs*: comparison with Guenther's English.

I will describe my method fairly carefully, will quote a few key sentences in Tibetan and will give copious references. I will not offer much translation and detailed argument will be omitted; these deficiences will, I hope, be remedied elsewhere.

(1) Method: Reliance on Padma dKar-po's own Statements.

Such earlier writers as rGyal-dbang-rje give striking expression to the characteristic 'Brug-pa *lta-ba* (of which a historical study would be desirable). But it was Padma dKar-po who first put it on a detailed canonical, exegetical and philosophical foundation. His works pay attention to clarity of definition and consistency of usage and they cover the main topics of Buddhist scholasticism. Thus, although the *gZhung-'grel* is not an elementary work and was not meant to be studied in an intellectual vacuum, we have general grounds for hoping that Padma dKar-po's other works will shed light on its details.[1.1] I will rely on them;[1.2] and where I make use of works outside the *bSre-'pho* cycle, I expect to offer evidence of their relevance.[1.3]

This approach differs greatly from Wayman's valuable work on the tantras in their dGe-lugs-pa interpretation. For Wayman's approach is historical; mine is not. I am more interested in Padma dKar-po's own views than in what the *tantras* say, so, relying on his scholarship, I simply accept his exegesis of them. This is in line with a general difference between the two Tibetan

traditions: whereas the dGe-lugs-pa accept certain parts of the Buddha-word as *nges-don*, for the 'Brug-pa it is all *drang-don (dBu-ma-3,* 11a5).

(2) Method: Trying to work out Padma dKar-po's intention.

The title of the *gZhung-'grel* ends with the phrase *gsal-bar byed-pa*. Padma dKar-po announces his intention to make something clear and we may feel that we share this concern with him. For us, of course, there is the extra complication of a foreign language; but first I want to draw attention to something even more fundamental.

Our view of 'making clear' will be influenced by our notion of the meaning of discourse in general. Philosophers have framed such notions in two rather different ways: in terms of formal semantics and in terms of communication-intention.[2.1] Where texts in foreign languages are concerned, the effect of this distinction may be very roughly described as follows.

The formalist will be concerned with the sentences of his text; very likely he will translate them. Where possible he will adhere closely to their syntax. In translating individual words he will make use of a set of conventional equivalences which I will call a lexicon. This will not reflect authors' individual usage or the 'feelings' of the material. Nor will the translator be concerned with the coherence of his translation. This approach has the great advantage that we can translate successfully (i.e. usefully to others) without understanding the text; for we are not forced to confront the question: what is this text *about*?

The intention-approach forces us to confront this question. (I need not spell out the sense in which an act of writing may constitute an audience-directed *utterance*.) We deal here primarily with statements (propositions), only secondarily with sentences, though we still use their syntax. But there is no lexicon. Our choice of (English) words reflects our view of the author's intention, evidence for which must be supplied. Thus translation may be less important than comment and exegesis. Contextual factors must be taken seriously, and interpretation accepted as necessary. Philosophical and scientific texts are handled naturally by this approach, for a view of the author's intention can often be attached to individual sentences (rather than to longer sections of the work) and can yield straightforward constraints on our exegesis/interpretation/translation.

Perhaps in practice no orientalist works with a distinction as sharp as the one I have drawn; indeed, I fear I will be accused of parody. Yet we may not confuse the two approaches. We may not demand that statements be translated literally or that analysis of sentences yield their authors' intentions; for these demands are incoherent.

Now, what Padma dKar-po claims to make clear is *rdo-rje-'chang-gi dgongs-pa*. It might be thought that this intention is not his own. But for his audience (3) he is the *rdo-rje slob-dpon* and so his intention *is rdo-rje-'chang-gi dgongs-pa*. This term, then, refers to the author's communication-intention and so it seems natural to me to use the intention-approach in discussing the text. Luckily, this is not too difficult (1).

My description of this approach has been in outline only but this is not an excuse for lack of method. We may acknowledge our interpretative judgements,[2.2] we may mould them to our author's general way of thinking, and we may supply evidence for these choices.

We must also accept that our work will never have the apparent finality of really good formal work. Our interpretation will always be subject to revision as understanding of the context improves. Acknowledgement of our presuppositions can never be complete. Yet if we want to get at the author's intention, we must attempt these things.

Professor H.V. Guenther who seems to share my concern with intention[2.3] neglects these methodological points. His books raise many important problems, yet his positions on them remain unclear and one cannot easily see how he reaches his conclusions. I have compared dozens of passages of Padma dKar-po with his translations, with a growing sense of unease and mystification. I give relevant examples in the footnotes and in (10).

(3) Personality Types: *cig-car-ba* and *rim-gyis-pa*.

The *cig-car-ba* is a jewel-like person who has already accumulated a great deal of merit and so has insight into his own defilements (*gZhung 1b, -'grel* 8a-10b, *Khrid-yig* 6a-b, *Gan-mdzod* 64ab, 96b). For him, ground, path and goal are inseparable (*dbyer-med: Gan-mdzod* 15a1, *Yid-'phrog* 18a3). His practice is presented all at once (literally 'abundantly (according) to wish', *khrigs chags-su, Khrid-yig* 19b4). He practices the *Anuttarayogatantras*, and in the bKa'-brgyud-pa traditions, especially the *lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor* method of Mahāmudrā (*Gan-mdzod* 22a3, 64b) and the 8 topics of the *thabs-lam*: *gtum-mo, las-kyi phyag-rgya, sgyu-lus* &c. (*Khrid-yig* 19b6, *gZhung-'grel* 176b3).

The *rim-gyis-pa* though he may have similar practices receives them in little bits (*dum-bu dum-bur 'bogs-te, Khrid-yig* 19b4). Tilopa emphasizes that the two types of practice must not be mixed up; what is medicine for one is poison for the other (*gZhung* 1b,-*'grel* 9b5). But the distinction in personality is not fixed; one type may change into the other once a sufficient level of development has been reached (*gZhung-'grel* 8a4 ff., 12a1 ff.). Since the *cig-car-ba*'s practices are explained more clearly, this paper will be concerned with him.

(4) Systems of Exegesis of the Six Topics: *bSre- pho* & *sNyan-rgyud*.

In the main, according to Padma dKar-po, these are addressed respectively to the *cig-car-ba* and the *rim-gyis-pa* (*Khrid-yig* 19b4, *gZhung-'grel* 176b3-179b4). He does consider a tradition according to which in the *sNyan-rgyud* the division into *sku/gsung/thugs rdo-rje'i rnal-'byor* corresponds to the *rim-gyis/thod-brgal/cig-car-ba'i lam* (20a2, 179a1). But he dismisses this quite scathingly (*gZhung-'grel* 179b6) as based on misunderstanding of the distinction of personality types. Similarly, though the *gZhung-'grel* has a short *rim-gyis 'jug-pa'i lam* (378b2-395b3), it plays no part in the structure of ideas which I will consider and is completely ignored in the *Khrid-yig*.

Guenther reasonably takes the *Nāropa rnam-thar* as a work of the *sNyan-brgyud* (see his Introduction). We may note that his extensive use of the *bSre-'pho* works as commentatorial material on that *rnam-thar* is not sanctioned by Padma dKar-po's own view just mentioned. There are also doctrinal differences between the two, e.g. in the *sa-bcad* under *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs*,[1.2] and in the divisions of mahāmudrā (*Nāropa* 263, *gZhung-'grel* 115a2).

(5) *dNgos-po'i gnas-lugs* as the basic technical term in *bSre-'pho*.

Padma dKar-po frequently uses the *gzhi/lam/'bras-bu* division in all sorts of contexts. Here they are called, in Tilopa's words (*gZhung* 1b), /*dngos-po'i gnas-lugs lam dang ni //'bras-bu skye-ba'i rim-pa'o*/. Defining *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* in his commentary on this verse, Padma dKar-po does not rely on the terms *cig-car-ba*, *lam* or *'bras-bu skye-ba'i rim-pa*, but simply splits the phrase up:

1. *gzugs-nas rnam-par-thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i bar-gyi chos thams-cad-kyi rang-bzhin nam gnas-tshul*[5.1] *yin-pas/ dngos-po'i gnas-lugs zhes..*;
2. *chos thams-cad sangs-rgyas-kyi gzigs-pa ji-lta-ba dang mthun-par gdod-ma-nas gnas-pa ni dngos-po'i gnas-lugs zhes (-bya'o/)*[5.2]

By contrast, *cig-car-ba* is not explicitly defined (though so much is said *about* him) and should, I think, be taken to be that person who because of his sharp intelligence, merit &c. may set out on the path whose ground is

*dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* &c. Here the general conception of the path is: that means (*thabs*) by which a non-discursive understanding (*rtogs*) arises and is cultivated (*Khrid-yig* 19a-b); the general goal-conception is that *rtogs* is developed to the highest degree (*mthar-thug-pa,* ibid.). Below I will show that the ground here is also a certain non-discursive understanding. The general relation between these three is not explicit, but is clearly that what is already present and *effective* as the ground develops as the path, &c.; thus the inseparability of the three. (*Tathāgata-garbha* as ground, by contrast, is not effective and cannot function as a path. It is striking that Padma dKar-po never wrote a work on it.)

It is in this limited but reasonably precise sense that *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* may be said to be *the* fundamental term of the *bSre-'pho* cycle. The second passage just quoted suggests that *gnas-lugs* is some kind of awareness but cannot rank as a definition because of the term *sangs-rgyas-kyi gzigs*. I will now give more solid evidence on *gnas-lugs*.

(6) *gNas-lugs* as an awareness which 'stays' with its object *rnam-par mi-rtog-pa'i ye-shes de'i yul-can yang yul-med pa'i tshul-gyis don-dam-pa ste*[6.1]

which we might translate: a non-discursive awareness as though without subject or object is *don-dam-pa*. (Thus *don-dam* is neither ultimate nor truth.) Immediately after this we read:

> *ji-lta-ba bzhin-du ma-nor-ba mthong-bas-na yang-dag-par mthong-ba zhes-bya-la yang-dag-pa'i mthong-ba-la mi-bslu-ba'am/ gnas-lugs-la mi-slu-bas sa'am/ sangs-rgyas-kyi gzigs ngor-mi-bslu-ba don-dam bden-pa'i mtshan-nyid-do/*

The similarity to the second example in (5) is obvious. *Yang-dag-pa'i mthong-ba* and *sangs-rgyas-kyi gzigs* are kinds of awareness; so therefore is *gnas-lugs*. Where non-erroneous, they are the marks of *don-dam-bden-pa*. So *gnas-lugs* is a non-discursive awareness of some kind. *Kun-rdzob* and *don-dam* are different modes of awareness of objects which do not have to be conceived as different (e.g. *PSP* 163a7 = *dBu-ma-3*, 40a6). Such non-difference is the basis of *zung-'jug* (generally: *tha-dad-du mi-gnas zung-'jug-gi gzhi*, rGyal-dbang-rje quoted at *Gan-mdzod* 84b6; *kun-rdzob/don-dam zung-'jug*: *dBu-ma-3*, 67a2). However *zung-'jug* in 'Brug-pa usage means more than non-difference or identical, and since this term is so important for 'Brug-pa thought I will deal with it properly elsewhere.

Padma dKar-po frequently contrasts *gnas-lugs phyag-chen* with *'khrul-lugs phyag-chen*.[6.2] These are styles of Mahāmudrā exegesis in which respectively there is, or is not, sufficient emphasis (as the 'Brug-pa see it) on *zung-'jug*.[6.3] This use of *gnas-lugs* is not the same as, but is perfectly consistent with, the use just discussed. It supports the natural guess that *gnas-lugs* as awareness 'stays with' (*gnas-pa* = *sthā-*) its object.

(7) The *dngos-po* listed (*gZhung-'grel* 15b2 - 129b5).

Under *lus dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* we find lists of *skandhas* &c.[7.1] classified under *lus, ngag, yid* (15b2, 18b1, 20b)- the rebirth process (*lus ji-lta grub-pa'i tshul*, 24a4); and long sections on *rtsa-*, *rlung-* and *byang-sems dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* (45a6, 74a3, 97b4). Under *sems dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* we find just one item: Mahāmudrā (115a2 - 129b5). This *lus/sems* distinction is discussed in (9).

Linguistically, the listed terms are mainly sortal universals (see Strawson, *Individuals,* 168) and there seems no reason to think that they are not intended to refer to particulars. (On referring to private particulars, see *Individuals*, 42). The Mādhyamikas were familiar with the linguistic notion of referring (*don* = referent very clearly, e.g. at *PSP* 162b6 = *dBu-ma-3,* 64a1) and Padma dKar-po discusses it briefly at the end of his *brJod-*

*-byed tshig-rgyud bshad-pa*. (This does not, of course, commit him to an object-referring theory of word-meanings.)

Epistemically: we have objects of awareness (6); but does the list contain evidence that they are objects of experience?[7.2] i.e. is the subjective factor present? I think it is, in Mahāmudrā (e.g. *Gan-mdzod* 47a5 ff.). But the resulting concept of experience is rather different from ours.

(8) *dNgos-po'i gnas-lugs* as a certain kind of experience.

If the *dngos-po* were nothing but experienced items (7), *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* could be nothing but some awareness of them (5), (6). But they are not; they include Mahāmudrā.

Further, the *cig-car-ba*'s path is one of knowing wholly the nature of (one's own) defilements (*nyon-myongs-pa'i ngo-bo-nyid yongs-su shes-pa'i lam*, *gZhung-'grel* 9b5). If this knowing is to function as a path it must include an awareness that the defilement interfere with *one's own* understanding. Indeed, this awareness must include an element of acquaintance with the processes themselves. But to say all this is to say that one must be aware of the subjective aspect of one's experience. As with the path, so (at least to some extent) with the ground, by continuity (*rgyud*) or inseparability (*dbyer-med*).

For these two reasons we may say that *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* is an experience in which one is aware of subjective and objective factors. Also one 'stays with' the experienced content (6): indeed, if one could 'stay with' it all the time, the goal would have been reached, for in a highly relevant context (*Gan-mdzod* 48a1) Padma dKar-po says:

*'khor-ba'i rgyu ... yang ... gnas-tshul-las yengs-pa.*

Recall too that *gnas-lugs* is *rnam-par mi-rtog-pa* (6). Yet if wholly without conceptual structure, it would not serve Padma dKar-po's purpose. So in (6) I translated *rnam-par mi-rtog-pa* a trifle ambiguously by 'non-discursive'. Though this is supported by Padma dKar-po's own explanation (quoting the *Pradīpoddyotana*) at *gZhung-'grel* 178b5, the term really needs separate study.

No doubt the details of this interpretation will be subject to revision (2). What I believe to be firmly established is that *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* fundamentally involves awareness, that it is not merely a thing or a collection of things, or a mode of existence or subsistence of anything.

(9) The Distinction *lus/sems dngos-po'i gnas-lugs*.

Different traditions differ sharply here[1.2]. For Padma dKar-po, only Mahāmudrā falls in the *sems* division. Though this distinction is most important in Padma dKar-po's thought, here I will discuss only the principle behind it, rather than the appearance of particular terms on either side.

Both *Khrid-yig* (7a6) and *gZhung-'grel* (14b1) give two types of explanation. One describes *lus* as *thabs, kun-rdzob* and *rten* in contrast to *sems* which is *thabs-byung, don-dam* and *brten-pa*. These metaphors are not illuminating without extensive interpretation.[9.1] Very interesting are the comparisons of *lus/sems* with a cow and its milk, and with *lus/bde-ba*, these being compared also with a flower and its perfume in lines taken from the *Hevajra-tantra* (II.ii. 35-6). These pairs are related as particular/feature, so we may take *sems* as a feature and *sems* as a feature-universal.[9.2] Except for the milk, each feature pervades (*khyab = vyāp-*) its particular, and we may suppose the same of *sems*. *Yid* by contrast is a sortal universal. 'Mind' usually can function both ways and so, with careful qualification, may translate either *yid* or *sems*. If $\text{mind}_s$ and $\text{mind}_f$ denote the sortal and feature uses, we can perhaps translate such a sentence as (*gZhung-'grel* 20b5):

*(yid-kyi) ngo-bo ni sems-kyi gnas-lugs 'od-gsal-nyid bag-chags dang 'dres-pa'o/*

by: The nature of mind$_s$ is mind$_f$ experienced as radiant light, mixed with karmic traces. By proffering this solution to a troublesome little problem, I do not exhaust the sense of Padma dKar-po's distinction; but we may hope that it provides a basis for further discussion.

(10) *dNgos-po'i gnas-lugs:* Comparison with Guenther's English.

He uses 'reality' (*Pers*.87); 'the concrete presence of Being' (*TVL* 6); 'the concrete fact of Being' (*Nāropa* 118); and 'concrete existential presence' (*TVL* 3). Hardly anything in these phrases corresponds to anything in the texts. The epistemic force of *gnas-lugs*, its fundamental aspect of awareness or knowing, is absent. As for the *dngos-po*, nothing is said or suggested about their being 'concrete' or about their having a 'reality' or a 'Being'; the whole dbu-ma background is against these terms. Nor are facts involved. 'Presence' may convey *gnas-pa* (thought why substitute a noun for a verb?); indeed, a literal translation might be: the mode in which things are present (though this is too vague to convey Padma dKar-po's point). But Guenther's phrases are nothing remotely like literal translations, nor would one expect him to translate literally.

The existentialist slant of Guenther's handling of Padma dKar-po is explicitly acknowledged at *Nāropa* 117 and should have been more acknowledged elsewhere. Guenther no doubt detects in the texts an axiological concern which he thinks important (perhaps quite rightly). Perhaps an existentialist interpretation is appropriate for this; perhaps *yon-tan* does sometimes mean 'value' in an existentialist sense; I know of no evidence for either view. But even if these views can be supported, what has all the other existentialist vocabulary to do with the texts?

Conclusions and Acknowledgements.

More problems have been raised than solved. Understanding the *gZhung-'grel* rests on an understanding of the *Gan-mdzod*, and both these rest on Padma dKar-po's exegesis of *dbu-ma, tshad-ma* &c. and of the *tantras*. Thanks to the work of others, our general understanding of these topics is improving, so perhaps my programme is not too unrealistic.

I have treated these books purely as literary documents. We may, I think, respect their scholarship. A scholarly approach on our part can be combined with any other view (or none) of their significance.

This paper has benefitted from remarks made during the Seminar by Mr. Matthew Kapstein, Professor David Ruegg and Dr. Paul Williams. I have also used suggestions from Mr. Edward Henning. rTsi-bri prints of the *bSre-'pho* works have been made available to me (and others) through the efforts in Nepal of Mr. Kapstein. I am grateful to Khenpo Noryang of Mim Monastery, Darjeeling, who supplied me with Padma dKar-po's *gSung-'bum*, and to Khenpo Tsultrim Gyantso of Rumtek, who drew my attention to certain scholastic works in it. Dr. Aris has kindly lent me various books, including some by rGyal-dbang-rje.

## Bibliography


(a) Padma dKar-po's *bSre-'pho* works (pagination refers to the rTsi-bri prints: *Jo-bo Nā-ro-pa'i khyad-chos bsre-'pho'i chos-skor las:*

(a1) *gZhung-'grel rdo-rje-'chang-gi dgongs-pa gsal-bar byed-pa ('gZhung-'grel')*, commentary on Tilopa's *bKa yang-dag-pa'i tshad-ma zhes-bya-ba'i mkha-'gro-ma'i man-ngags ('gZhungs')*, for which see *Rare bKa-brgyud-pa texts from Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1976.

(a2) *Khrid-yig rdo-rje theg-pa bgrod-pa'i shing-rta chen-po ('Khrid-yig')*.

(a3) *bSre-'pho'i lam-dbye-bsdu ('Lam-bsdu')*.

(b) Other works by Padma dKar-po: volume Nos.refer to the Darjeeling Reprint of the *gNam-'brug Par-ma*, pagination is original.

(b1) *dPal Kye'i rdo-rje'i spyi-don grub-pa'i yid-'phrog*, Vol. 15 *('Yid-'phrog')*.

(b2) *Phyag-rgya chen-po'i man-ngag-gi bshad-sbyar rgyal-ba'i gan-mdzod*, Vol.21 *('Gan-mdzod')*.

(b3) *dBu-ma'i gzhung-lugs-gsum gsal-bar byed-pa nges-don grub-pa'i shing-rta*, Vol. 9 *('dBu-ma-3')*.

(c) *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti, sDe-dge Vol. *'a ('PSP')*.

(d) H.V. Guenther:

(d1) *The life and teachings of Nāropa*, OUP 1963 *('Nāropa')*.

(d2) *Tibetan Buddhism in Western Perspective*, Dharma, 1977 (*'Pers.'*).

(d3) *The Tantric view of Life*, Shambala, 1972 *('TVL')*.

Works mentioned only once or twice in text or footnotes are not listed.


## Notes

1.1 Such work would be easier if there existed a catalogue raisonné of the *gSung-'bum* clarifying the relations between the various works. I hope to bring out such a catalogue in due course.

1.2 Some bKa'-brgyud-pa works in which the technical term of this paper are used differently, warning us not to mix up their usage:

(a) The *Zab-mo nang-gi-don* literature does not sharply separate *cig-car-ba* and *rim-gyis-pa*. Dwags-ram-pa (49a2) uses gzhi *dngos-po'i gnas-tshul* &c. for the 3 *gnas-skabs* as in *rGyud bla-ma* ch.1. See also 80b6.
Kong-sprul (2b6) quotes Tilipa's */dngos-po'i gnas-lugs lam dang ni/* ... but uses the terms in this verse quite differently from Padma dKar-po.

(b) The verse does not apply to the *cig-car-ba* in Kong-sprul's *Kye-rdor spyi-don*, 20b4 ff. and in 'Bri-gung Chos-grags: *Chos-drug Nā-ro'i zhal-lung*, 5b5. 96b., but the divisions of *dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* differ from Padma dKar-po's.

(c) The *Nāropa rnam-thar* divides *dngos-po'i gnas-tshul* into three rather than two (253), but both *sems-kyi gnas-tshul* (255,bottom) and *lus-sems thun-mong-ba'i gnas-tshul* (256,top) consist of items classified by Padma dKar-po under *lus dngos-po'i gnas-lugs*.

Thus in the *rnam-thar*, not only is the principle of division different from Padma dKar-po's, but the items divided differ in a most important respect, namely the absence (in the *rnam-thar*) and the presence (in Padma dKar-po) of Mahāmudrā.

1.3 The *Gan-mdzod* (22a3) sets out its own relationship with *bSre-'pho*: the Mahāmudrā method set out in the former (*lhan-cig skyes-sbyor*) is that used in the latter. The *Yid-'phrog* applies to the *cig-car-ba* (6a5) and generally has a similar *sa-bcad* to the *gZhung-'grel*, whose many quotations from the *Hevajra-tantra* are also explained in conformity with the *Yid-'phrog*. The case of *dBu-ma-3* is complex: I argue *ad hoc*.

2.1 My use of these terms is intended to reflect that of P.F. Strawson, 'Meaning and Truth', reprinted in *Logico-linguistic Papers,* Methuen, 1971.

2.2 Such as claims that certain statements are to be read as definitions or that certain Western philosophical usages are appropriate for certain purposes of translation.

2.3 Here I rely on his evident scorn for lexical translation; yet he takes no care over mixing the usage of different writers (cf. note 1.1). He is also unclear on 'significance' (e.g. *Pers.* 99) and confuses a functional and an object-referring notion of word-meaning at *Nāropa* 124.

5.1 *gNas-lung* and *gnas-tshul* are used interchangeably by Padma dKar-po.

5.2 *gZhung-'grel* 11a1, resp. *Khrid-yig* 6b2.

6.1 *dBu-ma-3*, 42b3; explained at 68ab (= *PSP* 113b4-114a4). Cf. also *TVL* 62: 'To speak ... of an identification of cognizer & cognized is... 'misplaced concreteness'. What happens is the emergence of a feeling of unity'.

6.2 E.g. *Lam-bsdu* 101a, *Yid-'phrog* 20a, *Gan-mdzod* 84a6. Padma dKar-po attributes the distinction to Yang-dgon-pa. Guenther translates by authentic/inauthentic Mahāmudrā (*Nāropa* 226, quoting *Lam-bsdu* 101a), but this is inconsistent with *Gan-mdzod* 84a6 ff. Guenther's categorical claim that *gnas-lugs* is to be distinguished from (contrasted with?) *yin-lugs* (*Pers.*145), and his distinction between *gnas-pa* and *yin-pa* (*Nāropa* 118, translating *gZhung-'grel* 11a3) are not supported by Padma dKar-po's usage- in the latter case Guenther accepts this unwittingly by translating *gnas-pa* in the meaning he assigns to *yin-pa*. Nor is his 'coincidence' for *zung-'jug* quite right, it is an example of what Padma dKar-po calls *'khrul-lugs*; I prefer his half-hearted 'identity' (*Nāropa* 116).

6.3 *gNas-lugs*: *Gan-mdzod* 84a6 (quoting rGyal-dbang-rje); *'khrul-lugs*, 84b6 (quoting Jo-nang-pa et al.). Cf. the Zen finger-moon aphorism: *gnas-lugs* keeps attention on the moon, *khrul-lugs* diverts it to the finger.

7.1 Cf. Abhidharma lists, which perhaps have a similar function.

7.2 By contrast, in the Abhidharma there is no room for any concept of experience because *manas* is treated as an *indriya*.

9.1 *Thabs* here means 'means', not 'action' (*pace* G:*Pers*.91). Guenther's claim (*Nāropa* 64n.1) that *brten-pa, sems* and *sems dngos-po'i gnas-lugs* are synonymous and are defined by Padma dKar-po as *yon-tan* at *gZhung-'grel* 27a6 can only be attributed to some slip of the pen.

9.2 Strawson, *Individuals* 202ff. Perhaps something similar is intended by Guenther's 'field character' of mind (*Nāropa* 70).

## ON THE WAY OF PLAYING THE DRUMS AND CYMBALS AMONG THE SAKYAS

Richard O. Canzio

Drums and cymbals are the common musical feature to be found in almost every Tibetan ceremony. Their importance is not underrated in ritual practices and though existing literature dealing with the subject of drumming and the use of cymbals is not extensive, general guide-lines serving as a complement to the oral transmission, where this subject rightfully belongs, are to be found in explanations attached to musical scores. I am thinking here in particular of the drum and cymbals scores (*rol-tshig*) which guide their performance during the 'Falling of the Blessings' (*byin-'babs*) often performed in the ceremonies dedicated to tutelary deities (*yi-dam*) and to the guardians of the doctrine (*bstan-gyi srung-ma)*.

Since such *rol-tshig* are of a rather specialized character I would like to refer here firstly to more general prescriptions as found in Kun-dga' bSod-nam's commentary to Sakya Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' (*rol-mo'i btsan-bcos*)[1] and to quotations from other texts found therein, and only then describe in some detail the use of these percussion instruments in the religious practices of the Sakyas.

1. Regarding the prescriptions that follow it should be said that although they come from a text rooted in the ritual traditions of the Sakya Order, they hold much the same for other traditions precisely because of their very general nature.

*The Way of Drumming.* Tantric practitioners when playing the drums in an assembly should see that the drums are close to one another and arranged evenly and beautifully, avoiding differences in height and mis-alignment. Although seated cross-legged with the spine erect the attitude of the performer should not be that of haughtiness but that of a certain meekness.

Candragomin:[2]

When beating the drums,
these should be placed in a row
close to one another like a string of jewels
avoiding unevenness of height or alignment
in a beautiful and neat arrangement.
It must be done not with an overweening attitude
but in a rather subdued way.

'Jam-dpal dBang-po:[3]

If you wish to play the drum
there is no other way of doing it
but with the correct bodily posture, namely,
the right and left feet underneath the knees
and both legs level.
After that if one keeps one's spine straight
the way of holding the drum
will come naturally.

It seems not uncommon for inexperienced beginners to hit the drum in a very unlikely place or miss hitting altogether. This is regarded with the characteristic humour that Tibetans show even in the most serious circumstances. Advice is given in the same jocular tone.

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Sakya Pandita:

If the stick does not strike the drum
what is the use of having one at all.

Concerning how to beat the drum here is what Candragomin has to say:

Strike with the drum-stick's own weight
and with the deft movement of the wrist
and the fingers.
Do not produce sound with great exertion.

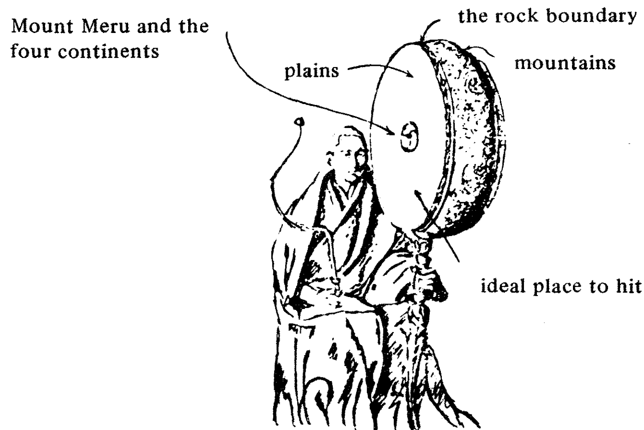
'Jam-dpal dBang-po:

Hold the drumstick in the right hand,
do not squeeze it but hold it loosely.
Avoid moving it violently close to your breast
or holding it too high;
you will either bang your chest with your first
or otherwise hit your face.
Your hand and your chest should be
within a span's touch from each other.
Keep this well in mind.

One would naturally tend to think that in order to beat the drum properly one should do it in the middle but this is not so.

Candragomin:

Do not stir the middle of the Ocean.
Do not go round Mount Meru and
the four continents.
Do not strike the edge of the mountain
Do not pass the rock boundary between
the mountains and the plains.
Do not hit the face of the king of the beasts.




'Jam-dpal dBang-po:

Where should one strike the drum?
If you do it in the region
approximately six or seven fingers
measured upwards from the handle
at the drum frame,
you will obtain the desired sound.

Candragomin:

As soon as the stick touches the drum
it should be separated from it.
Do not play more than one sound [per beat].

To play each [sound] separately
is the way of the experts.

'Jam-dpal dBang-po:

Do not keep the stick touching the drum
once it has struck it.
This is an essential point.
Learning to play well in this manner
you may become a master.

Candragomin:

If you want to be an expert
in the art of drumming
follow the Master of Cymbals (*rol-spon*)
and give up raving or playing as you like.
It is very important to follow the leader.

What follows refers to the way of drumming according to the four activities (*las-bzhi*). These four activities are the categories in which the goals of Tibetan ceremonies have been classified: the Pacifying Rites (*zhi-ba'i las*) include stopping war, curing diseases, stopping hail and the like- the acquisition of power as a means of benefitting all creatures with its wise use and the conferring of power during an initiatory ceremony (*dbang skur-ba*) are the aims of the Rites of Power (*dbang-gi las*); the Prosperity Rites (*rgyas-pa'i las*) are concerned with the increasing of wealth and of knowledge and the obtaining of a long life: the overcoming of obstacles and banishing of the enemies of religion is carried out by invoking the powers of the wrathful deities through the Fearsome Rites (*drag-po'i las*).

These four activities determine the overall character of the ceremony to which they apply and they are important not only in stylistic considerations but also because they are supposed to evoke very definite feelings (*nyams*,Skt. *rasa*).[4]

Candragomin:

If one is drumming for the Rite of Pacifying
one should evoke a feeling of peace
and the way of drumming should be slow and relaxed.
If one is drumming for the Rite of Increasing Prosperity
the moods evoked should be grace and heroism
and the drumming should be clear and flowing.
If one is drumming for the Rites of Power
the feelings evoked should be love and beauty
and the drumming should be sweet and beautiful.
If one is drumming for the Fearsome Rites
the moods evoked should be harshness and awe;
the sound of the drum, forceful and quick
must fall like a thunderbolt.

*The Way of Playing the Cymbals.* This is similar to that of the drums with regard to bodily posture and performing in accordance with the four activities.

'Jam-dpal dBang-po:

In general whatever kind of cymbal is played
the advice is that they should not be held tightly.
The hands must not touch the chest.
Do not lift them up like a stick
(if they are *sbug-cal*) or
hold them erect like a post
(if they are *sil-snyan*).

The cymbals have to possess good flexible straps by which they are held. One is wrapped around the ring finger and over the second finger of the right hand. The other cymbal held on the palm of the left hand is played with the deft movement of the wrist. The thumb must be kept loose, not gripping the boss of the cymbal, so that the movement can flow. All this refers especially to the big-bossed cymbals known as *sbug-cal* or simply *rol-mo* which are held horizontally and in which the playing is done mostly with the lower cymbal (on the left hand) while the upper cymbal is kept free to vibrate.

The other variety of cymbals used by Tibetans, the *sil-snyan*, have a small boss and are held vertically much like hand-held European cymbals. Unlike the *sbug-cal* they have to be gripped firmly.

Candragomin:

Do not let the flexible strap slip away.
Wrapping it around the ring finger
wind it over the middle finger.
[Play with] the action arising from
the rotary movement of the palm of the hand.
Do not stop the motion of the cymbals.
Hold the *sbug-cal* with a relaxed thumb.
Hold the *sil-snyan* with a firm thumb.

In actual fact this prescribed way of wrapping the strap of the cymbals round the fingers is largely a matter of individual taste. On the other hand it is commonly agreed that cymbals should be left free to vibrate and that playing on the rim, striking with the sides and beating it as if with a stick should be avoided.

Candragomin:

Shoulders and elbows relaxed,
[play] with the skillful movement of the palm
and strike with the cymbals' own weight.
Do not strike with the side.

'Jam-dpal dBang-po:

The distance from the chest to the hands
and from the waist to the elbows
should be a cubit;
do not make it narrower than that.
That is the way of the experts.
After this I shall explain the way of playing.
Loud and soft must be balanced.
The manner in which this happens is like this:
loud must be stressed, soft must vibrate.
Whether to play loud or soft
give up 'side-striking'.
What is 'side-striking'?
When the cymbals are not placed flat towards each
other, striking from above downwards
is called 'side-striking'.

2. In order to follow and understand the structure of instrumental passages it is necessary to concentrate one's attention on what the cymbals and the drum are doing.

The form of any instrumental piece depends on certain formulae played by these percussion instruments. The parts of other instruments like the conch-shells *(dung-dkar)*, the shawms *(rgya-gling)*, the thigh-bone trumpets *(rkang-gling)* and the long telescopic copper horns *(dung-chen)* are linked to these rhythmic formulae.

For instance a melody played by the shawms will start at a predetermined spot during the performance of such a formula and will be timed in such a way as to end at another previously fixed spot. The various calls played by the thigh-bone trumpets, the conch-shells and the long horns will operate in a similar fashion.

The playing of cymbals and drums is organized in 'counts' which in turn are grouped in various ways to constitute the various formulae. A count is finished with a drum stroke and the counting is effected at that point.

Whereas the structure of a rhythmic formula is of prime consideration in determining the form of a piece, there is another level of analysis to be taken into account and that is the modes of performing the counts of each formula.

Before I deal with these two levels of analysis I may say that here I am treating of the particular way of playing found in the Sakya monastery. Other sects of the Sakyapa Order like the Ngorpas and the Tsharpas use ways of playing which differ from those of the Sakya both in the structure of the rhythmic formulae used and in the modes of performing them, although a similar set of technical terms is used to define count groupings and modes of performance.

A comparative study of these is in progress and falls beyond the scope of this paper, so I shall restrict myself in this section to a brief discussion discussion of the Sakya monastery practices.

One of the most common formulae is the one known as 'strike three with reply' (*gsum brdeg len bcas*). It consists of two introductory counts represented in Tibetan by the syllables *sbram sbram*. This is followed by the main part of the formula consisting of seven counts distributed in two groups of three counts each with one count in between called *byas*. This count is meant to be played softer than the rest and serves as a contrasting unit not only for aesthetical but for perceptual reasons as well. Its function is similar to that of *khali* or 'empty' beat in the Indian rhythm system, the *arsis* of Greek music and the up beat in modern European music.

The formula ends with a 'reply' (*len*) which consists of two units: one soft (*byas*) and one loud.

The complete formula is found in musical scores written as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sbram sbram | 1 2 3 byas 1 2 3 | byas 1 |
| intro | main part | reply |

This basic structure can be altered in various ways. The most common case occurs when the last two counts, the reply, are omitted. The formula is then known as 'strike three without reply' (*gsum brdeg len med*). On other occasions the two introductory counts may be reduced to one; then the formula may for instance be expressed as 'strike three without reply playing one *sbram*' (*sbram gcig dor ba'i sum brdeg len med*).

The constructing procedures can be used to obtain other count groupings like the 'strike two' or 'strike four' with all the variations applicable to the 'strike three' formula, i.e. with or without reply, with only one *sbram*, etc.

For instance the 'strike two with reply' (*gnyis brdeg len bcas*) will be:

sbram sbram 1 2 byas 1 2 byas 1

and the 'strike four without reply':

sbram sbram 1 2 3 4 byas 1 2 3 4

As regards the modes of performance, the basic count is a tremolo of the cymbals ending together with a drum stroke, this mode is known as 'without rebound' (*'phar med*) in order to be distinguished from another more elaborate mode of performance known as 'great rebound' (*'phar chen*). This consists of three consecutive cymbal tremolos of diminishing length, the last of them short and played with a bouncing gesture (the great rebound) is accompanied with a drum stroke.

Another commonly encountered mode is the 'lame-walk' (*then-rkang*) which consists of two strokes of the cymbals one loud and one soft; both take one count. This mode of playing indeed resembles the gait of a lame person, hence its colourful name; among the Sakyas it is played with a left to right sweeping movement, the loud stroke on the left and the soft on the right.

In *rol-tshig* scores other modes of performance are found: the 'mouth open' (*kha-rlang*) where both cymbals are held with the hollow boss upwards and thus struck. This mode of performance is contrasted with the habitual way of playing them known as 'mouth closed' (*kha sbyar*).

Still there exists modes of performance where there are no counts, instead there is a ritualization of the way of playing. The 'lotus round' (*pad-'khor*) is an interesting instance of this process. The lower cymbal is held still while the upper cymbal starting from the 'mouth closed' position describes a clockwise turn showing the inner hollow, thus symbolizing the opening of a lotus flower. There is also the 'put down' (*bzhag*) indication where the action of leaving the cymbals aside has become the ritualized usual finale of certain rhythmic formulae.

Finally it is worth noticing another way of playing where no counting is involved and that is the *mchod-rol*, a continuous tremolo on the cymbals accompanied by a rapid succession of drum strokes which can be heard during the Offerings when mantras are recited.

The scope of our subject does not necessarily end at this point, we could go on to analyze in detail individual compositions where we fill find alternating series of group countings of the kind described above, certain stereotyped ways of commencing and finishing a piece, ritual gestures, set ways of waving the drumstick during the performance and the like. We must nevertheless stop here and hope that this brief paper serves as a useful introit to our vast theme.

## Notes

1. Sakya Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' is perhaps the only major text dealing with the various aspects of chant and instrumental music in the Tibetan liturgy. Kun-dga' bSod-nams, the XVIth century commentator on this text, has clarified many aspects of this important but obscure text.
2. From his 'Treatise on Music' (*Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos*) a non-extant extra canonical work quoted by Kun-dga' bSod-nams. All other Candragomin quotations are from Kun-dga' bSod-nams' commentary.
3. 'Jam-dpal (bSod-nams) dBang-po (1559-1621), son of the famous sTag-tshang Lotsava, teacher of Kun-dga' bSod-nams and also his fraternal uncle. This and all other quotations are from his 'Treatise on Music' (*Rol-mo'i bstan-bcos gcig-shes kun-grol*) and are found in Kun-dga' bSod-nams' commentary.
4. The relationship between the Nine Feelings (*nyams dgu*) which corresponds to the *rasa* of the Indian theory of Aesthetics and the four ritual activities is dealt with by Sakya Pandita in 'The Way of the Wise' (*mKhas-pa 'jug-pa'i sgo*).

## OḌḌIYĀNA: A NEW INTERPRETATION

**Lokesh Chandra**

Oḍḍiyāna played a pivotal role in the development, redaction and dissemination of the Tantras. It was the centre whence the Tantras originated. According to Bu-ston it was at Oḍḍiyāna that Vajrapāṇi collected 'endless revlations of Vajrayāna' and gave them to Indrabhuti. Guhyasamāja, the culmination of Tantric thought, was also revealed to Indrabhūti/Indrabodhi in Oḍḍiyāna. The Tattva-prabhāsa-karaṇḍa-dīpa (Toh. 2643) and Jñāna-tilaka-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Toh. 422) of the Guhyasamāja tradition point out that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi and it was he who knew and could explain the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja was commented upon by Candrakīrti who was a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kanci and whom the texts call *Kañcannara* (sic, Tucci 1949: 1.214). The explicit reference to Kanci holds the key to the identification of Oḍḍiyāna. It is significant that Indrabhuti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, who was the presiding deity of Maṅgakosṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāna, or modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanci.

The identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Udyāna/Ujjānaka in the North-Western regions of India was enunciated in a period of the euphoria of discoveries of Buddhist antiquities from Gandhara and other North-Western regions of India which seemed to be the prime locus of Buddhism. At that time, it was but natural that Udyāna came foremost to the minds of Buddhologists as the place to be equated with Oḍḍiyāna.

When Oḍḍiyāna was identified with Udyāna, South India had not come to occupy a place of relevance in the evolution of Buddhism and as such it could not strike anybody that Oḍḍiyāna could have a South Indian derivation. Kanci was one of the seven greatest metropolitan centres of Indian culture, and it was also the glorious capital of the Pallavas, who played a major role in the diffusion of Vajrayāna to lands beyond the seas. The South Indian places of Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka, Potalaka and Oḍḍiyāna were some of the foremost creative centres of Mantrayāna, especially of systems centering around Vairocana, namely the (i) Avataṁsaka sūtras,(ii) caryā tantras, and (iii) yoga tantras - in all three the Cosmic Buddha was Vairocana with varying iconographic attributes. It is not surprising that the land par excellence of Vajrayāna in the Tibetan tradition should be Oḍḍiyāna = Kanci.

*Forms of the word Oḍḍiyāna.*

The toponym Oḍḍiyāna occurs in the following eleven forms in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts:

(i) *Uḍḍiyāna*-vinirgata-Kurukullā occurs in sādhana 179 of the Sādhanamālā, where the variant reading is Oḍiyāna. She is equivalent to Hevajra-Kurukullā, Hevajra-tantra-krameṇa Kurukullā (Niṣpannayogāvalī 6, HT 1.11.13, SM 179, 183, 186, 187 - cited in Mallmann 1975: 228).

(ii) *Uḍḍiyānaka* appears in the Mahāmāyūrī 97 (Lévi 1915: 56, 105 f.) as the place of residence of yakṣa Karāla.

(iii)The spelling *U-ḍyan* can be seen in two titles of the Tanjur dedicated to Oḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī and both translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava:
Toh.3344 U-ḍyan-gyi 'od-zer-can-gyi sgrub-pa'i-thabs:
Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī-sādhana. Author: Lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i-rol-pa.
Toh.3345-Ū-dyan-gyi rim-pa'i 'od-zer-can-gyi sgrub-pa'i-thabs =
Oḍḍiyāna-krama-mārīcī-sādhana.

(iv) *Oḍḍiyāna* is prefaced to Mārīcī: Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī (SM.138 [1.283-4], 139). In SM.140 Oḍiyāna-pītha has the variant reading Oḍḍiyāna-pīṭha in the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library dated N.S. 285 =

A.D.1165. Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī is also termed Vajradhātvīśvarī Mārīcī (SM. 136, Mallmann 1975:261). The replacement of Oḍiyāna by Vajradhātu may enshrine the secret of its identification with Kanci. It was from Kanci that the Vajraśekhara-tantra and its Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was transmitted to China. Oḍiyāna was the vajrapīṭha. We find Oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha Vajravārāhī in SM.225 (1.439): śrī-oḍiyāna-vajrapītha-vinirgata ūrdh-vapāda-vajravārāhī-sādhanam samāptam, colophon. Here the Nepalese manuscript of N.S.285 = A.D.1165 kept at the Cambridge University Library has the reading Oḍyāna.
The form *O-ḍi-yā-na* occurs in the Blue Annals 2.753, as well as in three titles of the Tanjur which were translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:
Toh.3528,3529 O-ḍi-yā-na'i 'od-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs:
Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (ms. Oḍi°).
Toh.3566 O-ḍi-yā-na-las byung-ba'i rigs-byed-ma'i sgrub-thabs:
Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana (ms. Oḍi°).
It may be noted that while Ba-ri lotsava (A.D. 1038-1109 ?) used the form U-ḍyan, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (A.D.1147-1216) employed O-ḍi-yā-na.
(v) We find *O-ḍi-yān* in the Tanjur title (Toh.3370): O-ḍi-yān-nas byung-ba'i rigs-byed-ma'i sgrub-pa'i-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana, translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava.
(vi) *Oḍiyānaka* appears in a Mathura inscription dated Saṁ 77 (Lüders, *Liste*, No.62) commemorating the donation of a pillar to a vihāra of king Huviṣka by the monk Jīvaka Oḍiyānaka (Lévi, 1915: 105, Naudou, 1968: 36).
(vii) *Oḍḍiyāna* is the most common form. It occurs in the colophon of SM.35(1.80) sarahapāda-kṛtam oḍḍiyāna-(v.l.Oḍyāna-) krameṇa trailokyava śaṁkara-lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam. The colophon in the next sādhana 36(1.83) reads: iti sarahapādāva-tārita-oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-trailokya vaśaṁkara-lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam (Mallmann, 1975: 108). In a Nepalese manuscript of the ninth century Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna is mentioned (Foucher, 1900: 121, Naudou, 1968: 36). Maṅgakoṣṭha is an earlier name of Ekāmreśvara temple near the Kāmākṣī temple at Kanci: Tamil *mankay* = *man* 'mango-tree' + *kay* 'fruit', heard and recorded by the Portuguese as *manga*>English *mango*. The ancient name of the site where the present Ekāmreśvara temple stands, must have been intentionally changed to signal its new religious associations. The word Maṅgakoṣṭha may also conceal a *double entendre* to an emanation of goddess Tārā, for Tamil *maṅkai* means 'a girl between 12 and 13 years', Malayam *maṅka* 'a young, playful woman'. Tārā was the presiding deity (*pīṭhīśvarī*) of holy Oḍḍiyāna and today her apotheosis is significantly Kāmāskī 'one of amorous eyes'. In the Hevajratantra 1.7.12 Oḍḍiyāna is specified as a pīṭha. Here the Tibetan text renders Oḍḍiyāna by U-ḍi which stems from the reading Uḍiyāna.
(viii) *O-ḍyan* is the form in the Tanjur title (Toh.3340): O-ḍyan-gyi 'od-zer-can-gyi sgrub-pa'i-thabs: Oḍiyāna-mārīcyai sādhana (so in the xyl.), translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Bari lotsava. The toponym *Oḍyāṇam* is found in the *Malayalam Lexicon 2.1246*.
(ix) *Au-ḍyan*-nas byuṅg-ba'i 'od-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (Toh.3231) provides a variation of the previous form.
(x) *U-rgyan*, Jäschke 606b. George N. Roerich consistently adopts this spelling in his translation of the Blue Annals (index p.1264). In the Tanjur, the following titles have the spelling U-rgyan:
Toh.1707 Dpal U-rgyan-gyi sgrol-ma'i mngon-par-rtogs-pa'i rim-pa:
Śrī-Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-'bhisamaya-krama (ms. Uḍiyāna). Trans.
Saṅghaśrībhadra, 'Jam-dpal-sgeg-pa'i-rdo-rje. In the Blue Annals the

title is shortened to Jo-mo U-rgyan-ma.
Toh.1708 U-rgyan-gyi sgrol-ma'i rim-pa: Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-krama. Translated as above in 1707.
Toh.1711 U-rgyan-gyi rim-pa'i sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs: Uḍḍiyāna-krama-tārā-devī-sādhana. Translated Parahita, Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan.
Toh.1744 Dpal U-rgyan-gyi rnal-'byor daṅg rnal-'byor-ma'i rang byung-gi longs-spyod dur-khrod-kyi rtog-pa: Uḍḍiyāna-śrī-yoga-yoginī-svabhūta-sambhoga-śmaśāna-kalpa. Author: Virūpa, translated Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.
(xi) The abbreviated form of the name ཨྱོན་ in Tibetan is an indication that once the most common spelling was *O-rgyan*. The iconographic xylograph Rin-lhan, the so-called Five Hundred Gods of Narthang, illustrates the O-rgyan sgrol-ma gnas-kyi-dbang-phyug-ma = Pīṭhīśvarī Oḍḍiyāna Tārā on folio 45b. In the Padma-thang-yig, O-rgyan is used (Jäschke p.607a). Oḍḍiyāna was the pīṭha of Tārā. This is reflected in the popular belief that the Kāmākṣī temple was originally dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā, later converted into that of a Hindu goddess at the time of Saṅkarācārya's establishment of Kāmakoṭī pīṭha in the ninth century A.D. (Ramachandran, 1954: 10, Champaklakshmi, 1978: 116). It is significant that from among the four pīṭhas of Oḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarūpa and Srīhaṭṭa mentioned in sādhana 234 of the Sādhanamālā (2.455), there was Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa and Kāmākṣī at Kanci (Oḍḍiyāna), both of them goddesses.

Thus we have the following variants from Indian and Tibetan sources:

(a) Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyānaka, Uḍyan, Uḍi
(b) U-rgyan
(c) Oḍiyāna, Oḍiyān, Oḍiyănaka, Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyan, Auḍyan
(d) O-rgyan

The variations are in the initial vowel *u~o* , single or double *ḍḍ*, *(ḍ)ḍiy* or *ḍy*(with the elision of *i*),dropping of the final *a* in Uḍyan/Oḍyan/Auḍyan, addition of the pleonastic *ka* in Uḍḍiyānaka and Oḍiyănaka.

The Tibetan terms U-rgyan and O-rgyan represent a transliteration of the initial syllable *u~o* of Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍḍiyāna and *rgyan* means 'an ornament'. The word U-rgyan~ O-rgyan signifies 'the ornament termed U[ḍḍiyāna] or O[ḍḍiyāna]'. Thus in the Tibetan term U-(O-)rgyan, *u-(o- )* is the phonetic and *rgyan* is the semanteme.

In fact in Tamil and other South Indian languages *oḍḍiyāṇam* means a 'gold or silver girdle or belt, an ornament worn by women round the waist' (Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1936, 1.585b). The Lexicon also gives the meaning 'girdle worn by yogis while in a sitting posture, so as to bind the waist and the doubled up legs together', and translates it in Tamil as yogappaṭṭai. The Lexicon gives variant forms in Telugu *oḍḍāṇamu,* Kannada *oḍḍyāṇa,* Tulu *oḍyāna*.

Burrow and Emeneau (1961: 71 no.810) give the following morphological variations of the lexeme in different South Indian languages: '810 Ta. *Oṭṭiyāṇam* gold or silver girdle or belt worn by women. Ma.*uṭaññan* gold chain round the loins. Ka. *oḍyāṇa, oḍḍyāṇa, oḍḍaṇa, oḍḍavāṇa, oḍḍivāṇa, oḍvāṇa* belt of gold or silver chiefly worn by women. Tu. *oḍyaṇe, oḍyāṇa* belt or girdle made of gold and generally worn by a devil-dancer. Te. *Oḍḍāṇamu* belt of gold or silver worn by women.'

All the morphological variations noted above from Indian and Tibetan sources can be traced back to South Indian languages. V.A. Devasenapathi (1975: 3) says: 'The meaning of the word Kāncī in Sanskrit is *Oḍḍiyāṇam* (a belt worn as an ornament around the waist by women). This ornament is worn only around the navel.' Kanci is so-called because it is the navel position for the earth. Kāncīmāhātmya 31.70 and Kāmākṣī-vilāsa speak of Kanci as the navel of the world:

(i) *ādhibhautikam aṁhoghnaṁ nābhisthānam bhuvaḥ param* (Kāmākṣī-vilāsem 11.6).
(ii) *jagad-kāma-kalākāraṁ nābhisthānam bhuvaḥ param* (ibid.13.73).
Śivajñāna Muniver in his Kāncīpurāṇa refers to Kanci as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her Garment and who shines as the Supreme ākāśa.

*South Indian words in dhāraṇīs.*

The presence of Draviḍa expressions in the dhāraṇīs is explicitly pointed out by several Buddhist texts (Bernhard, 1967: 148-168), some of which were translated into Chinese as early as A.D.265-316 (T.310), A.D.383 (T.1547), and A.D.398-399 (T.212). In the three Chinese translations of the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā (T.1547, tr.A.D. 383; T.1546, tr. A.D. 437-439; T.1545, tr. Hsüan-tsang A.D. 656-659) it is stated that Lord Buddha preached the Noble Truths to the lokapāla Virūpākṣa in the language of the South Indian borderlands, as he did not understand Sanskrit. The Northern Liang version (T.1546)employs the words: in the Draviḍa language. In the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, the Buddha preaches in the 'language of the borderlands' (Tib.mtha'-'khob-pa'i tshig). In the Udānavarga it is the Damiḍa language (ib.154). In the Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī (ed. S.Oldenburg, p.250 f.) it is stated: *sidhyantu drāmiḍā mantrapadāḥ svāhā* (ibid. p.162). Bernhard's in-depth study of a single, South Indian expression *īne mine dapphe daḍapphe* employed by Lord Buddha to explain the Truths to Virūpakṣa clearly manifests the urgent need of a comprehensive study of the language of dhāraṇīs and their South Indian Vocabulary. The presence of South Indian words in dhāraṇīs, which were pre-cursors of Mantrayāna, is borne out by the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra which speaks of Drāmiḍa-mantra-pada (39: 1,3) and by the Sarvajñātakāra-dhāraṇī: *iyaṁ Drāviḍa-mantra-padā saryajnātākara-dhāranī* (16.1), and *Drāviḍa-mantra-padāh* (19.8, Mantri, 1977: 88-89). In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra chap.21 (ed. Kern/Nanjio 1912: 410) rākṣasīs expounds the dhāraṇī *iti me⁵/ nime⁵/* ... The interpretation of this dhāraṇī is possible as a Tamil expression. In Tamil *i* is a demonstrative base expressing the nearer or proximate person or thing; prefaced to nouns, expressing nearness (Burrow/Emeneau, 1961; 30 No. 351a). It is *i* before a consonant and *ivv* before a vowel. The second word *timi-timi* is explained by Burrow and Emeneau (1961: 209, No.2644) as 'syllables sung to keep time in dancing', Kannada *dimi* 'sound produced by the quick motion of the feet in dancing', Tulu *dimidimi* 'dancing nimbly, agility'. In the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Nanjio, 1956:260) we find the spelling *dime-dime*. *i time²* refers to the nimble dancer who is near the heart of the yogin. The third word *nime-nime* is a jingling assonance of *time-time*. The variation *t* ~*n* reflects the sound sequence of the Tamil alphabet. In the Laṅkāvatāra there is another assonance *dime-dime hime-hime*, which echoes the sequence of t/d and p~h, that is, the dentals are followed by the labials. Regarding the p~h phenomenon, Caldwell (1961:147) says: 'Tamil and Malayalam are destitute of the sound *h*..... In Modern Canarese *h* is regularly used as a substitute for *p*, as is sometimes the case in Marathi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil'. Thus the jingling sequence of *dime² hime²* is a feature that could have arisen only in the Tamil-speaking area.

*Kanci as a Fountainhead of Buddhism.*

From very early times Kanci had become a cradle of Buddhism. In the excavations at Kancipura, a Buddhist shrine has been uncovered and there has also come to light a greyware sherd with Brahmi letters of the first-second century A.D. which have been read as *pu ta li ti sa* (Champaklakshmi, 1978: 116).

*Kancipura as a Centre of Pali Buddhism.*

The Gandhavaṁsa says that Kancipura, Avanti and Arimaddana were the three renowned centres of Theravāda. Buddhaghosa confirms this in his Manorathapūraṇī and further points out that he wrote this work on the request of Jotipāla while both were residing at Kancipura. Buddhaghosa refers to Srinivāsa or Siripala as the king of Kancipura in his Samantapāsādikā.

The Tamil Thera Buddhadatta who lived in the fifth century under the patronage of the Cola king Kalabhra Accuta-vikkanta was the abbot of several Buddhist monasteries, including those at Anurādhapura in Srilanka and at Kancipura.

The Gandhavaṁsa names ten South Indian Theras who wrote Pali works: Buddhadatta, Ānanda, Dhammapāla, two unnamed, Mahā-vajirabuddhi, Culla-vajirabuddhi, Dīpaṅkara alias Buddha-priya, Culla-dhammapāla, and Kassapa. This work also refers to twenty other Theravāda teachers who wrote in Pali at Kancipura. Among the ten Theras, Dhammapāla (5-6th century A.D.) headed the Bhaṭārāditta Vihāra at Kancipura and Dīpaṅkara Thera (1100 A.D.) became the head of the Bālādicca Vihāra at Kancipura.

Anuruddha (12th Century) of the Pandya land whose Pali works were popular in Ceylon and Burma headed the Mūlasoma Vihāra at Kancipura. For the last eight centuries his Abhidhammaṭṭha-saṅgaha has served as a textbook for abhidhamma philosophy in the Pali countries till our times.

'South India continued to be the centre of Pali Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D. The Kalyani stone inscriptions of King Dhammadazedi (Dhammaceti, 1472-1492 A.D.) and the Sāsanavaṁsa of Pannasāmi (A.D. 1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma during the reign of King Anawratha (10th century A.D.), taking with him to Arimaddananagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants well-versed in the Pali lore, two of whom, namely Ānanda Thera and Rāhula Thera, were residents of Kancipura. Ānanda Thera (died 1245 A.D.) was a native of Kancipuram who was taken to Arimarddanapura in Burma by Saddharma Jyoti Pāla, where the Burmese king Jayāsūra received him with great honours and loaded him with presents including an elephant which he sent to his relatives at Kanci. Ānanda was the head of the Burmese Buddhist Church for about fifty years and died in 1245 A.D.' (Ramachandran, 1954: 7).

It may be remembered that Diṅnāga was a native of Kanci, lived there for a long time in the early part of his life, went to Ayodhyā to learn from Vasubandhu and ultimately settled down at Kanci.

Dharmapāla (A.D. 528-560) the head of the Nalanda monastery was the eldest son of a minister of Kanci (Raghavan, 1976: 8).

Mahendravarman in his Mattavilāsa-prahasana gives additional proof of the existence of a Buddhist vihāra in Kanci in the early part of the seventeenth century A.D.

The Eight Patriarchs of Shingon or Japanese Vajrayāna who transmitted the doctrine and rites are (Saunders, 1964: 147): Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi (A.D. 670-741), Subhakarasiṁha (A.D. 637-735), Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774), I-hsing (A.D. 683-725), Hui-kuo (A.D. 746-805), Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 774-835).

Tantric Buddhism was carried to East Asia by Vajrabodhi of Kanci who 'according to his biography, travelled to southern India at the age of 31 and began a seven-year period of study under Nāgabodhi, a disciple of Nāgārjuna. At this time, it is recorded, he studied the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sutra ... According to a Chinese source Vajrabodhi's birthdate is conjectured as 671 A.D., and so his thirty-first year would correspond to the year 701 A.D.' (Matsunaga, 1977: 178). Nāgārjuna is an eminent authority on the Tantras in the Tibetan tradition as well. In the Blue Annals 2.753 it is clear that the

yoga and anuttara yoga tantras spread from the south: 'the acarya Nāgārjuna and his disciples obtained the yoga-tantras, including the Guhyasamāja and others (the anuttara-yoga-tantras, were also called mahāyoga-tantras...), and preached them. They spread from the South. After that Kambala and others discovered the yoginī-tantras in the country of O-ḍi-yan. They also spread towards Madhyadeśa.'

The biographies (Bagchi, 1938: 2.583) of Prājña of Kapiśā (worked in China A.D. 785-810) point out that at the age of 23 years he entered Nalanda and studied the sūtras and śāstras which included the Vajraśekhara. He went to the country of Chen-li where he stayed for 18 years. He learnt the speech of South India where they pursue the guhya-piṭaka or vidyādhara-piṭaka and practice strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South where he studied the yoga tantra, maṇḍala and mudrā of the 'five families' in more than 3000 gāthās.

*Transmission from South India to the East and North-West.*

The oldest of the texts of its genre the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. BST. 112) clearly states that the Pāramitāyāna (Joshi, 1967: 345) originated in the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha) and spread to the east and later flourished in Uttarāpatha, i.e. the North-west of India: *ime khalu punaḥ śāriputra ṣaṭpāramitā-pratisaṁyuktāḥ sūtrāntāstathāgatasyātyayena dakṣiṇāpathe pracariṣyanti, dakṣiṇāpathāt punareva vartanyāṁ pracariṣyanti, vartanyāḥ punar uttarapathe pracariṣyanti.* Haribhadra in his Ālokā (ed. BST. 427): *Vartanyām iti pūrvadeśe.* The Pāramitāyāna developed into Mantrayāna (Lessing / Wayman, 1968: 21), and this confirms that the route of transmission of Mantrayāna was from the South to the North-west. The South Indian monks were great wanderers who roamed far and wide disseminating Buddhism. An inscription in one of the apsidal temples at Nagarjunikonda (EI. 20,22-23) actually records a donation for nuns and monks who in their journeys to far-away lands had visited Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Aparānta, Yavana (?), and Tāmraparṇī (Sri Lanka), (Weiner, 1977:34).

# LAMA AND TAMANG IN YOLMO

Graham Clarke

In this paper I wish to discuss some important relationships in Yolmo[1,2] between the peoples labelled Lama or Tamang, focussing on aspects of social organisation that are centred around the lineage and the village.

Yolmo is the Tibetan name of a small region on the southern spurs of the main east-west Himalayan chain in central Nepal. It has easy access to the south, being only three days walk from the Kathmandu Valley but to the north it is cut off by two high mountain ridges from Tibet: hence the textual references to it as *yol-mo gangs-ra*, 'place screened by snow mountains/ glaciers'[3].

In Nepalese the region is known as Helambu. Locally this name is held to derive from a combination of the Tibetan names of two of the main upland crops: from *he*, potato, and *la-phug*, radish, comes the compound *he la-phug*, literally 'potatoes and radishes'. The name Helambu does not refer to any clear topographical or administrative unit but is used in a general manner to refer to the upland areas above the Melemchi river-valley.

In terms of Tibetan Himalayan settlements the region is of moderate altitude, all the permanent villages being below 10,000 ft. It possesses a relatively luxuriant vegetation. Besides potatoes and radishes, barley and wheat are grown at the higher altitudes- in the middle-hillside maize and millet are grown on stepped terraces and wet-rice is cultivated in the base of the river-valley. To the north the middle-hillside is forested rather than terraced, this forest being used together with high alpine pastures by the yak-cow hybrids of pastoralists in their annual transhumance cycle.

Locally the terms Yolmo and Helambu are used interchangeably. Their use has followed the extension of the culture and local movements of the people who are known as 'Lama People'. Today they are beginning to call themselves, especially to outsiders, 'Helambu Sherpa'. The use of the name Sherpa in this manner is relatively recent and does not indicate, except for one or two small groups, a direct connection with their cultural cousins, the Sherpas of Shar-Kumbu in eastern Nepal. They began to call themselves Sherpa when this other Tibetan population was put on the international map by mountaineering expeditions to Everest. Among themselves they still use the term Sherpa in its older sense, to refer to the people to their east who speak the true Sherpa language. They have their own language, Kāgate, which is a Bodic dialect; Kāgate and Sherpa are mutually unintelligible.[4] However in the context of the multi-ethnic polity of Nepal, they today align themselves with this relatively prestigious and well-known group with whom they have begun to form political contacts and to intermarry.

In Nepalese records[5] and in traditional terms a distinction is made between the Lama People and the Tamang, who together form a population in the order of ten thousand in the region. Put simplistically the Lama are the people who live above, towards the ridge, and the Tamang are the people who live below, towards the valley.

The difference in altitude of residence is clearly correlated to an economic distinction: whereas the villages of the Lamas are generally closely packed settlements towards the ridge, centred around a temple, those of the Tamang are distributed over the terraces which they farm. In the main the Lama People are rich landlords, the owners of the hill land and rice fields lower down which are farmed by their Tamang sharecropping tenants. Whereas the Tamang tenants farm this land to subsist, the Lama People derive an additional income from trade. Whilst in the past some of this trade was to

the north with Tibet, today it is to the south, to India and at one time as far afield as Burma, that these trading activities are directed. Villagers are away for extended periods of years rather than months for this trade and as many as half of the houses in a village may be empty at any one time. This relative wealth is of great importance as it frees the Lama People from labour on the soil, allowing them to devote their time not only to trade but also to social and religious activities centred around the village temple. The economic surplus of the region flows up the hillside to support the Lama villages.

This is the general pattern particularly for the wealthiest of the Lama villages. Yet one would be completely mistaken in supposing that the Lamas and the Tamang were two separate peoples. If we look at the region as a whole, whether in terms of language,general culture or intermarriage, there is no clear boundary between peoples, only a correlation between wealth, residence and ethnic affiliation. This continuity is quite clear in the relation between some of their clans.[6] These are thought of either as belonging to the same clan, although one bears the name 'Tamang' and the others the name 'Lama' or 'Sherpa'; or else they are regarded as the 'elder brother/ younger brother' lineages of the same clan. In either case intermarriage is forbidden between these related lineages. There is other evidence of a connection between these peoples, such as similarities in the form of organisation of the agnatic kin group, kinship terminology and marriage ideals. We shall examine this evidence briefly.

They have the same rules of inheritance for agnates. In both cases the youngest son inherits the house, and the land and other possessions are partitioned equally between all the sons of the household. If there are no sons, then traditionally all male members of the local-lineage have priority in the inheritance of the land over women; and if an agnate wishes to sell land it should first be offered to men of one's own local lineage. Thus the local patri-lineage appears to have some degree of corporate rights over land.

The corporate nature of the local lineage is also shown at the time of marriage. The male agnates of the groom go with him to take the bride from her parent's house and a girl of his lineage accompanies the bride, arm in arm, throughout the day of the marriage, sitting next to her at the wedding ceremony. It is women of the groom's lineage, rather than any affinal women of the household,who prepare food in the groom's house for the wedding. Traditionally it is an elder of the groom's lineage who performs the actual wedding ceremony.

For both communities there is a sense in which a family that gives a bride to another, for which the term *a-zhang* is used, is higher in status than that which receives a bride, for which the term *mag-pa* is used. This is symbolised in the traditional practice of a groom riding on his sister's husband's back at his own wedding. Both have a similar kinship terminology of the 'two-line symmetrical' or 'Dravidian' kind, which identifies parallel cousins (mother's sister's child, father's brother's child) with brothers and sisters, and separates them from cross-cousins (mother's brother's child, father's sister's child), and makes relative age distinctions in relation to ego. For both, the term for 'brothers' (literally 'elder-brothers-younger-brothers') is the same as that for the local-lineage (k: *ada-nau*). For both one cultural ideal is that of marriage between cross-cousins and in general the entire village is addressed in terms which distinguish between agnatic kin and potential affines.[7]

Hence both substantively, in their local identification as one, and formally, in their possessing similar lineage and kinship organisations,there is an indication of a continuity between these groups. However, we shall see

presently that these rules and forms are modified in the Lama villages to take account of another form of social organisation. The Tamang refer to the Lama People as rich landlords who do not work in the fields, but who work instead in their temples as priests of Tibetan Buddhist culture. The temple is the distinctive and central feature of a Lama village and it is in seeing how the wealth of these villages passes through the temple that the major differences between these two communities appear. In the next section I will sketch out how this corporate social life is organised between households in relation to the temple, rather than in accordance with lineage and kinship.

Ideally all the people of a Lama village are *khral-pa* (literally 'tax-payer'), a term which has the sense of a full village member or village-citizen. A *khral-pa* is contrasted to a *dakre*, a word used to describe the Tamang people down the hill who are not members of temple communities. This latter is a term of contempt which in Nepalese is used for people outside government service without land-grants and for people who obtain their livelihood from work as porters.[8]

To become a full village member involves taking a loan from the temple, part of which is payed back immediately[9], and on which annual interest is payable as a contribution to the costs of a temple-festival. Repayment of this loan is known as 'returning one's village membership' and would only be done if a person wished to leave the village permanently. Each village-citizen's household has a flag-pole (*dar-lcog*) either in front of it or in front of the temple if they do not possess a house in the village. The flag-pole is blessed for the material fortune (*rten-'brel*) of the household with a libation offering (*ser-bskyems*) both at the initial time of membership and during the annual village cycle of festivals. Each full village member has the name of the household head inscribed in a list (n: *data*) of such households that is kept by the priests, and to be considered a citizen it is necessary to be a member of such a household. Only in the fact that a youngest son customarily succeeds to the position as head of the household and the village-citizenship is there a form of lineage or kinship link; the number of village membership positions is fixed and controlled by the temple priests in terms of households and is not subject to partition or other claims of the agnatic kin.

By virtue of their village-citizenship, each household has an automatic right of access to two statuses which are basic to the corporate life of the temple. The first of these is that of 'presenter'or 'financier',the local term for which is (k) *jiwa* (a contraction of the Tibetan *sbyin-bdag*). Each household on the list takes a turn as a presenter at village ceremonies although some groups have privileged access to certain days. The second status is that of priest, for which the normal terms in Helambu are *bla-ma* or *chos-wa*. All men of citizen-households may, if they are able to read Tibetan at all (this does not presume comprehension), sit in the temple and act as priests, although there are differences of rank and status within this priesthood. As in any Tibetan Buddhist temple, the priests sit facing each other in two lines descending from the altar in order of rank, which is often determined by age; the presenters when they are making offerings and receiving blessings sit in the middle facing the altar.

The Lama People of Helambu act as their own priests, carrying out annual festivals and major rites of passage for members of the community in the temple and minor ceremonies in private houses.[10] This is quite different to the Tamang peoples of Helambu who use religious specialists separate from their community. It is also different from the urban Tibetan groups who use monks for their rituals (Stein, 1972: 172), as do people in the wider Buddhist world of South and South-East Asia. Even the Sherpas of Kumbu who also have village lay-priests today use monks for major rituals (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1964:

126-174). There are signs that the role of monks and monasteries is increasing among the Lamas of Helambu as part of their wider integration into the 'Sherpa community' of Nepal, but today monks still play only a minor part in village religious life and never enter a village-temple.[11]

On the days when a household head is a presenter he ignores any status that he may possess as a priest, and manages the festival. His household is responsible throughout this period for feeding the entire community, all of whom eat together at the temple. Before the festival each full-village household must make clearly defined donations of grain to the presenter's household. Such contributions are also made by each household on the event of a death in a family. Hence the links between households as village members are established not only in the temple itself, but also in the everyday relationships within the community. When one considers that in one Lama village, Tarkhye, over eighty days of the year in 1976 were devoted to such communal activity, the importance of these relationships is evident.

In relation to Tamang people, all members of such a temple community are Lamas. Within the community itself all priests are in one sense Lama but here the term can be used in a contextually relative manner that reflects the meaning of *bla-ma* as 'higher' or 'superior' one. It is often used to refer to the highest priest present, the one who acts as the officiating Lama of the spiritual lineage (*bla-ma'i rgyud-pa*) in Vajrayāna religious ceremonies. Within the temple there is a clear hierarchy of offices that is similar, with two notable exceptions, to the offices of a Tibetan monastery.[12] The temple officials are known as (k) *gowa* (*'go-pa*, 'headman'), and possess a striped shawl called an (k) *ardhi* (*yar-dhi*) as a sign of office. But above them, whether young or old, comes another group who are known as (n) *thar* Lama (literally 'clan' or 'lineage' priests), who are their superiors by virtue of descent.

The lineage Lamas are the agnatic descendants of the founder of the temple. Ideally there is only one lineage Lama who occupies a position analogous to the abbot (*mkhan-po*) of a monastery. He is the legal owner of the temple and in cases where the temple is the recipient of a religious land-endowment (n: *guthi*) from the State and the village is built on that land, he has great authority. He appoints the temple-officials and together with them directs the activities of the temple. It is rather curious that here at the head of the village corporate hierarchy where we appear to have a bureaucracy, we are once again in the realm of agnatic kinship and the lineage.

There is however a fundamental difference to the situation encountered before. In the case of the 'Tamang' lineage, the inheritance is divided up and equally any preferential share falls to the youngest son. With the Lama lineage there is no partition of the temple or its demesne and ideally the head Lama of the lineage comes to his position by right of primogeniture.[13]

Hence although the lineages of these hereditary Lamas may be organised by patrilineal descent, the form of their organisation is different and suggests that we are looking at separate institutions. Their origin in Tibet also suggests their separateness.

I would like now to look again at the lineage and kinship based social forms that were examined before and which indicated a *continuity* between the Lama and Tamang populations and to consider how, in the more extreme cases, their form has been altered by the influence of the temple-based social order.

Firstly there is the matter of inheritance which favours the younger son and the lineage in the 'Tamang' case. Here the development is not completely one-sided as the house and the village citizenship of a Lama are inherited in this manner and land is still partitioned between sons. But today if there are no sons the widow and then the daughter inherits and if there is a will to

that effect a son-in-law may inherit. The local lineage is unlikely to claim such land and people buy and sell land without reference to their agnatic kin. Whilst this is to a degree made possible by relatively recent Nepalese law on land-tenure (Regmi, 1976: 200), its realisation marks the decrease of the importance of the agnatic lineage.

Secondly whilst there is still a lineage ceremony in the groom's house at the time of a wedding, today it is a lineage Lama, a representative of the temple, rather than an elder of the local lineage, who ideally officiates at the ceremony; furthermore the lineage brothers and sisters of the groom bring their household family, who may be of a different lineage to the hosts. Possibly it is becoming a relationship between households and families rather than a lineage ceremony but still it is women of the groom's lineage rather than the women of the house[14] who prepare food on this occasion. In addition a second ceremony can be held immediately afterwards to which the whole village is invited and in which each village household makes a gift to the couple.

I have indicated that there is a sense in which 'wife-givers' are superior to 'wife-takers'. But in a Lama village no member of the Lama lineage would in public sit below his 'wife-giver' and in general it is status deriving from the religious hierarchy of the temple rather than affinal status which decides rank. In the most developed Lama village one will not see a man carried on his sister's husband's back to his own wedding and in other villages this will only occur in cases where the assymetry of affinal relations is reinforced, rather than contradicted, by temple rank. Any residual embarrassment that might be felt, for example, by an illiterate 'wife-giver' in the presence of his priestly son-in-law is solved quite simply by avoidance, even to the point of not coming to his daughter's wedding.

There is the matter of the use of kinship terms themselves, there being the general distinction between parallel and cross-cousins, with one cultural ideal of marriage with the latter. Whilst recognising it as a new usage in this generation, in one village many people now extend the parallel terms to the cross-cousins, only using the latter terms to indicate immediate affines in the case of a marriage. There is a new feeling that cross-cousin marriage is inward looking and backward, this change being connected to the general adoption of the wider Sherpa identity in Nepal. And beyond any possible logical implications of such a form of marriage, neither Sherpas (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1964: 47) nor Lhasa Tibetans (Goldstein, 1975: 62) marry cross-cousins, viewing it as a form of incest. What does remain in the terminology is the emphasis on relative age seniority which is reinforced by relative age ranking in the temple hierarchy.[15]

These examples suggest that in the more elaborated and developed of the Lama villages the institutions of the lineage and kinship are accommodating to and being assimilated by those based on the temple and the household. The exception here is the founding Lama lineage itself, which can be considered separately.

Elsewhere (Clarke, 1979) I have traced the origin of these Lama lineages to the settlement of a few virtuoso Tibetan religious practicioners who came to Nepal and Yolmo via the Kyirong (*sKyid-rong*) area and who received land-grants from Kathmandu kings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I pointed out how the fission of the Lama lineages as a result of inheritance by right of primogeniture led to an expansion of this cultural form down the slopes of Helambu from the north in a period dating from the eighteenth century. I also stated that the growth of the Lama villages could be explained by the intermarriage of local landowners and descendants of the dominant Lama lineage, connected to their movement up the hill to the temples and adoption of Tibetan Buddhist culture. The evidence on the economic circumstances

surrounding the later period of expansion and fission and all the evidence on the growth and nucleation of the villages has yet to be presented. However it can be seen that these processes can in principle explain the evident continuities between the Lama and Tamang peoples of the area and provide the background to the changes in social organisation which I have here described.[16]

In this paper I have merely outlined the distinction between the Lama and Tamang communities in Helambu and pointed to a possible future identity for the wealthier of these as 'Sherpa'. This has not been the place for a detailed substantiation of the framework that has been presented but merely for an overview. It should be pointed out that there is a great deal of detailed variation both between villages and historically within single villages, and that not all the social developments in Helambu since the region was settled can be directly explained in the above framework. Here I have only suggested with some illustrative evidence that the main distinction between Lama and Tamang in Helambu is based on control of land and that the major differences of social organisation between them are best explained by a change from a corporate life based on the lineage and kinship over to one based on the household and the temple.

## Notes

1. The research on which this work is based was carried out in Helambu and in Nepalese archives over a period of eighteen months between 1974 and 1977. It was carried out as research for a doctoral thesis for Oxford University and I wish to thank my supervisors, HMG Nepal and the people of Helambu for the help that they gave me.
2. In this paper Tibetan transliterations are unmarked; Nepalese transliterations are marked by the prefix (n) or (n:, and local terms by the prefix (k) or (k:, the latter form used if the word is enclosed in brackets. Clan names are given in an approximate romanised equivalent.
3. The best known of these references is probably the biography of Mila Repa e.g., (trn.) Evans-Wentz/Kazi Dawa Samdup, 1974: 235, 239.
4. This language is also spoken by a group in East No.2 Zone in Nepal who are paper makers - this being a literal translation of the word (n) *kāgate* - (M. Höhlig/R.Monette, personal communication). It is also spoken by a group with whom they have a direct connection at Alubari (literally 'potato field') near Darjeeling.
5. The Guthi Lagat records at Kathmandu contain the following references to people in Helambu: 'Lamas or Tamangs' (1939 C.E., No.341); 'Lamas and other Tamangs' (1940 C.E., No.268). The Guthi Lagat record for Listi Kebalung, to the east of Helambu, refers to Lama, Tamang, Bhote and Sherpa people (1941, C.E.). Whether in Newari (1723 C.E., 1727 C.E.) or in Nepalese (1828 C.E.), the earlier copper-plate land-grants for the Helambu temples refer only to 'the Lama', not to a Lama People (for the translation see Clarke, 1980).
6. The list giving the Tamang variant in brackets is as follows: Dongba (Dong), Chiawa (Toka or Pakhrin), Chösangba (Mukhtin), Shyangba (Thing), Yöba (Waiba).

7. A more detailed analysis of the kinship terminology paying more attention to the points raised by Allen (1976) and their relation to marriage patterns would be of interest here.
8. This appears similar to the division of commoners (*mi-ser*) into registered land-holders (*khral-pa*) and itinerant workers (*dus-chung*) who lease their labour, in southern Tibet (Goldstein, 1971: 65).
9. The expression used is (k) gyurgen, which could be *rgyud-rgyan, rgyu-rgyan,* or even *rgyu-rkyen.*
10. They do appear as similar to the *ser-khyim* temple-communities of Dingri (Aziz, 1978: 76-94), which are probably connected to the *sor-kyim-pa* of Jäschke (1975: 389).
11. Today refugee Tibetan monks who have settled in the region are used for divination. They and others also teach village youths to read Tibetan. The relationship between the Tibetan Buddhist monastic tradition and the local priesthood is a complex topic. The spiritual lineages of the temples in Helambu are *rnying-ma-pa, byang-gter, kar-ma-pa* and *bka-'brgyud-pa.*
12. These are too well-known to require restatement here, e.g., Waddell, 1895; Fürer-Haimendorf, 1964.
13. Whilst rank is by age-seniority, inheritance is decided by right of primogeniture. Hence a deceased head Lama's son, the new head Lama, will sit below his father's younger brother, if the latter is older. In one village the rights of the head Lama associated with the management of the temple demesne are now rotated, but even here temple rank is strictly by age-seniority.
14. In practice this normally implies the father's sister rather than the mother of the groom but it can be any female of the local lineage.
15. Strictly speaking, in the terminology, it is relative age within a genealogical level which is marked; and within the temple it is seniority by date of entry into the priesthood which is the criterion.
16. I hope to finish the manuscript of a monograph on the people of Helambu which will cover these points in detail in the not too distant future.

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# THE SYMBOLISM OF THE HOUSE IN RGYAL-THANG

Claes Corlin

The purpose of this paper is to present some aspects of folk religion in *rGyal-thang* (Chungtien), a county in North-Western Yun-nan which is populated by ethnic Tibetans.[1] In *rGyal-thang* there are to be found popular beliefs and ideas concerning the dwelling house, which is conceived of not only as a building, but also as a symbolic system - a microcosm. As a starting point for the discussion a tape recording of a song describing the house was played at the Oxford Seminar. A translation of this song is included at the end of this paper.

The dwelling-house of *rGyal-thang* which this song describes is a two-storied building with drystone walls and a sloping wooden roof (fig.1). The floor of the upper storey is extended to form a balcony on the front side which faces a courtyard surrounded by walls on three sides. In the wall opposite the house there is a porch and from there, one passes the courtyard and enters the ground floor of the building which is used as the stables. Then one ascends a notched tree-trunk leading to the first floor. Inside there is a large central room serving as a combined sleeping-room, living-room and kitchen.

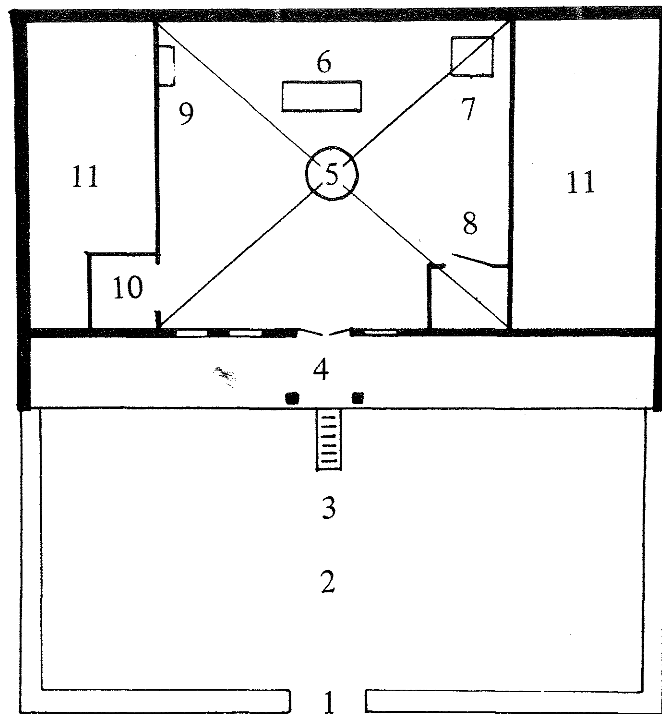
The most conspicuous feature of this room is the central pillar, called *[sBas-ka]*. This *sBas-ka* is made from a solid tree-trunk, about three metres tall and nearly two metres in circumference. The *sBas-ka* rests on floor boards which are supported by walls or pillars in the stables beneath to carry its weight. The top of the *sBas-ka* pillar does not support the ceiling directly, but on the top surface four notches are carved in the form of a cross in which rest the ends of the four *gDung-ma*, or beams, running to the corners of the room.

This *sBas-ka* pillar is of great ritual and symbolic significance. It represents the world-tree, the centre of the universe, and the communication channel between the middle world of men, the upper world of gods and beings, and the subterranean world of the *kLu* serpent spirits.[2] As such, the *sBas-ka* plays a dominant part in the ceremonies performed to increase the luck and prosperity of the residential group. And so the choice, making and inauguration of the *sBas-ka* are performed with elaborate ritual.

First, a suitable tree is sought in the woods. This search should be made on a lucky day according to divination. The tree should be tall, straight, round and without defects. When such a tree has been found, it is marked by a stroke of the axe on its eastern side. Prior to felling, a *bSangs* fire is lit to the *Yul-lha*, or god of the locality. When the tree is ready to be transported, the neighbours of the family come to assist - altogether about eight to ten people. Two strong *mDzo* crossbreds are especially selected for the task; *Kha-btags* scarves are wrapped around the horns of the beasts and are also carried by the men.

Another *bSangs* is lit as the beasts start to pull and when they approach the building site, a third *bSangs* is lit there. The *mdzo* are fed with wheat, the ceremonial food, and are then led to the best pastures. The workers are invited to a feast and receive food gifts for their assistance.

As the ground storey of the house is finished, the *sBas-ka* is erected in the middle of the central room on the first floor. This event is accompanied by another *bSangs* and a feast for the workers. When the house is finished a great feast is sponsored by the family who will move in on an auspicious date. After this feast, a *[Tshangs-pa]* ritual expert is invited to perform the




1. Porch; 2. Courtyard; 3. Staircase; 4. Balcony; 5. *sBas-kha*
6. Hearth; 7. *Tshangs-pa Khab*; 8. *Bem-bang*; 9. *Yos-khang*;
10. *lHa-khang*; 11. Storage.

*fig. 1:* Plan of the house.

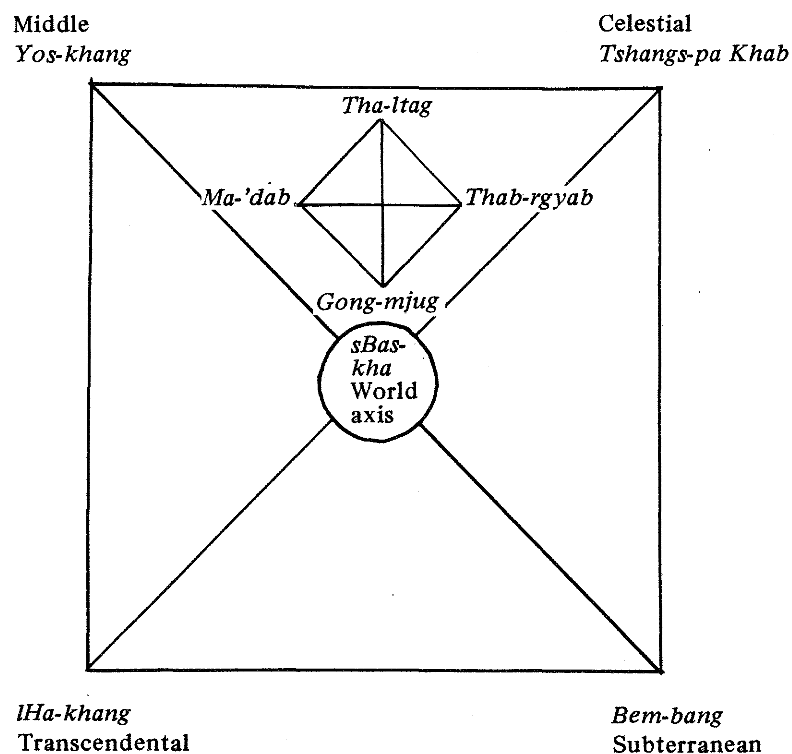



*fig. 2:* Symbolic dimensions of the house.

*g.Yang-len* ritual (cf.below). A length of silk is wrapped around the *sBas-ka* and close to the top of the pillar a *mDos* thread-cross and several triangular paper flags are attached to a multi-coloured bamboo ribbon tied around the pillar.

The *g.Yang-len* ritual just mentioned is performed not only in connection with the building of a house but also once a year to renew the luck and prosperity of this house and its inhabitants. It is also performed on several occasions during the wedding ceremony which in *rGyal-thang* is a rather elaborate affair. This ritual is based upon a central concept in the folk religion: *g.Yang*, a term which is usually translated as 'luck, blessing, prosperity', but which in *rGyal-thang* seems to connote not only 'luck' as a philosophical idea but also as a class of supernatural beings. *g.Yang* is conceived of as a power which can be fetched from a place called *['Jang Kha-ba Ho]*. *'Jang* refers to the district of Likiang, i.e. the area south of *rGyal-thang*. In classical Tibetan *'Jang* denotes the Kingdom of *Nan Chao*.

The *g.Yang* spirits are called from *'Jang Kha-ba Ho* by a special ritual expert, the *Tshangs-pa*, who is loosely attached to either the *rNying-ma-pa* or the *bka'-brgyud-pa* monastic Schools. The *Tshangs-pa* office is inherited from father to son within certain families. The *Yi-dam-lha*, or tutelary deity of a *Tshangs-pa*, is always *rTa-mgrin*.

When the *Tshangs-pa* is called to perform the *g.Yang-len* ritual,a special corner in the house, the *Tshangs-pa Khab*, is reserved for him and his ritual paraphernalia. There a four-tiered structure - the *g.Yang-gzhi*- is built. Upon each tier, food and other offerings are placed. On the top tier is placed the *brTen-lu*, which is a bowl containing uncooked rice, gems, and money and in the middle of this the *mDal-dar*, that is an arrow which is adorned with a mirror and multi-coloured cloth ribbons. This bowl and the arrow are normally stored in the *Bem-bang*, or treasure-room of the house. It is thought of as an offering to the *klu* serpent spirits, who preserve the prosperity of the house. Each year, the *mDal-dar* is taken out by the *Tshangs-pa* to renew its power.

At the *g.Yang-len* ritual, the *g.Yang* spirits are called from the place *'Jang Kha-ba Ho*, invoked to stay on the *g.Yang-gzhi* structure and to remain in the house in order to guard the future well-being of its inhabitants.

At the wedding ceremony, the *g.Yang* are even present, as it were, in person. A boy of the groom's kin impersonates the *g.Yang* and is questioned by the *Tshangs-pa*. The latter asks the boy: 'Please tell all chapters that you know!'[3] The boy is holding the *mDal-dar* in his outstretched right hand, letting it swing in slow half-circles: 'I am here!' The Tshangs-pa asks him: 'From which direction have you come?' - 'I have come from the East, from the sunshine side!' - In the sunshine direction, who was the man, how was the horse, how was the saddle?' - 'The East-man (*Mi Shar*) was *Ri-rgyal lHun-po* (the mythical King of Mt.Meru), the horse was cream-white, the saddle of gold and the bridle of turquoise.'

The Tshangs-pa then reads from a text called *g.Yang-len*. Then he asks the boy (who is still swinging the *mDal-dar*): 'How sings the royal bird, the cuckoo?' The boy answers by imitating the cuckoo. 'How sings the white crane?' 'How sings the yellow duck at lake *Ma-pham*?' &c. This ritual is called *g.Yang Bya sKad*.

At the wedding ceremony this bird singing is followed by a ritual called *g.Yang Chags-pa* ('luck remains'), led by the mother of the bride who is in this case the *Sa-bdag*, or master of the house. She leads in a song which describes how the *g.Yang* enter the house through the smoke-hole in the roof, how they stay on the *g.Yang-gzhi* structure and are transferred to the *Bem-bang*

treasure-room, giving riches to the members of the house-hold. Then she leads a procession, followed by a man carrying the *brTen-lu* with the *mDal-dar* arrow, going three times clockwise around the *sBas-ka* pillar. The song accompanying this procession goes: 'The *g.Yang* stay on in this house. This house is a large square room. *g.Yang* stay on the father and he looks like *Ri-rgyal lHun-po*. *g.Yang* stay on the mother and she looks like the lucky lake *Ma-pham*.' Then the *brTen-lu* bowl and the *mDal-dar* are placed into the treasure-room, and the door is locked. This door must not be opened in three days or the *g.Yang* will disappear.

The wedding ceremony (of which I have described only a part) ends by a beer offering to the *Yul-lha*,or god of the locality. This god is worshipped in another corner of the house, the *Yos-khang*, or 'roasted-grain place' (fig.1). There in a small cabinet, offerings to the *Yul-lha* are placed. Such offerings are made in connection with the inclusion or exclusion of a house-hold member (i.e. birth, marriage, and death), at the New Year celebration, and before major undertakings. Outside, the *Yul-lha* is worshipped by *bSangs* fires on several occasions such as the start of the agricultural season, hail-averting rituals, &c. In contrast to the *g.Yang* rituals which seem to be performed by the women of the house, it is the men who make offerings to the *Yul-lha*. The *Tshangs-pa* ritualist may do both.

The fourth corner of the central room (fig.1) is the *lHa-khang* or chapel, where the 'pure' Buddhist ritual items such as *Thang-ka* and Buddha images are placed. In here the *dGe-lugs-pa* monks of the household perform the periodic rituals. To this cabinet the monks are confined during the wedding ceremony or other rituals involving either the *Tshangs-pa*, or the *sTon-pa*(a *Bon* magician).

The last sixteen lines of the courting song (see below) describe the following spatial divisions:

*Tha-ltag* (place of honour)
*Ma-'dab* (mother's place)
*Gong-mjug* (honorary end)
*Thab-rgyab* (behind the hearth)

These four positions are centered around the hearth, which is an oblong elevated structure made of clay and placed behind the *sBas-ka* as seen from the entrance. In the song these four places are distributed according to sex and generation: the father sitting on the upper or back place, the sons (who are often monks) opposite to him; the mother is sitting to the father's right side, and the daughters opposite to her. The respective status of each member of the family is symbolised by the precious metals and clothstuffs in the song.

To conclude, the cosmologically important points of the house are arranged symmetrically in the shape of a simple *mandala* (fig.2). The squareness of the room is emphasized in the wedding songs. In the centre of this square is the *sBas-ka* pillar, the centre of the world. From this focal point the beams lead to the four corners of the room - each corner with its special ritual function.

Inside this ritual mandala there is what we may call a 'social mandala'; that is, the seating order of the household members as centered around the hearth.

Rituals in the house are enacted within this symbolic structure. For instance in the *g.Yang-len* ritual described above, the *g.Yang* spirits are firstly invoked to stay on the *mDal-dar* arrow in the *Tshangs-pa Khab*, then carried in procession around the central *sBas-ka* with its thread-cross and finally transferred to and literally imprisoned in the *Bem-bang* treasure-room. So the *Tshangs-pa Khab* is the abode of the *free g.Yang* who are induced to

enter it by offerings and invocations; the *Bem-bang* on the contrary is the abode of the *bound g.Yang*, but also, as mentioned above, that of the *kLu* serpent spirits. It seems that the free *g.Yang*, represented, or carried,by birds (we remember the 'bird singing') through their passage around the *sBas-ka* become the bound *g.Yang*, which are associated with or transformed to *kLu* serpent spirits.

The *sBas-ka* however represents the communication channel between the celestial,the middle and the subterranean realms. Thus, the celestial (or 'athmospherical') *g.Yang* travel by the world axis to enter the subterranean world. In this ritual process the riches of the free *g.Yang*, the luck of *'Jang Ka-ba Ho*, is transferred to the living-house and its inhabitants.

Thus, apart from the two-dimensional *mandala* we may suggest a third symbolic dimension of the house;

*Tshangs-pa Khab* - upper world
*Yos-khang* - middle world
*Bem-bang* - subterranean world

The middle world is represented by the *Yul-lha* or god of the locality, which is worshipped in the *Yos-khang*. Finally the fourth corner of the house, the *lHa-khang*, represents the transcendental aspects of religion (as regulated by Karmic law), which are different from the prgamatic aspects of folk religion, the latter dealing with the 'here and now' of every-day realities.[4]

In this way, the house in *rGyal-thang* is not just a shelter for its inhabitants. It is a cosmologically meaningful structure designed to maintain an efficient relationship with the powers of the outside world.

*A Courting Song from rGyal-thang.*

At the New Year celebration in rGyal-thang, the young men often went visiting girls in other villages. This song was sung by the men as they entered the house of a girl.

Now I would like to say:

This porch is like tiger and yak-bull fighting
This wild watch-dog like a humming drone,
This wooden dog-pole brightly shining,
This dog-chain like a chain of gold.

This passage in the wall is a smoke-ray blowing,
This horse-mounting stone like a mirror clear,
These blazen horses like an alley golden,
These hogs are conch-white and turquoise.

This staircase is like white paper stapled,
This balcony floor like a tiger fell,
This outer door is like the sun-shine,
This inner door like the full moon clear.

This *Beka* pillar is a world-wide support,
These rafters like four raised swords,
This *Yoskhang* is a golden cabinet,
Up there a little altar, butter-lamp and
small white bell.

This place of honour[1] is a golden cabinet,
In there a golden throne with a silken cloth,
On the golden throne sits the father of the family,
And the father looks like *Rigyal Lhunpo*.

This mother's place[2] is a silver cabinet,
In there a silver throne with a woolen cloth,
On the silver throne sits the mother of the family,
And the mother looks like the lucky *Mapham* lake.

This honorary end[3] is a silver cabinet,
In there a silver throne with a home-spun cloth,
On the silver throne sit the brothers of the family,
And they look as friendly as we thought.

This place behind the hearth[4] is a turquoise cabinet,
In there a turquoise throne with a home-spun cloth,
On the turquoise throne sit the sisters of the family,
And they look like flowers in the grass.

1) *Thab-ltag* 2) *Ma-'dab* 3) *Gong-mjug* 4) *Thab-rgyab*

## Notes

1. For a general introduction to *rGyal-thang*, see: Corlin: 'A Tibetan Enclave in Yunnan: Land, Kinship, and Inheritance in rGyal-thang,' *Tibetan Studies*, Zürich, 1978. More information will be provided in a forthcoming book on the ethnography of *rGyal-thang*.
2. The symbolism of the central pillar in Central and Eastern Asia is analysed in Stein, R.A.: 'L'habitat, le monde et le corps humain en Extrême Orient et en Haute Asie,' *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXLV, Paris, 1957.
3. *'Le'u Yongs Kyi bdag Po Khyod La'*.
4. Cf. Mandelbaum: 'Transcendental and Pragmatic Aspects of Religion', *American Anthropologist*, 1964.

Note on Transliteration: Tibetan words of local origin and those of doubtful orthography have been put in square brackets the first time they appear, e.g. *[sBas-Ka]*.

## LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN LADAKH

**Philip Denwood**

The recent accessibility of Ladakh has enabled me and others to make some observations in the field of the dialect spoken around Leh. A body of comparative material from the Balti dialect of Tibetan from Pakistani-controlled territory[1] and of recent Japanese[2] work on the Zangskar dialect makes possible an overall view of those dialects which Jaeschke called 'western' in contradistinction to 'eastern' (by which from his western viewpoint he meant the dialects from Spiti eastwards to *dBus* province). Jaeschke linked his 'western' dialects with what he called 'Khams'. After a century of subsequent work it seems that this latter resembles no known Kham dialect- it may have been Golok or, more likely, something related to it. This group of western and far eastern or north-eastern dialects he designated as archaic in their preservation of phonetic elements lost in the centre:

> The resemblances and correspondences noted can,therefore, scarcely be accounted for in any other way, than by assuming that an old and strong instinct of speech lived on in oral tradition for more than ten centuries on the outskirts of the Tibetan domain, which in the intermediate provinces has gradually surrendered and submitted to the spirit of change.[3]

Much more recently R.K.Sprigg[4] has distinguished two groups of Tibetan dialects, using criteria of a similar general nature to Jaeschke's, which he denominates 'cluster' dialects and 'non- cluster' dialects. To over-simplify, cluster dialects are those which show consonant clusters at the beginning of words; his examples are Balti and Golok. Non-cluster dialects have no true consonant clusters at the beginnings of words, though they may have them at the beginnings of non-initial syllables, the loss of phonetic distinctions being compensated for by tonal differences, such that most words have a tonal classification. Examples of such dialects are Central Tibetan, Sikkimese and Sherpa., to which I would add Bhutanese and at least some Kham dialects. Although he does not press the point, Sprigg's reconstructions imply that tone distinction is a relatively late development. How does Ladakhi fit into this scheme?

First, some general remarks. The language spoken in Ladakh as in any other Tibetan-speaking area is variable and probably every village, certainly every valley, has its own sub-dialect. In general the complexity of consonantal combinations seems to increase westwards, from the less complex east Ladakhi to the more complex Balti. The capital Leh, for example, seems to be near the border between the pronunciations 'snambu' and 'nambu' (*snam-bu*); both pronunciations will be heard in the bazaar, the less complex one usually proving to come from speakers native to villages somewhat east of Leh.

Leh, like Lhasa, gives its political domain a linguistic standard and I concentrated on its dialect. The official language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir being Urdu, Ladakhi is but little used for official purposes. In its Leh form it is regularly broadcast over the radio. Ladakhis of all ages, in my experience, unlike many Tibetans and Bhutanese,show no hesitation in writing as they speak for informal purposes. When it comes to venturing into print, however, the long arm of classical Tibetan generally ensures a similar sort of uneasy compromise between the literary and the colloquial as has at times been produced in Bhutan and Sikkim, and to avoid which the Tibetans proper have at last developed a modern literary style in its own right. This the Ladakhis have yet to do.

In vocabulary, as a systematic analysis of some 5,000 words in common use has shown, and in syntax, Ladakhi like Balti and also Zangskari is overwhelmingly Tibetan. To the small percentage of Chinese - and Mongol-derived words in pre-1959 Lhasa Tibetan corresponds a similar proportion of Urdu words. In a village context these cannot amount to more than about 2-3% of the total lexicon. Nor is there any obvious Indo-European subtrate - Dardic or what have you. Apart from the Urdu words virtually everything can be found in Jaeschke's dictionary - the syllables if not the words. Of course Jaeschke was working not too far from Ladakh; the very fact that a word is in his dictionary may mean that it is used in the west rather than that it has a bona-fide Tibetan etymology (whatever that may be). Such common words as 'culi' (apricot) and 'tibi' (hat) look rather suspicious. But again they form a very small percentage of the total. Nor does there seem to be any hint of the vocabulary which purports to be *Zhang-zhung*, whether from Central Asian or from modern *Bon-po* sources. As a matter of fact the *Bon-po* sources generally stipulate the area of *Zhang-zhung* culture as extending round the western and northern fringes of Central Tibet but not extending as far west as Ladakh.

I shall now take a look at Ladakhi from the point of view of its consonant clusters: only one aspect of the language of course among many but quite an important one in the context of Tibetan dialectology.

Dealing with monosyllables and initial syllables, Ladakhi may be compared with Lhasa Tibetan in which there are no consonant clusters, some written prefixes and head letters corresponding only to the 'high' tone of the syllable or voicing of its initial consonant. In Ladakhi we have all the simple consonant sounds of Lhasa Tibetan corresponding to the simple basic letters, plus voiced 'ga', 'ja', 'da', 'ba' and 'dza'. However there is some unpredictable variability in words spelt with unprefixed *ga, ja, da* and *ba*. Thus, *gong-ma* 'gongma', *gus-pa* 'kus'a'; *ja* 'ca', *ja-mchod* 'jamchot'; *dal-mo* 'dalmo' *dam-pa* 'tampa'; *ba-glang* 'balang', *bag-ma* 'pakma'. (This is precisely the context in which we get unpredictable aspiration in Lhasa Tibetan.) The unvoiced, aspirated 'l' (*lh*) is missing from Ladakhi, which has however three initial consonants not heard in Lhasa: 'zha' *(zha)*, za' *(za)* and a voiced velar fricative corresponding to *sga* and *rga*.

There are three types of consonant clusters in word-initial position in Ladakhi, which may be denominated the l-cluster, the r-cluster, and the s-cluster. Examples are as follows (l'= a voiceless, aspirated l, r' a voiceless, aspirated r):

| | |
|---|---|
| L-cluster: | *lcags* 'l'caks', *ltad-mo* 'l'tadmo', *lkog-ma* 'l'kokma', *ldab* 'ldap', *ljags* 'ljaks'. |
| R-cluster: | *rkyang-pa* 'r'kyangpa', *spyan* 'r'can', *gtsang-ma* 'r'tsang-ma', *rtsis* 'r'tsis', *rjes* 'rjes', *rdzong* 'rdzong'. |
| S-cluster: | *ske* 'ske', *snying* 'snying', *rta* 'sta', *spang* 'spang', *sman* 'sman'. |

These clusters give us some 16 extra distinctions at the beginning of words, and the dialect as a whole has some 52 distinct consonants and consonant clusters in this position for a typical speaker. This compares with about 52 distinctions in Lhasa Tibetan if tone is taken into account. Thus a similar number of distinctions is maintained with the aid of clusters in Ladakhi as with the aid of tone in Lhasa Tibetan, and enables us to classify Ladakhi as a 'cluster' dialect. However, it is much less extreme than Balti which has some 85 word-initial distinctions, as well as a limited degree of tone.

It may be misleading to think of cluster dialects as necessarily archaic in the sense of resembling, say, 7th century Tibetan more than do the non-

cluster dialects. After all, all the dialects are currently spoken; and whereas non-cluster dialects have moved in one direction, cluster dialects may have moved as 'far' or farther in others. Thus the developments which have been proposed for some Balti and Golok clusters require a greater number of intermediate steps than do the Lhasa reflexes of the same items. Nevertheless it does seem plausible to suggest that since the full development of tone is confined to the central and southern dialects, it postdates the historical separation of the cluster- and non-cluster dialects. (Actually the same would hold true for the growth of consonant clusters if it could be shown that the clusters were the later development.) This fact must have interesting implications for the history of settlement of the Tibetan-speaking world. Already much material must exist for a chronology of Tibetan language change, awaiting collation and analysis.

The case in point is Ladakh and dialect material could surely be used to test some current hypotheses about the 'Tibetanisation' of that area. For example, we read in Professor Petech's *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 AD* (Rome 1977):

> As far as we can see, about 900 AD Ladakh, still inhabited by a Dardi-speaking population, was no longer connected politically with Tibet ... The Tibetanisation of Ladakh started after that time, as the work of a ruling class migrating from Central Tibet under the leadership of a branch of the old royal dynasty ... (p.13.)

It is far from being my intention to attack this statement, but it might be pertinent to ask questions such as the following:

1. When did the central dialects begin to lose the extraordinary richness of consonant clusters present in Balti? It must have been after the settlement of that land. A study of spelling 'mistakes' in early texts might be helpful here.
2. Is Tibetan likely to have driven out pre-existing languages so completely between 900 AD and the coming of Islam (perhaps 15th century in Baltistan, after which there would be no incentive to promote the use of Tibetan there)?
3. Could dialect patterns have been set as early as the 8th or even 7th century, when large bodies of Tibetan troops were present in the far west? In a forthcoming volume of *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* I hope to show that 8th-9th century Tibetan soldiers in Ladakh bore names similar to those at Tun-huang and Khotan. Could the similarities between Balti and Golok go back to the settlement of Tibetan armies?
4. Does the apparent absence of pre-Tibetan linguistic remains in the west suggest a massive immigration of Tibetan speakers at some time?

Whatever the answers to these and other questions, it is my hope that dialect studies will one day help to elucidate some of the many enigmas in the history of this part of the Tibetan-speaking world.

## Notes

1. For Balti material see references in Sprigg, R.K., 'A polysystemic approach, in Proto-Tibetan reconstruction, to tone and syllable-initial consonant clusters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* XXXV part 3, 1972, 546-587.
2. Hoshi, M. and Tondup, Tsering, *Zangskar Vocabulary (Monumenta Serica* No.5), Institute for the study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1978.
3. Jaeschke, H.A., *A Tibetan-English Dictionary,* London, 1881, and many subsequent reprints, p.XIII.
4. See Sprigg, *op.cit.*

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE SECOND A-KYA

**Helmut Eimer**

Working on the collection of Tibetan blockprints and manuscripts kept in the Sven Hedin Foundation/Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm,[1] I found among the bulk of so-called Pekingese blockprints two bundles of books on whose covers I read 'gSung-hbum des A-kya gsaṅ-hdzin rdo-rje'. This label was written by Ferdinand Diedrich LESSING who was associated with the Sven Hedin Scientific Expeditions from July 1930 until March 1933. Thus it seems probable that the two books were purchased in Peking at that time. No further particulars concerning the acquisition of these books could be seen from the records shown to me by the Sven Hedin Foundation. It is to be noted however that F.D. LESSING did see the temple of A-kya in 'Court II' of the Yung-ho-kung (MATHEWS, Nos. 7554, 2115, 3705), but was refused permission to enter.[2]

The present contribution aims at presenting some facts concerning A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje. The main source of these considerations on this high-ranking priest of Tibetan Buddhism accredited to Peking are his Collected Works *(gsung-'bum)*, now available. I have however to start with a survey of reliable accounts on incarnations of the series of the A-kyas. For this purpose I will draw on four books: the work of Walther HEISSING, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*;[3] Part Two of the *Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Border* published by Louis M.J. SCHRAM in 1957;[3] the catalogue of *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke* by Manfred TAUBE;[3] and Part One of Rudolf KASCHEWSKY's *Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa*.[3]

Only a single mention of the Collected Works of an A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje can be discovered to date in publications on Tibetan bibilography and literary history, that is to say in shelflists, library catalogues and Tibetan printers' catalogues: in a footnote in the first part of his *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*,[3] LOKESH CHANDRA[3] mentions that this *gsung-'bum*, along with sixteen others, is kept in the Peking National Library. However, an index announced by the Centre d'Etudes sinologiques de l'Université de Paris à Pékin was never completed.[4] I have been unable to trace the name of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje in other modern studies. My search however yielded some indications as to the title of A-kya and the first Khutukhtu of this series of incarnations. Walther HEISSIG has shown that the biography of the Dga'-ldan *siregetü* Khutukhtu does not name an A-kya Khutukhtu in the enumeration of those spiritual dignitaries present at the consecretation of the temple Yung-ho-kung in the year 1743.[5] But it is known that about the middle of the 18th century the A-kya Khutukhtu Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan as one of the seven Grand Lamas of Peking played an important part in publishing lamaist literature in the Chinese capital.[6] Louis M.J.SCHRAM tells us that according to a Chinese work to which I have not had access entitled the *History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet*,[7] in 1746 the name of A-kya Khutukhtu was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking. He became known as the sixteenth rebirth of the father of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-graps-pa,[8] Klu-'bum-dge.[9] His fifteen predecessors are said to have been the heads of sKu-'bum Monastery. The development of this monastery reveals that the series of the A-kyas cannot possibly have begun as early as 1417 as noted in the afore-mentioned Chinese work. L.M.J. SCHRAM has already referred to the fact that the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475.[8] sKu-'bum Monastery developed very slowly from a settlement of one lama named Rin-chen brTson-'grus-rgya-mtsho and his ten monk pupils dating back to 1560. This and some other facts

led Louis M.J. SCHRAM to the conclusion that it was the first A-kya Khutukhtu who was recognized in 1746, although in a list of abbots of sKu-'bum an A-kya Shes-rab-bzang-po is named as the sixteenth who took up office in 1686. Relying on the sources known so far, I cannot decide whether prior to 1746 there had been incarnations of the father of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa, who could have become known under the title of A-kya. Now one would think that the first Peking A-kya, Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, was a child at the time of his appointment, or at most an adolescent, but this was not so. It is to be seen from the colophons of his works as described by Manfred TAUBE that Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan was born in Tsong-kha, the birthplace of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa, as early as about 1708,[10] so that he was nearly thirty-eight years of age at his investiture. The call of the first A-kya Khutukhtu to Peking and thus to the committee for the translation and printing of Tibetan books into Mongol cannot but be considered a lucky choice. The works contained in the *gsung-'bum* do not deal only with religious questions and related subjects including iconography,[11] but also give a description of the sKu-'bum Monastery,[12] a brief survey of the most important families of the Tibetan nobility,[12] a biography of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa,[13] as well as a commentary on Tibetan grammatical writings.[14] Hence it follows that the new Khutukhtu must have been a scholar well versed in all branches of learning, whose interests extended beyond religion. The life of Blo-bzang-tshul-khrims (1740-1810) written by Blo-bzang-bsam-grub-nyi-ma mentions that the former became in his twenty-third year - i.e. in 1762 - a student of A-kya Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan; after the teacher's return from Tibet this relation was resumed and intensified.[15] The last dated work of the first A-kya Khutukhtu was composed during his journey to Tibet in 1762. It is a hymn of praise to the place Kam-po Gangs-kyi-ra-ba.[16] In that year the new edition of the *Bka'-gdams-gsar-rnying-gi-chos-'byung-yid-kyi-mdzes-rgyan*, written by Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa in 1529, was provided with a new colophon by Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan[17] to be issued at Lhasa. At the request of the A-kya Khutukhtu in 1802, Blo-bzang-tshul-khrims prepared the Tibetan version of the extensive biography of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa, originally written in the Mongol language,[18] which is now available in the edition prepared by Rudolf KASCHEWSKY. Since the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan were printed in 1809 by the endeavours of his chief disciple,[19] one may deduce that the first A-kya died between 1802 and 1809; but this seems rather improbable, as he was born not later than 1708.

L.M.J. SCHRAM furthermore relates the tragic end of another A-kya Khutukhtu who committed suicide in 1909 and whose rebirth was discovered only six years later.[20] This personage however cannot be identified as the author of the extant *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje, for two colophons refer to the dates 1808 and 1809 and since the *rab-byung*-cycle is given these dates can be firmly established.[21] The name of the new incarnation who had been found by 1915 is known from the itinerary of Wilhelm-Karl HERRMANN, *Ein Ritt für Deutschland*,[22] as A-kya Ho-thog-thu Blo-bzang-lung-rtogs-'jigs-med-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan.

The *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje kept in the Sven Hedin Foundation comprises two volumes. It is not known whether there are further volumes belonging to this collection. We will work on the assumption that the present copy is a complete one. In the margin the volumes are differentiated by the letters *ka* and *kha*. The identification letters *ka* to *ru* appear only on the title pages of the particular fascicles (*dpe-tshan*), thus there are 85 fascicles all told, 42 of which belong to the first volume. This division can be seen also from the indexes *(dkar-chags)* that are added to the two

volumes without being counted as fascicles proper. In the right-hand margin in many fascicles, both on the recto and on the verso, on top of the Chinese folio numbers there are further Chinese numerals which probably indicate a divergent arrangement of the fascicles. The underlying organizing principle of this is not yet clear.[23] The first volume comprises 297, the second 279 folios. According to the indexes the 42 fascicles of the first volume contain 149, and the 43 fascicles of the second 200, separate works (*chos-tshan*). This calculation does not include some small colophon-like texts - presumably later additions - and two extra pages[24] with seven short works as well as the *dkar-chags*. A careful analysis of the *gsung-'bum* will amount to a total of texts upwards of 350. If this number is related to the total of folios, namely 576, it follows that the length of the single texts is bound to be minimal. The longest of the works is a ritual for the confession of sins entitled *lTung-bshags-kyi-cho-ga-sdig-ltung-dri-'khrud-gang-ga'i-rgyun-bzang* in fascicle *ti* comprising 23 folios. A couple of works by A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje consists of no more than a stanza of four lines. In such instances the colophon could even be longer than the actual wording. The inscription composed for the verso of a painted scroll, *Tshe-lha-rnam-gsum-gyi-rgyab-yig,* affords a good example: it consists of four lines with seven syllables each and a *mantra* of eleven syllables,while its colophon comprises more than 80 syllables.[25]

Far more than 200 of the colophons in the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje give details as to the origin of the preceeding work. In almost 130 colophons the title or name of the series of incarnations is rendered by the syllables *a-kya*(or *a-kyā*). Apart from this it occurs there about sixty times as *a'i-rigs*, or *a-rigs* and over thirty times as *a'i-ming*, or *a-ming*. Walther HEISSIG has shown that the word *a-kya* was interpreted as a compound, the second syllable having been conceived as a rendering of Chinese *chia*[1] (MATHEWS, No. 594) 'house, family', and the expression understood as 'belonging to the A family'.[26] Tibetan *kya* - perhaps derived from the Monguor - could be rendered in Chinese also by *chia*[1] (MATHEWS, No. 592) 'good, excellent'[26] or by *chia*[1] (MATHEWS, No. 580) 'to add to, to increase'.[27] The use of *a('i)-rigs* as well as of *a('i)-ming* indicates that in the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje an interpretation in the sense of 'the A family' was not unknown either. In many places the designation of the series of incarnations by *a-kya, a('i)-rigs* and *a('i)-ming* is accompanied by one of several other titles or personal names. The most frequent of those titles is *ho* (or *hu*)*-thog-thu*, to be found in more than 100 places. It was the rank already granted to the first A-kya, Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, in Peking in 1746. We find another Mongol title, *no-min-han* (Tibetan *chos-rgyal*), in at least a dozen places; the earliest date to appear in a colophon in connection with this title is 1802.[28] However, having regard to the low number of dates given in the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang- dzin-rdo-rje, it cannot be concluded that this title was granted in that year. One more Mongol title of the A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje - although only occurring twice - is *er-te-ni*[29] *pa-ṇḍi-ta*. The designations *sku-'bum-chos-kyi-sde-chen-gyi-grang(s)-zhugs-pa* hint at the function of an abbot of sKu-'bum Monastery.[30] The Tibetan translation of the Mongol name Dolon-nor by *mtsho-bdun* appears in the personal names *mtsho-bdun-tham-ka-bla-ma* or *mtsho-bdun-tham-ka-no-min-han* and in the place names as *mtsho-bdun-dgon-pa, mtsho-bdun-lha-khang, mtsho-bdun-a-kya-bla-brang* or *mtsho-bdun-tham-ka-bla-brang*.

Apart from the title of the series of incarnations and/or other honorary titles, different personal names are given. With more than 30 references Blo-bzang-'jam-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho is the most frequent one. The name gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje, used by F.D. LESSING and LOKESH CHANDRA to denote the present

*gsung-'bum*, occurs fifteen times, rTag-pa'i-rdo-rje ten times and sNang-mdzad-rdo-rje, sNang-mdzad-dgyes-bzhed-rdo-rje, dGyes-bzhed-rdo-rje or sNang-mdzad-dngos-grub-rdo-rje about a dozen times. Two colophons to works composed in 1785 name as their author Shā-kya'i-dge-tshul Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin-nyi-ma 'am-ming-gzhan A-kya-sku-skyer-'bod-pa.[31] This indicates that the young A-kya Blo-bzang-'jam-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho was still a novice at that time. In other colophons we come across the names Pa-dma-dbyings-phyug-rtsal, Pa-dma-'gyur-med-dbyings-phyug-rtsal or Thos-bral-nyi-ma'i-ming-can, and even transliterated Indian words such as *sumati*[32] and *vairocana*. In spite of this multitude of names we have to take it as given that most of the works in the present *gsung-'bum* are composed by A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje.[33]

The attempt to put together the *curriculum vitae* of the second A-kya from the colophons yields but few facts. Blo-bzang-'jam-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho is the rebirth of the first A-kya Khutukhtu Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan.[34] Both these incarnations come from mDo-smad bTsong-kha, the birthplace of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa. Apparently the second A-kya Khutukhutu was born in 1768 for a colophon from 1785 says that the author at that time was eighteen years old.[35] A work written in the second A-kya's 17th year, that is in 1784, gives the name of A-kya-zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin-nyi-ma as the author.[36] This name might well designate the A-kya Khutukhtu, who was not yet of age at that time. It cannot be said if he became a fully ordained monk in 1785 but he is likely to have attained the status of a *dge-slong* in that year or the following one, for in the *zhabs-drung-gsol-'debs* for lCang-skya-rdo-rje-'chang, most probably written for lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786), the author's name appears as A'i-rigs-kyi-btsun-pa Tshangs-sras-dgyes-bzhad-rdo-rje.[37] A stay in sKu-'bum Monastery is attested to by the colophons to eleven works, three of which are dated 1785 and two further ones 1808.[38] There was a journey to Central Tibet in the year 1791, as can be inferred from the colophon to a ritual text written on the way back.[39] The colophons which indicate that the texts concerned were composed in Peking[40] or in the Yung-ho-kung[41] do not give a date. The name of this important temple - called by F.D. LESSING 'the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking' - is to be found only in an abbreviated form, namely *yung*, while the full form *yūng-hvā-kung* appears in a colophon to a work of the first A-kya.[42] The colophons available do not allow us to ascertain how often A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje visited Dolon-nor. A work dealing with *guruyoga* however was written there in 1813;[43] since *mtsho bdun* - the Tibetan translation of Dolon-nor - occurs as a place name in nine further colophons, it seems adequate to reckon with more than one stay there. Further place names in colophons suggest journeys to Mongolia, e.g. to Char-har[44] and to U-cu-mu-chin.[45] The latest date referred to in the colophons is 1816,[46] in which year A-kya Blo-bzang-'jam-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho - according to the European way of calculation - completed the 48th year of his life.

The *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje are important to historical and especially prosographic research. Apart from the data concerning the author, the more than 200 colophons contain a good many more names, especially of personalities living in the second half of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th centuries. Many of the works of the second A-kya have to be classified as commissioned poetry; e.g. help for a sick person was asked for by means of a *sprul-sku* was invoked by means of a *myur-byon-gsol-'debs*; furthermore there are letters of petition directed to high-ranking personalities (*zhu-yig*). It is sufficient to mention here as instances of this commissioned poetry the *zhabs-brtan-gsol-'debs* for sMin-grol Chos-kyi-rgyal-po and for Shar-rtse-mkhan-rin-po-che Tshul-khrims-dpal-bzang-po,[47] two lamas named in the biography of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje.[48] A thorough analysis of this

material is sure to throw light on the relations between high-ranking Tibetan priests and Mongol and Chinese princes. This task however will require a scholar with a command of the Mongol and Chinese languages as well as of Tibetan. The study of the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje would furthermore yield a fair number of examples of Tibetan ornate poetry composed at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.

I take pleasure in extending my thanks to Dr. Karl Erik Larsson, Director of the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, for his kind permission to publish this material, and to Loden Sherap Dagyab Rinpoche, Bonn, for his help in working on the collection in Stockholm.

## Notes

1. A first result of this work was published as a series of articles entitled 'Tibetica Stockholmiensia. Handliste der tibetischen Texte der Sven-Hedin-Stiftung und des Ethnographischen Museums zu Stockholm', in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 6-12 (1972-1978).
2. LESSING, *Yung-ho-kung*, p.6.
3. Hereafter references are given only by the name of the author.
4. LOKESH CHANDRA, 1, 'Introduction', p. 55 note 4, and the reference given there.
5. HEISSIG, p. 110.
6. HEISSIG, pp. 109-114.
7. *Meng-tsang Fochiao shih*, 2, p. 143 (1935).
8. SCHRAM, p. 26.
9. KASCHEWSKY, p. 72.
10. TAUBE, No. 2677 and 2701.
11. TAUBE, No.2731.
12. LOKESH CHANDRA, 1. 'Introduction', p. 58.
13. TAUBE, No. 2749, and KASCHEWSKY, p. 33.
14. TAUBE, No.2677.
15. KASCHEWSKY, p. 40.
16. TAUBE, No.2882.
17. KASCHEWSKY, p. 22.
18. KASCHEWSKY, pp. 47-48.
19. KASCHEWSKY, p. 33.
20. SCHRAM, pp.67 and 69-70.
21. Fasc. *ta* 3a2 resp. *da* 4b6 (references to the *gsung-'bum* of A-kya gSang-'dzin-rdo-rje always pertain to fascicles and folios).
22. HERRMANN, plate 107; I am indebted to Mr. Joachim Karstein, Bonn, for this reference.
23. Thus fasc. *ka* is designated as 1, *ga* as 2, *nga* as 18, *ca* as 17, *cha* as 16 and *ja* as 3.
24. They bear the folio numbers *gsum* (3) and *bzhi* (4).
25. Fasc. *du* 6b4-7a1.
26. HEISSIG, pp. 109-110.
27. KASCHEWSKY, p. 40 note 121.
28. Fasc. *ru* 5b1.
29. Tibetan *nor-bu* or *rin-po-che*; fasc. *cu* 7a3 contains this title in a colophon written in 1791.
30. I am indebted to Professor Dr. Klaus Sagaster, Bonn, for this identification.
31. Fasc. *ba* 6a1-2 and *chi* 4b1-2.

32. Tibetan *blo-bzang*.
33. The *'khrungs-rabs-gsol-'debs* for the series of the A-kyas (*cha* 1-2b5) and the *zhabs-brtan-gsol-'debs* for an A-kya (*ja* 1-2a3) were composed by A-chi-tu-no-min-han Blo-bzang-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas.
34. Fasc. *yi* 17b2.
35. Fasc. *chi* 4b1-2.
36. Fasc. *ba* 3a1-2.
37. Fasc. *ca* 1-2b2.
38. Fasc. *nga* 4a2-3, *chi* 4b2-3 and *bu* 5a5, respc. *ta* 3a2-3 and *ta* 5a1.
39. Fasc. *cu* 7a4.
40. Fasc. *hi* 2b3.
41. Fasc. *ri* 3a4, *i* 3b6 and *ju* 4a1-2.
42. TAUBE, No. 2731.
43. Fasc. *pa* 1-4a4.
44. Fasc. *ngu* 9b3-4.
45. Fasc. *ku* 4a4.
46. Fasc. *shi* 2a4 and 2b5, *du* 12a6. Fasc. *ca*. 3b4 and 8b2-9a2.
47. Fasc. *ca* 3b4-4b1 and 8b2-9a2.
48. KÄMPFE, pp.43 and 47.

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# TIBETAN MEDICINE – THEORY AND PRACTICE

**Elisabeth Finckh**

*A. THEORY.*

Tibetan medicine, which certainly has its own distinctive character, is so multifarious that it would be impossible to cover this complex topic completely in such a short paper.

The following principles formed the basis for the research into the theoretical foundations of Tibetan medicine.

*Oral Instruction by Tibetan Doctors.*

By way of introduction I should like to mention that I am a specialist in internal medicine and have also been trained in neurology, psychiatry and tropical medicine. For twenty-five years now I have been studying and also practising Asian methods of treatment. My interest in Tibet began when I was young and it was a pure and simple curiosity to learn more about a topic on which hardly any books existed, which led me to grasp the first available opportunity to get into contact with Tibetan doctors after political developments in Tibet had made this possible. In 1962 I went to the Himalayas for three months to search for the Tibetan doctors who had just set up a Medical School in Dharamsala. I was able to study there with the support of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who granted me a long private audience and directed his personal physician, Yeshe Donden, to explain everything to me. The course of study was very arduous because my knowledge of the Tibetan language proved to be inadequate. However I did come to realise that Western doctors will never be able to understand Tibetan medicine, to them a totally unfamiliar field, without oral instruction by Tibetan doctors.

*Medical Terminology.*

When acupuncture, another Asian method of healing, was introduced in the West - and it has in the meantime acquired academic recognition in the universities and been tried out and put into practice - several mistakes were made: the help of Sinologists in the translation of important Chinese medical works was called in far too late; this method of healing was applied far too soon and too much time was wasted on unnecessary, philosophical speculations; finally there was, right from the start, no adequate medical terminology. These mistakes must not be repeated with Tibetan medicine. Therefore our first step must be to establish a medical terminology which is taken from the sources available and clarified with the help and advice of Tibetan doctors and Tibetologists. It would be presumptious for an amateur Tibetologist like myself to dare to tackle such difficult sources without the help of Tibetologists. I should like to trace briefly the developments which led up to the publication of a book (which has now appeared in English under the title *Foundations of Tibetan Medicine*) that represents a first step towards a thorough documentation of Tibetan medicine. After my first visit to Dharamsala in 1962, there followed further intensive studies, which included the improving of my knowledge of the Tibetan language, an extensive exchange of letters with my Tibetan teacher,and the collection of a great deal of material on the subject. Then in 1967, I went to Dharamsala a second time and also visited Tibetan doctors at work in other areas of the Himalayas. His Holiness the Dalai Lama again granted me a long private audience and it was also his wish that I should begin work on a book. My chief concern was to establish a medical terminology using the sources available.

*Research into the Sources.*

Tibetan doctors possess a standard work known as the 'Four Treatises' (*rGyud bzhi*[1]), which must form the starting-point for any study of the

original sources. The medical terminology, the rules, and the system of Tibetan medicine must be derived from this book which contains 156 chapters and is written in metric form with four-line stanzas, nine syllables to a line.

*Influences on Tibetan Medicine.*

The specific character of Tibetan medicine only becomes apparent when the influences on Tibetan medicine are known: Indian and Chinese ideas especially exerted their influence on Tibetan medicine and thus it is necessary to study ancient Indian and ancient Chinese medicine. Tibetan medicine is interwoven with Buddhism and therefore a good knowledge of Buddhism, particularly Tibetan Buddhism, is vital. Above all one should also take into account pre-Buddhist influences[2] such as the ancient Tibetan Bon-religion and shamanism.

*Basic Concepts.*

The fundamental element of Tibetan medicine is the three-part division, just as the two-part division (the Yin-Yang-Principle) is fundamental to Chinese medicine. If the three 'principles' or 'humours' - wind (*rlung*), bile (*mkhris pa*), and phlegm (*bad kan*) - remain in equilibrium, the body remains healthy. If however certain factors cause these three 'principles' to become disordered, disease occurs. Thus,healing is effected by restoring the lost equilibrium and not by the symptomatic treatment of a particular organ; in other words, Tibetan medicine is a holistic therapy. The system of Tibetan medicine almost always depends upon this three-part division; diagnosis and therapy are held to be impossible without knowledge of the three humours, and this is borne out in practice. Tibetan medicine is above all a doctrine of constitution. The concept that the body with its anatomical-physiological psychic and intellectual functions acts as a mirror of the macrocosm should be mentioned as a further important aspect. This world of analogies, of corresponding phenomena, in which fine sub-strata of a non-material nature make possible an interaction of body and mind cannot be compared to our Western concepts and can hardly be explained in Western terms. We can merely observe that Tibetan medicine is primarily orientated towards *functions* and not towards material sub-strata. Unfortunately I do not have time to mention in detail here the theoretical side of Tibetan medicine, the religious background, particularly the belief in and fear of evil spirits, the influence of Shamanism, healings performed according to Bon rites, means of protection against evil spirits, amulets, thread crosses, 'fateful' illnesses, tutelary gods, demonic influences, and other typical aspects - all of which go towards making Tibetan medicine so colourful and multifarious. Background information on medical history must be omitted as well although medicine even played an important political role: the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism was based to a large extent on the influence of Tibetan medicine as practised by Tibetan monks; medicine-lamas had been summoned from Tibet to be court physicians at the courts of the Mongol princes.

*B. PRACTICE.*

*General Comments.*

The practice of Tibetan medicine presents us with a very large field study including diagnosis and therapy, and may be illustrated most clearly in schematic form. To this end we shall turn to the system of Tibetan medicine itself to find our bearings. This system is like a tree with 3 roots, 9 trunks, 47 branches and 224 leaves. The leaves correspond to specific and the branches to general details. Root A, the Root of Arrangement of the parts of the body, consists of 2 trunks; Root B, the Root of Diagnosis, 3 trunks; and Root C, the Root of Therapy, 4 trunks. These nine trunks correspond to the nine parts of medical science, which I would like to describe briefly.

| *ROOTS* | *TRUNKS* | | *BRANCHES* | | *LEAVES* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Root A.* Arrangement of the parts of the body (*gnas lugs rtsa ba*) | I | Healthy Organism | 3 | 12 | 25 | 88 |
| | II | Diseased Organism | 9 | | 63 | |
| *Root B.* Diagnosis (*dngos 'dzin rtsa ba*) | III | Observation | 2 | 8 | 6 | 38 |
| | IV | Palpation | 3 | | 3 | |
| | V | Questioning | 3 | | 29 | |
| *Root C.* Therapy (*gso ba'i rtsa ba*) | VI | Nutrition | 6 | 27 | 35 | 98 |
| | VII | Behaviour | 3 | | 6 | |
| | VIII | Medicines | 15 | | 50 | |
| | IX | Methods of Treatment (external) | 3 | | 7 | |
| 3 Roots | 9 Trunks | | 47 Branches | | 224 Leaves | |

*Healthy Organism* ( = Embryology, Physiology and Anatomy). *[*TRUNK I.*]*

The first part of medical science (Embryology, Physiology and Anatomy) - like the second part (Pathology) - inserted here between the comments on Theory and those on Practice, is very important to the understanding of Tibetan medicine. We have already ascertained that Tibetan medicine is primarily orientated towards functions and not towards material sub-strata and added that we should not approach this Asian method of healing with our Western concepts. This maxim becomes obvious if we take anatomy as an example: because of the way in which burials were conducted, Tibetan doctors certainly could have taken the opportunity of undertaking detailed anatomical studies. However no endeavour seems to have been made to discover the actual anatomical structure of the human body - on the contrary, a sort of diagram depicting all the *functions* of the body seems to have been more important. The anatomical science developed by Tibetan doctors which is, in principle, taken from Indian medicine, does not correspond to the actual anatomy of the human body. For this reason, defining and translating the terms involved presents us with great difficulties when expressing Tibetan terms in the context of Western medicine. A particular problem concerns the fact that the 'organs' of Tibetan medicine are not identical with those of Western anatomical science. The Tibetans regard their organs not only as real sub-strata but also as reflections of their functions on the surface of the body. The area of invisible forces, vibrations, currents, wheels *('khor lo)*, life-veins, etc. beyond the visible man and other such concepts are to be explained in this way. They are clearly expressed in the anatomical charts. This approach also makes it possible to see man with his organs as being in a subtle and at the same time direct relationship to the macrocosm. Tibetan medicine is fundamentally a psycho-physical, holistic doctrine and all its therapeutic methods must be viewed bearing this aspect in mind.

*Diseased Organism* ( = Pathology). *[*TRUNK II.*]*

It would be worthwhile presenting this discipline in greater detail because although the 'eight-branched knowledge' (*yan lag brgyad pa*) taken over from Indian medicine is at its heart, Pathology in fact demonstrates such typically Tibetan characteristics as the division into 4 x 101 illnesses. It is also worth mentioning that in some points the Tibetan 'eight-branched knowledge' is different from the Indian.

*Diagnosis.*

The System of Tibetan medicine is also of particular importance because

it illustrates the relations of the various disciplines to one another. Root A consists of 2 trunks with 88 specific details. Root C (Therapy) consists of 4 trunks with 98 specific details. However, Root B (Diagnosis) has far fewer specific details:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a) | Trunk II Observation | 2 Branches | 6 Leaves |
| b) | Trunk IV Palpation | 3 Branches | 3 Leaves |
| c) | Trunk V Questioning | 3 Branches | 29 Leaves |
| | | | 38 Leaves |

Of the 224 leaves within the system, only 38 leaves or specific details are to be found in the discipline of diagnosis. Diagnostic methods play a relatively minor part in the system (and accordingly in the practice) of Tibetan medicine. Apart from a very extensive general examination and a particularly thorough abdominal diagnosis, Tibetans use, almost exclusively, the following diagnostic methods:

*(a) Examination of Urine* (Observation). *[*TRUNK III.*]*

I was able to study this method thoroughly both at the Medical School in Dharamsala and by observing itinerant doctors at work in other regions of the Himalayas. In addition I had the opportunity of observing urinary examinations which a Tibetan doctor carried out on European patients when Yeshe Donden spent some time as a guest in my practice during his trip to Europe in 1970. The urinary examination was carried out on the basis of the three types of constitution. This diagnosis together with the two methods of examination described below was in fact very accurate. For this examination Tibetan doctors use a small clean bowl into which morning urine is poured and then stirred with a pale wooden stick. The examination of the urine takes quite a long time because the following characteristics must be studied: the formation of vapour, colour, smell, the formation of bubbles and sediment. Normal, healthy urine has definite characteristics corresponding to each of the three constitutional types. If these characteristics vary, then the illness diagnosed from the urine will be present.

The examination of the tongue is also an important method of diagnosis; here as in all Tibetan diagnostic methods, the characteristics are related to the three constitutional types.

*(b) Examination of Pulse* (Palpation). *[*TRUNK IV.*]*

In the opinion of Tibetan doctors the examination of the pulse is the most important method of diagnosis because it supplies information about the functions of the organs. The pulse diagnosis is based on the stability of the function, i.e. 'the relative length of time during which a particular function can be observed as remaining constant'.[3] Therefore, it is wrong to equate what we in the West understand as organs with the functional scope of Tibetan 'organs'. In Tibetan medicine the organs are classified into two groups as follows:

(1) the 5 solid organs (don); heart *(snying)*; liver *(mchin pa)*; lungs *(glo ba)*; spleen *(mcher pa)*, and kidneys *(mkhal ma)*; and
(2) the 6 hollow organs *(snod)*: large intestine *(long ka)*; gall bladder *(mkhris pa)*; small intestine *(rgyu ma)*; stomach *(pho ba)*; urinary bladder *(lgang pa)*, and an organ, the seminal vesicle/uterus *(bsam se'u)*.

Tibetan doctors examine the functions of these organs at 12 points on the hands (6 on each hand). The best time of day for such an examination is early in the morning when the patient should have an empty stomach if possible. The doctor uses his right hand to examine the pulses on the left-hand side of the patient's body and his left hand for those on the right-hand side. The palpation is carried out with the index finger *(mtshon)*, the middle finger

*(kan ma)*, and the ring finger *(chag)*.

In Volume One of my study I recorded the following important discovery: the Tibetan classification of the organs into solid organs *(don)* and the hollow organs *(snod)* is identical with the Chinese classification into *Yin (tsang)* and *Yang (fu)*. Although the Tibetan pulse diagnosis differs from the Chinese one in a number of ways, it must in principle be of Chinese origin. Also of interest in this context are the relations between the three humours, wind *(rlung)*, bile *(mkhris pa)* and phlegm *(bad kan)*, and the organs. One cannot do justice to the central significance attached to pulse diagnosis by Tibetan doctors, themselves first-rate diagnosticians using this method, merely by mentioning a few details. Nor do I have time to mention the historical context and explain in what way the Tibetan and Chinese methods of pulse diagnosis differ. In Volume Two I have devoted a particularly long chapter to pulse diagnosis because this method of examination is considered to be so important by Tibetan doctors. However I should mention that it would probably be very difficult for Western doctors to learn the art of pulse diagnosis because our sense of touch is not keen enough. From the point of view of Western medicine, the pulse diagnosis is regarded as difficult, if not impossible, to explain anyway. I was able to make some very interesting observations when Yeshe Donden examined patients in my practice whose illnesses were known to me: his pulse diagnosis was invariably very good.

*(c) Anamnesis* (Questioning). *[TRUNK V.]*

When compiling a case history, a Tibetan doctor is concerned with establishing the constitutional type of the patient because he needs to know this in order to choose the right therapy. Again, this method of examination demonstrates throughout the typical three-part division. First of all come questions of a general nature; then specifically pointed questions in order to establish and, to a certain extent, narrow down the constitutional type of the patient concerned and the clinical picture present.

All in all, 29 questions are posed with regard to:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | productive causes (*slong rkyen*) | 3 |
| 2. | conditions of illness (*na lugs*) | 23 |
| 3. | (habits in connection with) food (*zas*) | 3 |
| | | 29 questions |

These 29 questions (they make up the 29 leaves of Trunk V = Questioning of the System) are very important. It is hard to imagine that any other medical system could determine in such a precise and ingenious way and with such accuracy the constitutional type and the condition of the patient through questions; these 29 questions are indeed a typical characteristic of Tibetan medicine. This is also the reason why Tibetan doctors regard this method of diagnosis as being of such significance.

*Therapy.*

With 98 of the 224 leaves, the Root of Therapy is the largest in the System of Tibetan medicine. The importance of this discipline within the framework of Tibetan medicine as a whole is correspondingly great. This discipline may be illustrated most effectively by means of a systematic survey because in this way the characteristic three-part division and the doctrine of constitution can be most clearly seen.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | Trunk VI | Nutrition | 6 Branches | 35 Leaves |
| b) | Trunk VII | Behaviour | 3 Branches | 6 Leaves |
| c) | Trunk VIII | Medicines | 15 Branches | 50 Leaves |
| d) | Trunk IX | Methods of Treatment (external) | 3 Branches | 7 Leaves |
| | | | | 98 Leaves |

*a) Nutrition (zas).* *[*TRUNK VI.*]*

Here one must differentiate between:

food (*zas*) e.g. cereals and pulse, meat, oils, vegetables, etc.,and
drink (*skom*) e.g. milk and milk-products (buttermilk, curds, cheese, yakmilk, etc.), water (7 sorts), alcoholic drinks.

All sorts of food and drink have positive or negative effects on the three constitutional types and these effects are accurately documented. Great importance is also attached to certain dietary rules, e.g. the Tibetans are aware of many combinations of foods which do not go well together and are therefore indigestible - fish and milk, milk and fruits, poultry and curds, etc. A lot of attention is paid to correct eating habits, e.g. it is considered good to drink at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of a meal.

*b) Behaviour (spyod pa).* *[*TRUNK VII.*]*

As far as day-time behaviour is concerned, bile-types should, for example, behave in a calm and restful way whereas phlegm-types should move around a lot. If phlegm-types have not had enough sleep at night, they should not try to make up for it during the day, whereas wind-types may catch up on lost sleep during the day. There are also definite rules for each constitutional type with regard to seasonal influences as well as the various climatic conditions; e.g. wind-types should live in a warm climate as should phlegm-types, but bile-types are better off in a cool climate. Thus, all these rules of behaviour are related to the three constitutional types and must be considered accordingly.

*c) Medicines (sman).* *[*TRUNK VIII.*]*

Ninety per cent of Tibetan medical literature is concerned with medicines and their classification according to origin, potency, application and qualities; herbal medicines are particularly important. The following categories of medicines are described:

*Taste (ro):*

wind: sweet *(mngar ba)*; sour *(skyur ba)*; saline *(lan tsha ba)*;
bile: sweet *(mngar ba)*; bitter *(kha ba)*; astringent *(bska ba)*;
phlegm: pungent *(tsha ba)*; sour *(skyur ba)*; astringent *(bska ba)*.

*Potency (nus pa):*

wind: oily *(snum pa)*; heavy *(lci ba)*; smooth *('jam pa)*;
bile: cool *(bsil ba)*; thin *(sla ba)*; blunt *(rtul ba)*;
phlegm: sharp *(rno ba)*; rough *(rtsub pa)*; light *(yang ba)*.

There are many other classifications besides this one: the relations of medicines to the five elements, classifications, divisions into various groups, divisions according to functions, etc.

It is a good idea to present once again a systematic picture of Tibetan medicines - there is really no other way of getting to grips with this enormous field of study - in order to describe the various *forms* of medicines and their relations to the three constitutional types:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sedating* medicines | *(zhi byed)* | |
| soups *(liquids)* | *(khu ba)* | for wind-types |
| medicinal oils *(butter)* | *(sman mar)* | |
| syrups *(deoctions)* | *(thang)* | for bile-types |
| powders *(cur ni)* | | |
| pills *(ril bu)* | | for phlegm-types |
| pastes *(tres sam)* | | |
| *cleansing* (medicines) | *(sbyong byed)* | |
| oily enemas *('jam rtsi)* | | for wind-types |
| purgatives *(bshal)* | | for bile-types |
| emetics *(skyug sman)* | | for phlegm-types |

*d) Methods of Treatment (external) (dpyad).* [TRUNK IX.]

The classification of these methods of treatment and their relations to the three constitutional types will also be presented in a systematic way:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Inunction with massage | *(bsku mnye)* | for wind-types |
| 2. | Mongolian(method of) cauterisation | *(hor gyi me btsa')* | types |
| 3. | Production of sweat | *(rngul dbyung)* | for bile-types |
| 4. | Blood-letting | *(gtar ga)* | |
| 5. | 'The magic wheel' (a sort of hydropathic treatment) | *(chu yi 'phrul 'khor)* | |
| 6. | Heat treatment | *(dugs)* | |
| 7. | Burning (moxibustion) | *(btsa')* | for phlegm-types |

Surgery plays a relatively minor role; operations are only performed if there is no other possibility of healing the patient. Blood transfusions are also regarded with a good deal of scepticism. However Tibetan doctors do know a lot about treating dislocations and sprains. I frequently had the opportunity of admiring the skill of these doctors in treating even serious dislocations and fractures in adults and especially in children. In addition to the above mentioned methods of treatment which have been described systematically, there are also a great number of others common to Tibetan medicine.

*Applicability.*

Within the framework of this paper, I have quite consciously devoted the least amount of space to the therapeutic side of Tibetan medicine. Tibetan medicine is not only of great theoretical interest, it could also be practised in the West. At the beginning I pointed out that the theoretical principles, the religious background, indeed the whole system of Tibetan medicine have to be studied very carefully. In the West interest in Tibetan medicine is particularly great, and for exactly this reason in an age like ours which is only too willing to try out oriental practices and miracle drugs, we need to guard ourselves against adopting uncritically detached fragments of the Tibetan medical system - meaningful in itself - and against a too hasty posing of questions concerning its applicability. Tibetan medicine is not some sort of technique which can be learned in a crash-course. All Tibetan methods of treatment can only be applied successfully once the theoretical principles have been studied intensively and Tibetan doctors have supplied a thorough explanation of how these methods are to be put into practice.

Tibetan herbal therapy must be regarded with particular caution and a great deal of suspicion - the considerable problems associated with this method of treatment are explained in detail in Volume Two. In many countries there will also be problems with the importing, production and application of the subtle Tibetan herbal preparations because of new pharmaceutical laws which require proof of the therapeutic effectiveness and the innocuousness of all pharmaceutics.

That is why we are fortunate in having certain typically Tibetan methods of treatment, moxibustion (cauterisation) and blood-letting, which make us independent of the still-questionable herbal therapy. Thus these two Tibetan methods with their similarity to the Chinese ones are those we can apply first, once the constitutional type and the various indications have been recognised.

My altogether cautious, critical and reserved attitude regarding the applicability of Tibetan medicine in the West and my warning against a too hasty adoption of Tibetan methods of treatment are evident and I hope that I have made it clear in this short paper that superfluous philosophical speculations and premature, ill-considered and uncritical application of these methods of treatment would only place Tibetan medicine in danger of being written-off as just another form of alternative medicine. We must ensure

this does not happen. Tibetan medicine with all its precious, fascinating and valuable insights deserves much more than that - it must be preserved and carefully examined and studied.

## Notes

1. *rGyud bzhi* ('Four Treatises') is the abbreviated title; the full title is *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud*. ('Secret Treatise of Instructions on the Eight-Branched Essence of Immortality').
2. Martin Brauen has pointed out in his book *Impressionen aus Tibet* that Tibetan popular belief has never been properly considered or, at best, badly neglected, with the result that a one-sided picture of Tibet's religious heritage is often presented. I share his view - Tibetan medicine would be deprived of its colourful character if one were to leave out this important aspect.
3. M. Porkert, *Lehrbuch der chinesischen Diagnostik,* p.13.

# THE TEACHINGS OF THANG-STONG RGYAL-PO

Janet Gyatso

The revered *siddha* Thang-stong rGyal-po is famed throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world as a great yogin, sage and engineer. He was born in the latter half of the 14th century in Rin-chen-sdings[1] (in Western Tibet) and lived for about 124 years.[2] During this long and active life he travelled all over Tibet as well as to India, Kashmir, Ladakh, Mongolia, China and Bhutan, teaching and spreading the Dharma in his unique style and brand of Tantric Buddhism.

Thang-stong rGyal-po lived during the Phag-mo Gru-pa hegemony,[3] a period which saw the establishment of the powerful dGe-lugs-pa monastic centres,[4] side by side with the continuing existence of creative development in the older schools. He was thus exposed to and studied a wide variety of Buddhist teachings. However, it was his own visionary experiences of both celestial and human gurus which became the source of the major lineages he initiated.

Thang-stong rGyal-po spent much of his youth in meditative retreat. Later as an accomplished master he transmitted formal lines of teachings as well as spontaneous instruction in the form of Vajra Songs. His visionary powers led him to the discovery of numerous *gter-ma* cycles, some of which were re-hidden to be discovered again in the 19th and 20th centuries.[5] He is of course famous for his engineering feat of constructing iron chain suspension bridges over gorges and rivers in the many regions he visited. He was also the first to open up the region of the barbaric kLo-pas in Kong-po. He constructed auspicious stupas and temples at key geomantical spots to ward off both evil forces and the real menace of the Hor-pa tribes. He is connected with the origin of the Tibetan drama tradition and the monastic orchestra.[6] Many medicinal and protective rites involving his teachings survive today and small images in his likeness are even used as amulets for good luck and long life.

The impetus to study this fascinating saint was provided by my fortunate meeting with Thang-stong rGyal-po's current incarnation who was travelling through India in 1974. This Lama is a Tibetan *siddha* from the far eastern region of mGo-log and is one of the few survivors of a lCags-zam rNying-ma school. He has a vast collection of literature about Thang-stong rGyal-po and his own edition of the *gSang-gcod sNyan-brgyud* has recently been published.[7] His extensive knowledge of this tradition, along with his own remarkable lifestyle and personality, inspired me to undertake the present study.

I was dismayed to discover that despite universal acknowledgement of Thang-stong rGyyal-po's great importance, little precise knowledge exists as to who this *siddha* really was, or what his actual teachings were, even among experts. Quite a few Tibetan doctrinal histories make no mention of the *siddha* at all. Literary references which do exist usually refer to only one narrow aspect of his importance - e.g. Thu'u-bkwan's *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*[8] makes passing note of only the *siddha*'s Shangs-pa affiliations. Moreover, information presented by the historians is often as not contradictory, as in the question of his chronology. Nor is there unanimity as to which school he belonged (being variously claimed as rNying-ma, bKa'-brgyud and Sa-skya), or whether it might be more useful to consider his lCags-zam lineage a separate sect. All of this underlines the basic mystery surrounding Thang-ston rGyal-po, even for Tibetans and certainly for Western scholars.

The major sources of information about Thang-stong rGyal-po continues to be the surviving *rnam-thars*, the largest of which is that written by 'Gyur-med bDe-chen in 1809.[9] Although filled with accounts of miracles and magical feats, it contains extensive information on the *siddha*'s gurus, visions,

travels and teaching cycles. Complementing this larger work are several concise biographies included in independent collections which touch upon selected aspects of his life.[10] Moreover, biographies of the *siddha*'s contemporaries, such as Ngor-chen Kung-dga' bZang-po, rJe-btsun Re-mda'-pa and others, are useful in establishing the historicity of some of the events of his life and Cyrus Stearns at the University of Washington has made admirable use of these sources towards a fixing of the *siddha*'s chronology.[11]

As for the authenticity of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings, the *gsan-yig* of the fifth Dalai Lama has verified their existence in the 17th century[12] and the *gsan-yigs* of gTer-bdag gLing-pa, Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen and others hold promise for a growing knowledge of the *siddha*'s contributions. Still, the task of locating the actual text of these teachings is no easy matter and in this regard full credit must be given to the remarkable 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po and 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas the leaders of the great eclectic movement in 19th century Tibet. They did a large portion of the groundwork in the collection of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings as part of their massive editorial work. However their valuable analysis of the *siddha*'s teachings[13] only includes a few cycles out of the numerous traditions listed in his *rnam-thar*. The rest presumably were lost even in their time or perhaps are hiding in obscure volumes yet to be discovered by a modern *gter-ston*.

The largest surviving collection relating to Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings is his version of the famous *gCod* practice.[14] This work centres around his visionary expression of precepts granted him by Vajravarahi in a cemetery in Kashmir and contains information on ritual and the psychology of demons. Also widely used are Thang-stong rGyal-po's long-life initiations into the Amitāyus *maṇḍala*.[15] This teaching is based on a *gter-ma* which he recovered from bSam-yas mChims-phu, and is believed especially efficacious in the light of the *siddha*'s own demonstrated feat of a 124 year life span. Thang-stong rGyal-po initiated an independent branch of the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud based on his direct vision of Niguma, which includes his version of the *Six Yogas of Niguma*, the Mahāmudrā precepts and others.[16] Also to be mentioned as surviving are his precepts on the 6-armed Mahākāla,[17] his Gur-kyi mGon-po cycle,[18] and his Vajradhara realization.[19] The teaching which links the *siddha* to the rDzogs-chen and the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* is the copious *Grub thob thugs tik*,[20] allegedly hidden by Thang-stong rGyal-po in a 'heart-drop of the Dharmadhātu' and re-discovered by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po in the form of *dgong-gter* or *dag-snang*.[21]

Two known teachings which remain elusive are his own version of the famous *dGong pa zang thal*[22] and a teaching on Mādhyamika called *rNam thar sgo gsum*. This last is said to be the *siddha*'s major philosophical treatise, and hopefully will come to light in the near future.

Thang-stong rGyal-po's most available teaching is his famous *sādhana* for Avalokiteśvara called the ('*Gro don) mKha' khyab ma*.[24] This *sādhana* has had great popularity amongst devotees of the Bodhisattva even in modern times. Because of its accessibility and because it in many ways typifies the nature of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings in general, I have studied this particular cycle in some depth.

Indeed, Thang-stong rGyal-po's relationship with Avalokiteśvara was a major theme of his life, beginning with his recital of 'Oṁ Maṇi Padme Hūṁ' at birth. As a youth he received formal instruction in the standard Mahakararuṇi *sādhanas* in Tibet, known as the *dMar-khrids*,[25] and in the revelatory traditions of the *Ma ni bka' 'bum*.[26] Counterpoint to this instruction were his many personal visions and realizations of the Bodhisattva, including an

elaborate prophetic communication during a seven-year retreat after the death of his mother.[27] Throughout his life he transmitted the *mantra* and meditation on Avalokiteśvara to disciples ranging from the wild barbarians of Kong-po and the local shepherds of his native area (who did not realise until later that it was the ridiculed 'Crazy Diligent One' who was teaching them), to such notables as the sixth Karmapa mThong-ba Don-ldan[28] and an assembly of gods, men and goblins at Samye Monastery.

The prophecies he received from Avalokiteśvara became the major impetus for his extensive bridge construction, an endeavour seen as part of the Bodhisattva vow to help all sentient beings. His vision of the four-armed Avalokiteśvara also became the basis for the mKha' *khyab ma sādhana*, the success of which can be considered a fulfillment of the *siddha*'s oft-stated vow to spread the six-syllable *mantra* in the ten directions.

In the course of examining this *sādhana*, it has been curious to find that neither the *rnam-thar* nor the commentaries make any clear mention of the *sādhana*'s composition, despite the abundance of information we have on Thang-stong rGyal-po's involvement with Avalokiteśvara. This omission has led to some interesting speculation. This is not to imply scepticism about attributing the *mKha' khyab ma* to Thang-stong rGyal-po. The authority of the commentary by the great Jo-nang-pa scholar Kun-dga' Grol-mchog[29] (1507-1566) written less than a century after the *siddha*'s death leaves little room for doubt.

However it does seem useful to question the exact role of Thang-stong rGyal-po in the formation of this short *sādhana*, especially in light of the uniformly visionary nature of all of the *siddha*'s teachings, most of which also lack clear information on authorship.

The tradition tells us that the *mKha' khyab ma* is based on all of Thang-stong rGyal-po's many experiences of Avalokiteśvara.[30] This means that the *sādhana*'s inspiration is visionary. But are we to assume that the actual words of the meditation were spontaneously realised and then simply written down? Or would it be more accurate to state that the *sādhana* is Thang-stong rGyal-po's composition, a kind of intellectual summary of his personal visions?

Avoiding such phrases as author, composer, etc. the colophon of the *mKha' khyab ma* simply identifies the teaching as a *Thang-stong nye-brgyud*. This means that it was communicated directly to him by Avalokiteśvara, as opposed to the case of a *ring-brgyud* whereby it would be transmitted successively from teacher to disciple down to Thang-stong rGyal-po. The designation of *nye-brgyud* emphasizes the essential role of the enlightened consciousness of the Bodhisattva in the formation of the *sādhana* and precludes its being either entirely created by Thang-stong rGyal-po, or taught to him by another teacher.

Indeed the emphasis in all of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings is on their having a particular Buddha, or Ḍākinī, etc., as their source, his own role being consistently neglected. At most homage is paid to his good fortune in being at the right place at the right time (Tib. *rten-'brel bsgrigs pa*)[31] to receive these visions and methods for realization.

Further minimizing the credit for composition which can be accorded the *siddha* is the *mKa' khyab ma*'s heavy reliance on the language, iconography and structure of the older Tibetan *dMar-khrids*. Its entire Production Stage (Tib. *bskyes-rim*) directly reflects the canonical terminology. Even a full *śloka* has been borrowed from the standard store of Avalokiteśvara liturgies.[32] The utilization of this material of course reflects Thang-stong rGyal-po's own training and fluency in these traditions, a training about which we have

much information. Still, it should be remembered that borrowing is of little significance in the Buddhist world where the value of originality is always subservient to the possession of authentic lineage.

Besides being in the right place at the right time, Thang-stong rGyal-po's important function in the formation of this *sādhana* should be acknowledged. This is his feat of simplifying all the necessary elements into a versified, single-folio text. This short work nevertheless covers the full Avalokiteśvara practice, even including a simple statement of the post-realizations of the *lam-khyer-gsum*, characteristic of the sublime Anuttarayoga. The concise and poetical language of the *mKha' khyab ma* contrasts well with the dry pose of the earlier *dMar-khrids*. And its brevity and simplicity must have made it a welcome alternative to the complex *gter-ma* cycles for Avalokiteśvara. It is probably this genius of composition which is responsible for the *mKa' khyab ma*'s great success and survival in a veritable sea of Avalokiteśvara teachings in Tibet.

Another cycle of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings, his Shangs-pa precepts, provides us with the only available information on his precise method of setting down teachings. These texts represent a rare example of the *siddha*'s exegetical prose, and thus are largely different in character from the *mKha' khyab ma sādhana*. However they are also considered to be *nye-brgyud*, as opposed to the *ring-brgyud* which was passed down by Khyung-po rNal-'byor. The colophons of these texts state that the *siddha* first realised the material according to instructions given by Niguma in a vision and later composed the treatise (the Tibetan verb is *sbyar-ba*) based directly on his meditative experience. The material was actually written down by a close disciple, bKa -bcu-pa bLo-gros rGyal-mtshan.

It cannot be determined whether this information also relates to the composition of the *mKha' khyab ma sādhana*. Nor would it relate to most of what survives of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings, i.e. the concise versified texts known as 'Vajra Songs'.[33] Like the *mKha' khyab ma*, these texts form only the core of the large collections of the *siddha's* teachings such as the *gSang-gcod snyan-brgyud* and the material in the *Grub thabs kun 'dus*, the remaining bulk comprising later additions by holders of the lineage.

It is these pithy texts which truly represent the teachings of Thang-stong rGyal-po. As inspired writing, their spiritual value and influence are self-evident. As sole survivors of an already esoteric and mysterious teaching, however, they do little to contribute to the scholar's misty knowledge of this fascinating Tibetan *siddha*.

The issues raised in this paper evoke deeper questions about the role of the visionary document in Tibetan Buddhism as a whole. Perhaps a thorough investigation into the visionary experience itself and how it becomes translated into such literary classifications of initiation, explanation, meditation, etc., will provide some answers. In any case it is a necessary exercise in the study of the teachings of Thang-stong rGyal-po.

## Notes

1. Rin-chen-sding being in the La-stod area. The name of Thang-stong rGyal-po's village is usually given as 'O-ba lHa-rtse.
2. 128 is the traditional life span attributed to Thang-stong rGyal-po, but allowing for idiosyncracies of the Tibetan method for calculating age, plus irregularities of the Tibetan calendar, his life span would be recognised as 124 years in the Western calendar, actual dates being 1361-1485. These dates are the subject of controversy, however, his birth date being given as 1385 in the *Re'u mig* of Sum-pa mKhan-po and the *Vaiḍūrya dkar-po* of sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho. G.Tucci *(Tibetan Painted Scrolls* Vol.I, p.163) and R.A. Stein *(Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* p.238) give his dates ad 1385-1464. For a full discussion of the problem see Cyrus Stearn's 'Thang-stong rGyal-po, 1361-1485?' from his Master's Dissertation for University of Washington, 1979 (?).
3. Thang-stong rGyal-po was most closely connected with the Byang Ngam-rings myriarchy.
4. An account of Thang-stong rGyal-po's participation in the painting of the chapel at bKra-shis lHun-po is reportedly given in the biography of dGe-'dun Grub. Thang-stong rGyal-po's founding of sDe-dge Monastery should also be noted here.
5. *B19, B22,* and *B25* are examples.
6. The claim of connection with the monastic orchestra is based only on hearsay thus far.
7. *B6*.
8. *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long*, by Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang Chos-kyi Nyi-ma, Varanasi, 1963, p.74. Or, the *dPag bsam ljon bzang* by Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dPal-'byor, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1959, p.41, which identifies the Siddha only as a *sman-pa* (doctor), etc. - please see *B26* for further detail.
9. *B1*.
10. *B2, B3, B4*.
11. Stearns, *op.cit*.
12. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig* by Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rGya-mtsho, Publ. Delhi, 1970. See for example the brief history and lineage of Thang-stong rGyal-po's Gur-mgon teachings, Vol.I, p.391.
13. Presented several times in *B22* - particularly thorough is the analysis of the *sGrub thabs snying po skor lnga'i gdams pa'i sa bcad zin thor bkod pa ngo mtshar snying po* by Kongs-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas, *Rin chen gter mdzod,* Vol. 4, p.599-612.
14. *B6* and *B7*.
15. *B8, B9, B10*.
16. *B11* and *B12*. Thang-stong rGyal-po's vision of Niguma was preceeded by receipt of the *ring-brgyud* from Byang-sems sByin-pa bZang-po. The Siddha also studied with the latter's guru Mus-chen Nam-mkha'i rNal-'byor- see biography of Mus-chen in *Bla ma rnam bzhi'i rnam thar bsdus pa le tshan bzhi*, p.666 in *Golden Rosary of Shangs-pa dKar-brgyud-pa Masters,* Leh, 1970.
17. *B12*.
18. *B13, B14*.
19. *B15*.
20. *B22*.

21. These two terms seem to coalesce throughout *B22*. *Grub thob thugs tik* as *dgong-gter* in Vol. 4, p.253, as *dag-snang* in Vol. 17, p.188, etc.
22. i.e. the Byang-gter cycle discovered by Rig-'dzin rGod-kyi lDem-phru-can (1337-1408). Mentioned as the *'bras-bu rdzogs-pa chen-po* aspect of Thang-stong rGyal-po's teachings by Kong-sprul, *op.cit.*, p.601. No mention of this as such in *B1*, but possibly related is the claim that the *siddha* discovered a *U rgyan thugs kyi yang tig kun bzang dgongs pa chig 'dus* at Zla-ba Phug, *B1*, p.115. We do know that Thang-stong rGyal-po studied Byang-gter with Kun-spangs Don-yod rGyal-mtshan, also with Chos-rje lHa-gdong-pa bSod-nams mChog-pa.
23. i.e. '...lta ba dbu ma chen po brgyad stong pa'i snying po rnam thar sgo gsum dang sbyar ba'i khrid' in Kong-sprul, *op.cit.*, p.601. This teaching was conferred on the *siddha* at lDog-klog-skya, in a vision of Śākyamuni and his two major Sthaviras. Somewhat varying versions in *B1*, p.189, *B2*, p.46 and *B3*, p.727.
24. *B16, B17, B18*. The *sādhana* is also distributed in single page editions.
25. Partially identified in the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po* by Gos Lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), publ. by Lodesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1974, chapter pha). A good early listing of the *dMar-khrid*, which identifies antique sources, is the *Jo nang zab khrid brgya rtsa brgyad* compiled and edited by Kun-dga' Grol-mchog (1507-1566) (12 related texts published in the *gDam ngag mdzod* Vol.12. Out of the 108 *khrids*, § 30 is the *Tshem-bu dMar-khrid*, § 31 is the *dMar-khrid of Bhiksuṇi Śrī*, § 32 of Zla-rgyal, 33 of *sKyer-sgang-pa*, § *106 is the King's instructions* (not here counted as a dMar-khrid). § The *bKa'-dams-pa Avalokiteśvara* is explained in § 16, and the *Cittavisramana* teachings presented in § 48.) See also *Thugs rje chen po'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs lam rim smon lam dang bcas pa byin rlabs mchog stsol* by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas, in *sGrub thans kun 'dus*, Vol. pa.
26. Thang-stong rGyal-po first received these teachings from his uncle Bla-ma Grags-bzang, but his main mentor in the Avalokitesvara teachings was bKa'-lnga-pa dPal-'byor Shes-rab from mDo-stod sKya-ra. See *B1*,pp.41,187.
27. *B1*, p.69, etc.
28. *B1*, p.121. Not implying of course that the Karmapa did not already know the *mantra*.
29. *B16*. p.17-21.
30. (from *Grub pa'i dbang phyug lcags zam pa chen po'i nye brgyud yi ge drug pa'i sgom lung 'bogs tshul gzhan phan mkha' khyab*, by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas, in *B16*, p.23) '... lan du mar zhal dngos su bstan nas stsal ba'i gdams pa'i snying po.'
31. e.g. (from *B2*, p.45) 'Dur khrod ra ma mdo ler mkha' 'gros mas/Byin rlabs rten 'brel bsgrigs la gsol ba 'debs/'
32. i.e. sKyon kyis ma gos sku mdog dkar/ rDzogs sangs rgyas kyis dbu la brgyan/Thugs rje spyan gyis 'gro la gzigs/ sPyan ras gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo.
33. Often called the *vajrapāda* of the text.

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18. *Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i 'gro don mkha' khyab ma'i ma ni sgom bzlas* by sMan-sdong mTshams-pa Karma Nges-don bsTan-rgyas, *gSuṅ-'bum,* Vol.3, p.433-484. Commentary to the *'Gro don mkha' khyab ma.*

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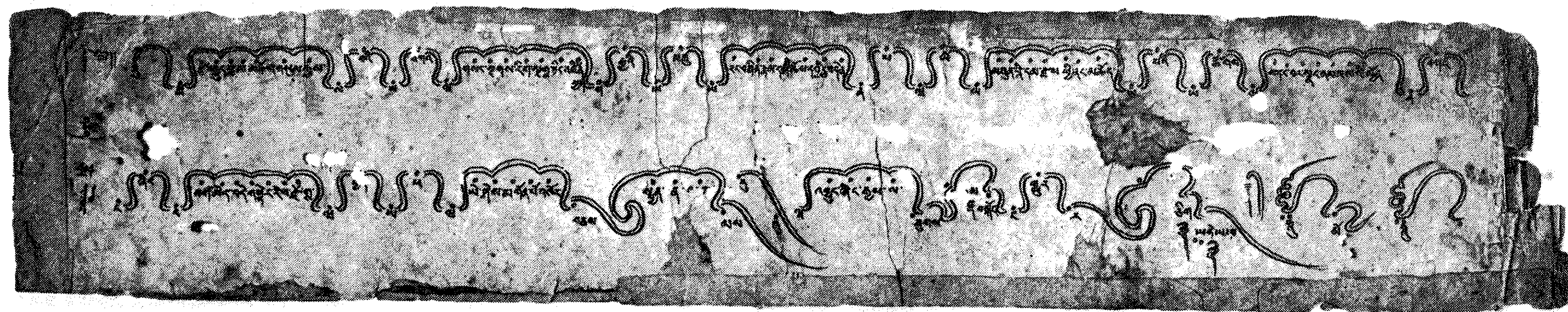
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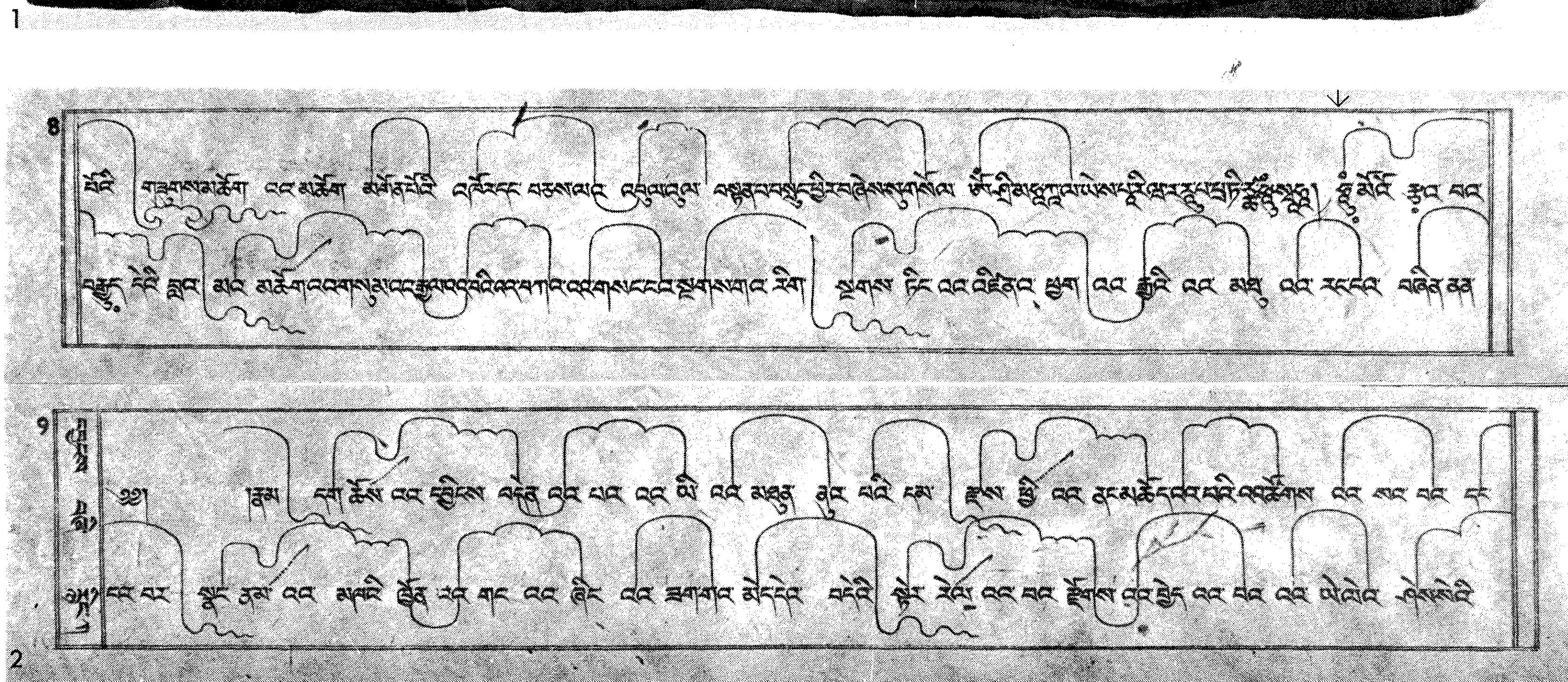
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Photograph no.1: Tantric college of rGyud-smad, Ms. B.N. 722, fol.1 and 2a.
The first eight lines of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma.* (fol. 1, except for the last two signs, line 2)
Photograph no.2: Tantric college of rGyud-stod, Swiss edition fol. 3b and 4a.
Beginning of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* (fol. 3b: end of line 2 to second syllable of line 7)

# THE MUSICAL NOTATION OF THE HYMN RTSA-BRGYUD-MA IN THE DGE-LUGS-PA TRADITION

**Mireille Helffer**

Study of the musical notations used in Tibetan monasteries is made possible by the existence of technical manuals called *dbyangs-yig* which are intended to supplement the texts of the rituals to which they implicitly refer; the musical notation usually relates to the first lines of a hymn whose complex text, it is presumed, has been learned elsewhere and appears in the text proper of the ritual. In a paper given at the twenty-third Congrès des Orientalistes in 1973,[1] I presented different types of Tibetan musical notation kept in the Paris Libraries but since then an enormous amount of information about the *dbyangs-yig* has come to light, thanks to publications by Tibetan refugees in India.

We now have at our disposal *dbyangs-yig* belonging to the traditions of the Karma bka'-brgyud-pa, the 'Bri-gung bka'-brgyud-pa, as well as the Bon-po. Many of these *dbyangs-yig* have been the subject of more or less detailed analyses. Professor Walter Kaufmann has edited and glossed a *dbyangs-yig* from the tradition of the monastery of dPal-spungs;[2] I myself have tackled the question of the musical notations used by the Sa-skya-pa[3] and the 'Bri-gung bka'-brgyud-pa;[4] and finally my Argentinian colleague Ricardo Canzio[5] obtained a Ph.D. at the University of London for a piece of research carried out under Professor David Snellgrove on: 'Sakya Pandita's Treatise on music and its relevance to present day liturgy'.

My research on the history of musical notation in Tibet has led me to examine the features of the dGe-lugs-pa **dbyangs-yig as they are revealed in the** manuscript sources kept in Western libraries, in publications which have appeared in India and in the results of an investigation carried out by myself in India.

*I. Written Sources.*

1.1. The tradition of the Tantric college of rGyud-smad.
I currenctly have knowledge of four copies of a *dbyangs-yig* from rGyud smad:

a) The manuscript kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Tib.722 (probably identical to the copy in the Rockhill Collection, no.62) entitled:
*Gangs-ljongs sngags smra-ba'i khyu-mchog dpal-ldan smad-rgyud grwa-tshang gyi dbyangs-yig rin-chen phreng-ba.*

b) The manuscript kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, Oriental Collection Münter 1924, no.51.

c) A manuscript copy made for Professor Peter Crossley-Holland who kindly let me have the microfilm.

d) The edition published in India in 1976 by Chopel Legden (Accessions List I. tib. 76-901399) in the collection *Three dGe-lugs-pa dbyangs-yig*, pp.63-101.

1.2. The tradition of the Tantric college of rGyud-stod. The *dbyangs-yig* of rGyud-stod has been published recently, undated, with financial help from Tibetan refugees in Switzerland under the title:
*Rgyal-ba gnyis-pa'i sngags-grwa dpal-ldan Stod-rgyud grwa-tshang-gi mGon Chos gnyis-kyi dbyangs-rnying Nag-po 'gro-shes mkhas-pa'i yid-'phrog mgul-rgyan*, 26 fol.
followed by
*Rgyal-ba gnyis-pa'i sngags-grwa dpal-ldan Stod-rgyud grwa-tshang-gi mGon Chos gnyis-kyi dbyangs-gsar Nag-po 'gro-shes mkhas-pa'i yid-'phrog mgul-rgyan,* 6 fol.

1.3. The tradition of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang.
In 1972, at my request, my colleague Yoshiro Imaeda was able to photograph a manuscript copy of the *dbyangs-yig* which was used in this monastery and which was reconstructed by the present *dbu-mdzad* of the monastery; this copy, which was not complete, had 63 fol.

1.4. An unidentified tradition which might be that of Tashilhunpo.
This is the manuscript catalogued as Or. 6753 in the British Museum which groups together in one volume bound in London three manuscript texts in cursive writing. There are errors in the order of the folios. The first two collections have 15 and 11 fol. respectively and carry the same title:

*Gsang-sngags brgyud-pa'i grwa-tshang-gi mdzad-rgyun*
*'khrul-med byin-rlabs-can-gyi dbyangs-yig*

The third has no title and numbers 10 fol.

With the exception of the British Museum manuscript and the manuscript reconstructed at Dharamsala, these various works contain the musical notation of some twenty pieces; apart from a few variants, they are identical in the text but they differ in the notation system which was adopted to support the oral tradition of which the *dbu-mdzad* were the guardians.

It will be noted that these are hymns addressed to the three protectors of the dGe-lugs-pa order, namely: mGon-po, Lha-mo, Chos-rgyal; this is the list in the order in which they appear in the Manuscript Tib. 722 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris):

*rTsa-brgyud-ma*
*Sprin-shugs-ma*
*dMar-chen gtor-ma*
*Sa-bcu dbang-phyug-ma*
*Dzam-dpal-dbyangs*
*bDe-chen lhun-grub-ma*
*Chos-sku-ma*
*Myur-mdzad-ma* (Author: Sha-ba-ri dbang-phyug)
*Dur-'khrod 'jigs-rgyun-ma*
*Bskal-pa'i me-'bar-ma* (Author: Maitripa)
*dKa'-ba dang-blang-ma*
*brKyangs-bskums-ma* (Author: Tsong-kha-pa)
*'Chi-bdag-ma*
*Chos-rgyal gshin-tshogs-ma*
*mGon-po'i bka'-nyan-ma* (Author: Mkhas-grub dge-legs bzang-po)
*sTeng-changs-pa-ma*
*Dam-can rgya-mtsho-ma*
*mThun-pa'i dngos-grub-ma*

As it is the same hymns which have benefitted from a musical notation in different *dbyangs-yig* of the dGe-lugs-pa tradition, it seems to me that they can be regarded as a common core made up of the hymns which were thought to be the most important and whose transmission needed to be assured in a more rigorous fashion in the ornate style designated by the term *dbyangs*.

The text of the hymns appears in a ritual published in India, a copy of which was given to me in 1973 by a former monk at the Tantric college of rGyud-smad: it consists of the text of a *bskang-gso* in honour of the principal protectors of the dGe-lugs-pa, entitled:

*Thub-pa'i bstan-srung gtso-bo mGon-po phyag-drug-pa dang/*
*Chos-rgyal/ dMag-zor-ma/ rNam-sras bskang-gso cha-lag*
*mnga'-gsol dang-bcas-pa//* (157 fol., pp.1-314).

2. *Sound Sources.*

In the course of a mission carried out in India in Autumn 1973,[6] I was able to record some of these hymns as sung by monks who belonged or who had previously belonged to the Tantric colleges of rGyud-smad, rGyud-stod and the monastery of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang. On the basis of the hymn *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* of which I have recorded versions, I was able to compare the different systems of notation belonging to one religious school with their actual execution.

The text of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* (Ritual, fol.58a) is made up of twenty lines of 9 syllables which constitute an invocation performed at the beginning of the *bskang-ba* of mGon-po:

Rtsa-brgyud bla-ma mchog-gsum rgyal-ba'i bka'
gsangs-sngags rig-snags 'ting-'dzin phyag-rgya'i mthu
rang-bzhin rnam-dag chos-dbyings bden-pa yis
mthun-pa'i dam-rdzas phyi nang mchod-pa'i tshogs
sa dang bar-snang nam-mkha'i khyon gang zhing
zag-med bde-ster re-ba rdzogs byed pa
Ye-shes mGon-po 'khor bcas spyan-lam du
'byung-zhing rgyas-la thugs-dam bskongs-gyur cig
gdug-pa'i dgra-bgegs rnams kyi snying-gi khrag
dmar-chen rakta'i rgya-mtsho rab-'khyil ba
dmar-ser lbu-ba 'khrig-pa'i mchod-yon 'dis
myur-mdzad Ye-shes mGon-po'i thugs-dam bskang
Ma-gcig dPal-ldan lha-mo'i thugs-dam bskang
srog-gcod gnod-sbyin bzhi-yi thugs-dam bskang
dam-can Chos-rgyal yab-yum thugs-dam bskang
bka'-sdod dam-can rgya-mtsho'i thugs-dam bskang
'khor dang-bcas-pa'i thugs-dam bskongs 'gyur nas
rnal-'byor dpon-slob nyams-chag sos-'gyur cig
mi-mthun rkyen dang bar-chad bzlog-pa dang
mthun-pa'i dngos-grub ma-lus stsal-du gsol

It is striking to note that the instrumental formula which should precede the singing of the hymn appears in a collection kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Tib. 712), the:

*rnga 'chings rgyas bsdus ci rigs byed-tshul dgra-bgegs 'gugs-pa'i lcags-kyu*

whose text is attributed to Mkhas-grub-rje (1385-1483); and in fact fol. 1b contains the following words:

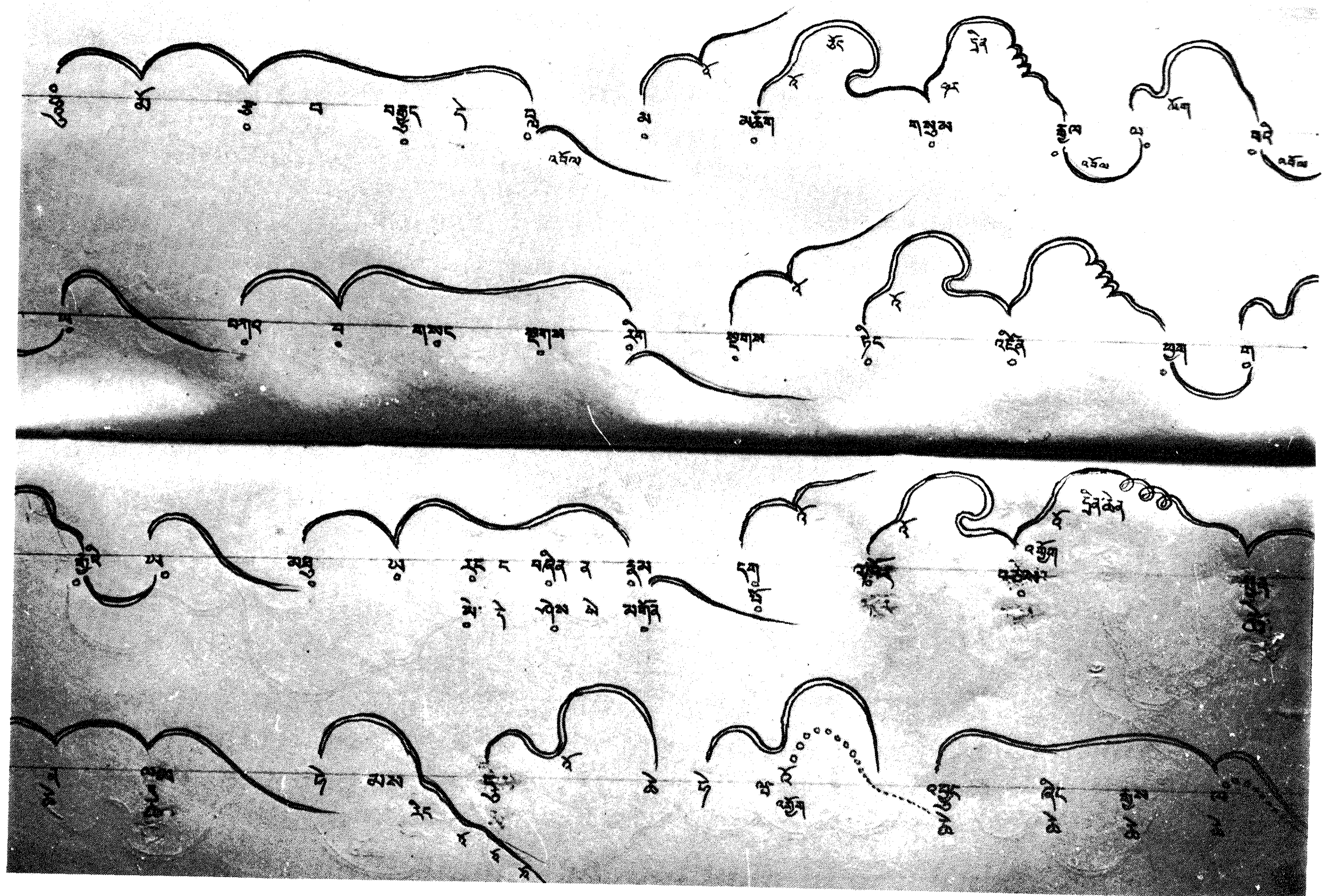
... *Rtsa-brgyud-ma Mi-rkang gling-bu-ma 'Dur-khrod jigs-rgyun-ma gsum la/ mthing rkang gnyis dang sum-brdungs zung* ...

that is to say: 'for the three hymnas which begin with *Rtsa-brgyud, Mi-rkang gling-bu* and *'Dur-khrod 'jigs rgyun [make]* two *mthing-rkang* followed by two times *[the formula] sum-brdungs* (= three knocks).' Even if such a laconic text tells us little about the peformance of the *mthing-rkang* or the *gsum-brdungs*,[7] it does at least prove that since the beginning of the fifteenth century, the hymn *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* has been part of the corpus of hymns performed in the monasteries of the dGe-lugs-pa order.

2.1. The Tantric College of rGyud-smad.

The notation of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* found in the B.N. Tib. 722 manuscript relates to the first eight lines of the hymn; the same notation is repeated for the first six lines, whereas lines 7 and 8 have a more complicated notation which is different for each line.[8]

I owe the version sung according to the notation of B.N. Tib. 722 (M. Helffer recording, 73-10/1) to Thub-bstan tshe-ring, snags-ram-pa. Before uttering each syllable making up the text or each semantically meaningless



Photograph no.3: Monastery of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang, manuscript reconstruction, fol. 36b-37a.
Beginning of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* (as far as the first half of line 8)

syllable (*tshig-lhad*) relating to the notation, the performer introduces a vocalisation which I have marked *o-e*; in addition he has a long pause on a syllable which I have marked *hou* after the third syllable and before the ninth of the line;[9] in place of the drum beats marked o in notation, he clicks his fingers as he utters the syllables relating to the notation.

[The recorded document was played.]

2.2. The Tantric College of rGyud-stod.

The notation of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* published in Switzerland relates to the first twelve lines and the beginning of the thirteenth; it is then followed by the instruction *zhes sogs...* It is exactly the same for each line except for the intonation and performance of the first three syllables which are normally sung only by the *dbu-mdzad*.[10]

The first neumatic sequence is made up of four signs which I have indicated by (a), (b), (c), (d);

(a) is made over the utterance of HUṂ-mo RTSA-ba BRGYUD-de BLA and ends with a descending movement;
(b) is made up of two sequences of linked curves, corresponding to the utterance of the end of the first line;
(c) is formed by a sort of bell over the first syllable (of the second line) followed by a *tshig-lhad*;
(d) is formed by a bell over the second syllable followed by a *tshig-lhad* and ends with a descending movement on the third syllable of the second line.

Following this the sequence (b)+(c)+(d) is repreated with the exception of the last line which introduces a concluding variant.

The recording which I made at Dalhousie in 1973 (M. Helffer, 1973-8/1.2.3) relates to the sequence (a)+(b)+(c)+(d). The same sequence, sung by a young monk in the presence of the abbot of the monastery, was repeated three times: once in a normal voice, once in the characteristic voice used at rGyud-stod and commonly referred to by the term '*mdzo*' voice (*mdzo-skad*), and a third time in the *mdzo* voice with cymbal accompaniment.

The sung tradition of rGyud-stod introduces a sound after each syllable relating to the notation which I mark *ou*.

[The recorded document was played]

2.3. The Monastery of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang.

In the reconstructed manuscript (fol. 36b-37a), the notation of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* relates to the first three lines of the text and the beginning of the fourth and is then repeated in a slightly modified form for lines 7 and 8.

The base neumatic sequence corresponds to the utterance of the syllable HUM followed by the first eight syllables of the line; it is made up of three distinct signs which I have indicated by (a), (b), (c); it is repeated with elements of (a) elided and developments added to (c); a new sign is introduced to mark the end of line 7:

(a) corresponds to the utterance of HUṂ-mo RTSA-ba BRGYUD-de BLA and ends with a descending movement;
(b) corresponds to the fourth syllable of the line, namely MA and is made up of two linked ascending curves;
(c) is a complex sign composed of a succession of more or less ornate curves and has two plunging movements after the seventh and eighth syllables.

It will be noted that apart from the syllables of the text and the *tshig-lhad*, the curves indicating the vocal effects and the little circles indicating the cymbals and/or drum, the notation used at the rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang monastery

gives way to instructions in small characters which indicate a number of modalities of performance. On Photograph no.3 the terms *bol, cong, har, drin, (g)log* can be distinguished; each one corresponds to determined graphic movements.

I owe the recording carried out in 1973 at Dharamsala (M. Hellfer, 1973-4/1) to the Venerable bsKal-bzang-lags; it relates to line 1 and the first eight syllables of line 2.[11] You will note the change of register due to the shift from the chest voice to the head voice which corresponds to the indication *cong* (an abbreviation of *cong-skad*), the husky character which corresponds to the indication *har*, the sort of hiccups which translate the indication *drin*:

[The recorded document was played.]

At first sight one is struck above all by the diversity of the graphisms used in the different monasteries of the same religious school but a closer examination of the notations of a single piece raises the question of a common origin. It may be noted that for *Rtsa-brgyud-ma* :

1. There is always a *tshig-lhad* on either side of the eighth syllable of the line and that a *tshig-lhad* marks the division between the two lines (the end of one or the beginning of the next?);
2. the *tshig-lhad* are introduced after the first and second syllables of the line in an accented way at rGyud-stod(with a corresponding cymbal clash) and in a discreet way at rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang;
3. lines 7 and 8 which formulate the name of the dedicatee Ye-shes mGon-po and express the desire to delight him are solemnised by a more ornate notation (cf. rGyud-smad and rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang);
4. the performance of a line is organised around a fixed number of cymbal clashes corresponding to the nine syllables of the line and the more important *tshig-lhad*.

One should nevertheless stress the diversification which has taken place on the level of performance:

- the choice of the natural voice (*rang-skad*) at rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang and the *mdzo* voice (*mdzo-skad*) which musicologists sometimes call the 'diphonic voice' at the Tantric colleges of rGyud-smad and rGyud-stod;
- the addition of intercalated vocalic sounds in different places depending on the monastery: *o-e* before the utterance of each syllable and *hou* held for a long time after the third syllable and before the eighth at rGyud-smad, and *ou* after each syllable at rGyud-stod.

The analyses carried out so far are still too fragmentary to enable us to draw definite conclusions from them but it seems that more research using numerous and repeated recordings of the same pieces may allow us, if not to establish the exact correspondance of notation and performance, at least to see how far these notations have contributed to a more faithful transmission of *dbyangs*.

| Syllables of line | | 1 | 2 | 3 | Extension | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | tshig-lhad | 8 | tshig-lhad | Extension | 9 | tshig-lhad |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cymbals | o | o | o | o | | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | | o | o |
| Text 1 | HUM-mo | o.é RTSA | o.é BRGYUD | o.é BLA | hou | o.é MA | o.é MCHOG | o.é GSUM | o.é RGYAL | o.é la | o.é BA'I | o.é ya | hou | o.é BKA' | o.é wa |
| 2 | | o.é GSANG | o.é SNGAGS | o.é RIG | hou | o.é SNGAGS | o.é TING | o.é 'JIN | o.é PHYAG | o.é ya | o.é RGYA'I | o.é ya | hou | o.é MTHU | o.é ya |
| 3 | | o.é RANG | o.é BZHIN | o.é RNAM | hou | o.é DAG | o.é CHOS | o.é DBYINGS | o.é BDEN | o.é na | o.é PA | o.é wa | hou | o.é YIS | o.é ya |
| 4 | | o.é MTHUN | o.é PA'I | o.é DMAR | hou | o.é RDZAS | o.é PHYI | o.é NANG | o.é MCHOD | o.é ya | o.é PA'I | o.é ya | hou | o.é TSHOGS | o.é wa |
| 5 | | o.é SA | o.é DANG | o.é BAR | hou | o.é SNANG | o.é NAM | o.é MKHA'I | o.é KHYON | o.é na | o.é GANG | o.é nga | hou | o.é ZHING | o.é nga |
| 6 | | o.é ZAG | o.é MED | o.é BDE | hou | o.é STER | o.é RE | o.é BA | o.é RDZOGS | o.é wa | o.é BYED | o.é ya | hou | o.é PA | o.é wa |
| | | o | o | o | | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | | o | o |
| 7 | hou | o.é YE | o.é SHES | o.é MGON | hou | o.é PO | o.é 'KHOR | o.é BCAS | o.é SPYAN | o.é na | o.é LAM | o.é mas | hou/hou | o.é DU | o.é wa |
| | | o | o | o | o | | | o | o | o | | o | | o | |
| 8 | hou | o.é 'BYUNG | o.é ZHING | o.é RGYAS | o.é la | hou/o.é ya | hou/hou | o.é THUGS | o.é DAM | o.é BSKANGS | o.é nga | o.é GYUR | o.é hou | o.é CIG | o.é ya ... |

*Transcription of the data provided by the dbyangs-yig of rGyud-smad*

N.B.: capitals: syllables comprising text

small letters: *tshig-lhad*

underlined small letters: sounds added in performance

Table no.1.

(a) (b)

| Syllables of line | | 1 | tshig lhad | 2 | tshig lhad | 3 | 4 | 5 | tshig lhad | 6 | 7 | tshig lhad | 8 | tshig lhad | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cymbals | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Text | HUM mo | RTSA-ou | ou ba ou | ou BRGYUD-ou | ou de ou | BLA ou | MA-ou | MCHOG-ou | a.a-ou (bis) | ou GSUM ou | ou RGYAL ou | a-a | BA'I ou | a.a ou | BKA'-ou |
| | (c) | | | (d) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | a a ou | GSANG-nga-ou | | SNGAGS. | ga-ou | RIG.ou | | | | | | | | | |

Table no.2. *Transcription of the data provided by the dbyangs-yig of rGyud-stod*

| | (a) | | | | (b) | (c) | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Syllable of line | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | tshig lhad | 8 | tshig lhad | 9 | tshig lhad |
| Cymbals | | | | | | cong | har drin | 'bol | log | 'bol | | | |
| Text 1 | HUM-mo | RTSA-ba | BRGYUD-de | BLA | MA-o | MCHOG-o | GSUM | RGYAL | la | BA'I | ya | BKA' | ba |
| 2 | | GSANG | SNGAGS | RIG | SNGAGS-o | TING-o | 'JIN | PHYAG | ga | RGYA'I | ya | MTHU | |
| | | | | | | | drin chen | | | | | | |
| 7 | | YE-de | SHES-se | MGON | PO | 'KHOR-o | BCAS | SPYAN | na | LAM | he-mas | DU-o | he-wa-o |
| 8 | | 'BYUNG | ZHING | RGYAS | LA | heTHUGS | he-DAM | BSKANG | nga | GYUR | he-o | he CIG | ya-ya |

Table no.3. *Transcription of the data provided by the dbyangs-yig of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang*

## Notes

1. cf. 'Problèmes posés par la lecture des notations musicales (*dbyans-yig*) utilisés pour le chant d'hymnes religieux au Tibet', in *Etudes Tibétaines*, Actes du XXIXème Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris 1976, pp.17-22.
2. cf. Walter Kaufmann, *Tibetan Buddhist Chant*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington-London, 1975, 56 pp.
3. cf. 'Traditions musicales des Sa-skya-pa relatives au culte de mGon-po', in *Journal Asiatique*, T.CCLXIV (1976), pp.357-404.
4. cf. *LADAKH, Musique de monastère et de village*, 1 disque 30 cm/33t., Traditions musicales des 5 continents, collection C.N.R.S.- Musée de l' Homme, Le Chant du Monde LDX 74662.
5. cf. Ricardo Canzio, 'The place of Music and Chant in Tibetan religious culture', in *Tibetan Studies*, ed. by Martin Brauen and Per Kvaerne, Zurich 1978, pp.65-74.
6. This mission was granted by the E.R. 165 of the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique.
7. For an explanation of the different musical translations of these expressions, see Ivan Vandor, *Bouddhisme tibétain*, Buchet-Chastel, Paris, 1976, pp.93-94.
8. The Indian edition (Acc. Lists I-Tib. 76-901399, pp.64-67), relates to the whole piece and shows that from line 9 to the end, the notation used for the first six lines is repeated.
9. In the version copied for P. Crossley-Holland in 1961, and in the Indian edition this pause is indicated by a drawing of a tiny lotus after the third syllable and before the ninth in each line.
10. One of the notations reproduced in *An anthology of the world's music No.6, Tibet*. AST 4005, published by Huston Smith also concerns *Rtsa-brgyud-ma*; it relates to the first eight lines of the hymn: the recording on Side A/4: 'Invocation of mGon-po' is limited to the sequence: HUṂ RTSA-ba BRGYUD-de'i BLA-MA MCHOG-ou GSUM a-a RGYAL-BA'I BKA'
11. The staved notation which appears in Ivan Vandor *op.cit.*, p.109, entitled 'Yangsta Gyüma' corresponds to the performance of *Rtsa-brgyud-ma*, as can be seen from the reproduction of the original Tibetan notation on p.110. Both notations relate to the first two lines of the hymn.

N.B. Vol X/2 of *Asian Music* (1979) devoted to the music of Tibet appeared too late for this paper to take account of the views expressed by Ter Ellingson in a long article (pp.112-156) entitled: ''*Don rta dbyangs gsum*: Tibetan chant and melodic categories.'

N.B. Concerning the tradition of rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang noted above under *Written Sources* (1.3.), the manuscript which I used has been published in India under the title: *Gam-bcar phan-bde legs-bshad gling-gi chos-srung yongs-kyi dbyangs-yig 'Tam-pu-ra'i rgyud-mang' chos-srung 'bod-pa'i dbyangs snyan skal-ldan mgrin-pa'i mdzes-rgyan zhes bya-ba bzhugs-so*, 44 fol./ 87 pp. Acc. - lists I. Tib. 77-905326.

# TOWARDS AN INTERPRETATION OF THE WORD *CHIS*

**Yoshiro Imaeda**

Anyone who deals with Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang or with ancient Tibetan inscriptions comes up against a variety of difficulties, amongst which are the fragmentary state of these documents, the uncertain and sometimes aberrant orthography, the unusual writing and above all, the presence of words which do not appear in the dictionaries and the meaning of which contemporary Tibetans do not know.

A little over a decade ago H.E. Richardson wrote an extremely interesting and valuable note on one of these words not mentioned in the dictionaries: *chis*.[1] He examined the examples of the use of the word both in the inscriptions (sKar-cung, lCang-bu and Lhasa) and in the manuscripts of Tun-huang (Pelliot tibétain 992, 1078b, 1283 and 1287). Although he noted: 'Other instances may await discovery in unpublished documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,' he concluded at the end of his examination: 'it appears to describe the treatment of subjects by those in authority.'

In Volume 1 of *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1978, there is a manuscript where the word *chis* appears four times. It is the Pelliot tibétain 986, a Tibetan translation of the *Shujing* 書經, of which we are doing an annotated translation.[2] H.E. Richardson who is currently compiling a vocabulary of words which appear in the ancient inscriptions - this will be a contribution of considerable importance to Tibetan studies - was immediately interested in this manuscript and wrote to us: 'What interests me is that it contains many words and phrases which appear in the early inscriptions and as it is a translation from the Chinese, the Chinese text presumably throws light on the exact meaning of the Tibetan words. Among those about which I would be glad of more information are ... *chis*.'[3] We shall therefore take advantage of the opportunity given us here to reply to him on the question of the word *chis* in the Pelliot tibétain 986.

Before examining the passages where the word *chis* appears it seems necessary to make a few remarks about the nature of this Tibetan text which raises a number of problems for us.[4] Unlike the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts whose literal fidelity to the original is well known, our text is not a literal translation of the original Chinese. In fact, whereas each chapter of the Chinese original consists of a title, a summary, the text itself and a commentary,[5] these separate items have all been blended together to form a continuous Tibetan text. In addition the Tibetan translation contains a few details which do not appear in the original and which have probably been taken from the sub-commentary (or sub-commentaries) such as *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義. Since the relationship between the Chinese original and the Tibetan version seems to be a rather free one, it is difficult if not impossible to find a Chinese equivalent for each Tibetan word.

Let us now examine the passages where the word *chis* appears. In each case the translation and the text are given first and are then followed by a translation of the corresponding Chinese passage:[6]

1) Tib: Having been appointed by Heaven to[do]the *chis* of the subjects (1.16. *gnam-gyis 'bangs-kyi chis* (1.17) *[byed-par bda]g bskod-pas//*)...
   Chin: Heaven uses me to administer the people (p. 178).
2) Tib: If the subjects are not happy and they suffer misfortunes the *chis* exercised by the king is at fault (1.22. *'bangs myi skyid-cing nyes-pa byung-ba ni// rgyal-po rang-gis chis nyes* (1.23)*-pa'o*).

Chin: If the people are at fault, I alone am responsible (p.179).

3) Tib: The son Gyvi Lig had a profound [mind], was compassionate towards the subjects and expert in *chis* (1.127. *sras gyvi lig/sgam-zhing 'bangs-la/'o byams-shing/ chis mkhas-pa'i phyir*).

Chin: Wang Li tried to establish the royal family (p.192).

4) Tib: Although the king remained with his hands folded, without even doing the *chis* of his subjects, they, being under heaven, became spontaneously happy (1.55. *'bangs* (1.56)- *gyis yang myi mdzad-par/ phyang brkyang-ste/ bzhugs-gyis kyang// gnam mtha' 'og-gi 'bangs rang-bzhin-du skyid-par gyur-to*).

Chin: [The king] remained with his hands folded and the world was administered (p.194).

These four examples allow us to make the following conclusion: the parallelism between the two texts is exceptional in the first example where the Tibetan translation is almost a literal rendering of the Chinese original. We may therefore say that Tibetan *chis* corresponds to ***yi*** 乂 ***zhi*** 治(the character used in the commentary) 'administer administration, govern' in Chinese. This remark is equally valid for the three other examples if *chis* is replaced by the word 'administration'.

It is evident, therefore, that in the light of a Chinese text, the word *chis* attested in the Pelliot tibétain 986 supports the interpretation put forward by H.E. Richardson in his note.

書經 尚書正義 乂 治 周書

## Notes

1. *'Tibetan* chis *and* tshis', in *Asia Minor*, N.S., Vol. XIV-2, 1968, pp.254-56.
2. We shall be discussing this question in more detail in a forthcoming work.
3. In his review of the Volume I of *Choix ...*, in JRAS, 1979, p.89, he also writes: 'To give only one example: in No.986, described as a translation from the Chinese'*Tcheou chou*, there are several words, occurring also in early inscriptions and historical MSS, whose meaning is not precisely established: comparison with the Chinese original may provide a solution.'
4. This copy contains four paragraphs: I(11.1-28), II(11 29-67), III (11. 68-89) and IV(11. 90-157). They correspond to chapters II, III, IV, V and VI respectively of the *Zhoushu* 周書 , The Annals of the Zhou dynasty which is the fourth and last part of the *Shujing*. There exists a French translation of the Chinese original: Séraphin Couvreur, *Chou king. Les Annales de la Chine*, Paris, 1950 (first published, Ho kien fou, 1897).
5. On the problem of the composition of the *Shujing*, we may refer to an excellent article by Paul Pélliot,'*Le* Chou king *en caractères anciens et le* Chang chou che wen,' in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, Vol. II, Paris, 1946, pp.123-77.
6. The Chinese text is given in Couvreur *op.cit*. We have not always followed his translation.

## A GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF LO (MUSTANG)

David Jackson

Although nowadays few places in Nepal are more remote or inaccessible than the north-western district of Lo (Mustang), in earlier centuries the area was a vital crossroads in the Western Himalayas. To begin with Lo (*Glo bo*) was located on an important north-south trade route by which goods passed between Western Tibet and both Western Nepal and Northern India. Lo was also one of a number of oasis-like valleys strung east to west in the Tibetan borderlands; as such, it was a natural stepping-stone for the transmission of Tibetan culture along the east-west axis. In addition, Lo at one point even enjoyed the status of an important political centre: in the 15th century its kings actually ruled a vast domain in Western Tibet that stretched far beyond the modern borders of Lo. But in spite of the area's past importance, until recently almost nothing was known of its history. The discovery of various sources in recent years however has now opened the way for preliminary studies on some aspects of the history of Lo.

The purpose of this paper is to introduce one such important textual source, the *Molla of Tsarang*, and to present in a very brief outline some of the data that it contains on the history of the kings of Lo. The text in question derives part of its name from the place of its discovery, the monastery of Tsarang in Lo. The original text of the *Tsarang Molla (TsM)*, a worn, soiled and incomplete manuscript, was first located in Tsarang by the Ven. Chogay Trichen (*bco brgyad khri chen)* Rinpoche. Recognising its importance, he had another copy of the text made and it was this latter copy that the Ven. Chogay Trichen showed me in the spring of 1976. The Ven Chogay Trichen's copy was missing an undetermined number of folios at the end of the text. Also absent from it were one or more folios towards the middle that were likewise missing in the original surviving fragment. Yet in spite of its incomplete state, *TsM* proved to be the best of the older local sources on the history of the Lo kings that have become accessible to date.[1]

*Mollas: Examples of Traditional Tibetan Speech-making.*

The *Tsarang Molla* is but one of several texts called *molla* (or *mola*) that have survived in Lo Mustang. In Lo and parts of Western Tibet any text for a formal speech is called a *molla*. In Lo in particular, however, the word most commonly refers to a recitation given before a religious assembly for the purpose of announcing the pious offerings of a patron and for making known the patron's requests. This name for such a speech, *molla*, has struck many Tibetologists at first sight as strange. Yet in fact the word is closely linked to the well attested literary Tibetan word *mol ba*. A more common literary equivalent for *molla* would seem to be *mol gtam*.

The surviving *mollas* of Lo are relatively late compositions, probably dating back no earlier than the first half of the 19th century. Still, they definitely represent a continuation of an old and well established tradition of Tibetan speech-making. Examples of speeches similar to the *mollas* are found in texts from Tibet dating from the 14th and 15th centuries and some of the same phrases occurring in such early speeches have been duplicated, sometimes word for word, in the texts of the *Mollas* of Lo.[2]

According to a Tibetan scholastic compendium of the 15th or 16th century, one of the main features of Tibetan speech-making was that a speech often contained some sort of historical recitation. The particular type of history - whether a history of the Buddhist religion, a royal genealogy, or something else - was determined by the identity of the most important person or persons in the assembly; for example, the presence of a great ecclesiastic called for

a history of religion, while the presence of a king required the recitation of the royal genealogy.[3] The *mollas* of Lo seem to have been composed in accordance with these principles. Since both a religious leader and the ruler of Lo were often present at the recitations, the *mollas* usually seem to have contained both a brief history of Buddhism and a sketch of the genealogical origins of the Lo ruling line.

*The Historical Content of the Tsarang Molla.*

Of the three *molla* histories accessible to me, the most detailed is that of *TsM*.[4] As is the case with one of the other accessible *mollas*, the TsM text actually deals with a number of distinct topics in its 'history' (*lo rgyus*) sections. These topics include cosmology, geography, the distribution of humans in the world and the history of Buddhism. The longest section in *TsM*, however, deals with the history of kings: the genealogy of the old Tibetan monarchy and that of the kings of Lo. Not surprisingly, from among the two royal histories, the most space is given to the genealogy of the Lo kings. One finds in the genealogical passages of *TsM* not only what purport to be the names of the past rulers of Lo but also an account of some of these kings' greatest secular and religious accomplishments, the names of some of their brothers who were men of religion and the number of each king's sons.

Here I present the names of the kings of Lo as contained in *TsM*. In the following list I have assigned the number one to the generation of the great founding king, A-ma-dpal. Please note that numbers eleven and twelve are missing on account of the lacunae in the text. I have also mentioned the number of male siblings that each king is said to have had and the names of any brothers (always monks) that the text mentions. Finally for the sake of chronological reference, I have also listed the names of the chief religious preceptors as mentioned for each king.

i. sTag-seng-ge-'bum
ii. Shes-rab-bla-ma
iii. Chos-skyong-'bum, the youngest of two brothers.
1. A-me-dpal (A-ma-dpal)
   Preceptor: Ngor-chen Kung-dga'-bzang-po(1382-1456)
2. A-mgon-bzang-po, and three brothers
   Preceptor: 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1396-1474), third abbot of Ngor.
3. Tshangs-chen bKra-shis-mgon, and three brothers, one of whom was gLo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532)
   Preceptors: rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), fourth abbot of Ngor, and gSer-mdog paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507).
4. Grags-pa-mtha'-yas, and two brothers. This king's older brother was the *zhabs drung* Chos-kyi-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.
   Preceptors: rGyal-ba Lha-mchog-seng-ge (6.1468), ninth abbot of Ngor, and dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557), tenth abbot of Ngor.
5. rGya-hor-dpal-bzang, and one brother.
6. Don-grub-rdo-rje, and two brothers. The king's older brother was the *chos rje* 'Jam-dbyangs-pa.
7. bSam-grub-rdo-rje, and one younger brother. This brother was the *chos rje* bSod-nams-dpal-'byor.
8. bSam-grub-rab-brtan.
   Preceptors: Sa-skya-pa Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597-1659), the rTa-nag Thub-bstan mkhan-po Chos-rnam-rgyal, and mNga'-bdag Chos-rgyal-phun-tshogs.

9. bSam-grub-dpal-'bar, and two brothers. The king's oldest brother was the monk, bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin-dbang-po.
Preceptor: rTag-rtse-ba Mi-pham-shes-rab-phun-tshogs..
10. Tshe-dbang *alias* Phun-tshogs-gtsug-rgyan-nor-bu.
11. *[lacuna]*
12.? *[lacuna]* Preceptors: Sa-skya-pa Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-blo-gros and son (fl, late 18th century).
13.? bKras-shis-snying-po, and two brothers. One brother was the *zhabs drung* rDo-rje-'phrin-las.
14.? 'Jam-dpal-dgra-'dul.
Preceptor: bSam-gsang-sprul-sku Chos-kyi-nyi-ma.
15.? Kun-dga'-nor-bu.

Many of the above names are corroborated by sources from Lo, Dolpo, Ladakh and Tibet. Furthermore, by combining the other available accounts with the data from *TsM*, it is possible to begin compiling a more complete list of the males in the Lo ruling family from the late-14th until the mid-19th centuries. I present the following preliminary list in the hope that it will be confirmed, corrected or expanded with the help of other interested scholars. I regret that in the allotted space I cannot discuss all of the sources that I have used in compiling this chart.[5]

(Underlined names are those mentioned as rulers in *TsM*). An (m) designates this person as a monk.)

I. sTag-seng-ge-'bum
II. Shes-rab-bla-ma (fl. c.1380)
III-a. Khri-dpon Byir-ma *or* Jir-ma
III-b. Chos-skyong-'bum (fl. c.1400)

1. A-me-dpal (also spelled: A-ma-dpal) (fl. c.1425)
2-a. A-mgon-bzang-po (fl. c.1450)
2-b. Amogha
2-c. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (m)
2-d. Rin-chen-bzang-po (m)
3-a. Tshangs-chen bKra-shis-mgon (d. 1489)
3-b. A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (d. c.1496)
3-c.? bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho? (d. c.1500)
3-d.? gLo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (m) (1456-1532)
4-a. Chos-kyi-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (m)
4-b. Mgon-po-rgyal-mtshan-grags-pa-mtha-yas-pa'i-sde (f. c.1520)
4-c.? brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho? *or* bsTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho? ( 5-a or 5-b?)
4-c-1? 'Jam-dbyangs-rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (m?) ( 6-a?)
5-a.? rGya-hor-dpal-bzang (fl. c.1550)
5-b.? *[ ]*
6-a. Chos-rje 'Jam-dbyangs-pa (m)
6-b. Don-grub-rdo-rje (fl. c.1580)
6-c. 'O-lo?
7a-a. bSam-grub-rdo-rje (fl. c.1620)
7-b. bSod-nams-dpal-'byor (m)
8. bSam-grub-rab-brtan (fl. c.1650)
9-a. bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin-dbang-po (m)
9-b. bSam-grub-dpal-'bar (fl. 1680)
9-c. brTan-pa'i-rdo-rje
10. Tshe-dbang alias Phun-tshogs-gtsug-rgyan-nor-bu (fl. c.1710)
11.? bsTan-'dzin-dbang-rgyal? (fl. c.1740) *alias* bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal?
12.? dBang-rgyal-rdo-rje (fl. c.1780)

13-a.? 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje?
13-b.? bKra-shis-snying-po (fl. c.1810)
13-c.? rDo-rje-'phrin-las (m)
14.? 'Jam-dpal-dgra-'dul alias Theg-mchog-seng-ge (fl. c.1830)
15.? Kun-dga'-nor-bu (fl. c.1850)

In spite of its lacunae and the relatively small amount of datable information that it contains, from among the dozen or more pre-20th-century sources used for assembling the above list *TsM* gave the most continuous and complete account.[6] Up until now I have not however had access to other important sources such as the full-length genealogical histories (*gdung rabs*) of the Lo kings.[7] If any of these *gdung rabs* texts become published or if their contents are otherwise made available, the relative importance of *TsM* will no doubt be diminished. But until such time, the *Molla of Tsarang* will probably remain the main source for the genealogy of the kings of Lo.

## Notes

1. The *Mollas* and the history of Lo formed the focus of my research for the M.A. thesis at the University of Washington. My thesis on the topic 'The Mollas: Historical Speeches from Lo Mustang,' will be submitted in the fall of 1979.
Another very valuable source made available to me during my research in Nepal was the new compilation of the history of the Lo kings by Ven. Chogay Trichen, entitled *Rin chen phra tshom*. Much of this new work depends heavily on the *Tsarang Molla*.
2. For early examples of such speeches see: rGyal-sras-thogs-med (1295-1369), *rGyal sras 'phags pa dngul chu thogs med kyi rnam thar dad pa'i shing rta dang gsung 'thor bu bcas* (Thimbu: Kunsang Tobgey, 1975) pp.414-420.
gSer-mdog paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), *Complete Works* (Thimbu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975), VIII, p.517-529: *'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal pos mdzad pa'i mol gtam*.
Don-dam-smra-ba'i-seng-ge, *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* (Thimbu: Kunsang Topgey, 1976), pp.501-509.
3. Don-dam-smra-ba'i-seng-ge, *bShad mdzod* (Thimbu: 1976), pp.497.4-498.1.
4. In 1977, through the assistance of Mr. Michael Vinding and Krishna Lal Thakali, I obtained the text of another *molla* of Lo, the *Namgyal Molla*. It was a 19-page manuscript copy made by bsTan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, a man from Mönthang. In addition, Ven. Chogay Trichen had copied the historical passages out of the *Mönthang Molla*, a text he located at the sMon-thang chos-sde, and I was able to use these passages for my research. Two other *mollas* that are known to exist are those that were found in Lo by Michel Peissel. One is the *Garphu Molla*, mentioned by Peissel in his *Mustang, the Forbidden Kingdom* (new York: E.P. Dutton, 1967), pp.246-254. During the course of the Oxford seminar, Mr. Alexander Macdonald generously made available to me a photocopy of the *Garphu Molla*, which seems to have been written by a Mustang writer at about the time of Peissel's visit and which contains little useful information. The second *molla* mentioned by Peissel was referred to as 'une Molla trouvée à Tsarang,'

in the bibliography to his dissertation, 'L'organisation politique et sociale du royaume tibétaine de Glo, dit le royaume du Mustang' (Thèse pour le doctorate de 3ème cycle, U. de Paris, 1969). I have not been able to examine this last Molla text.

5. The main sources included the following:
(1) Various writings of gLo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub, found in volume III of his Collected Works (New Delhi: Ngawang Tobgay, 1977).
(2) gLo-bo mkhan-chen's autobiography: *rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, unpublished MS.
(3) Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, *Dpal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan*, unpublished MS, biography of gLo-bo mkhan-chen.
(4) Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, Kah-thog Rig-'dzin (1698-1755), *Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad mang yul gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel 'phrul gyi me long*, unpublished MS, a history of the Gung thang kings.
(5) sNa-tshogs-rang-grol, rGod-tshang ras-pa, gTsang smyon heruka phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar rdo rje theg pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i snying po [The Life of the Saint of gTsang] (new Delhi: 1969).
(6) Ven. Chogay Trichen, *Rin chen phra tshom*.
(7) *Bem chag* of 'Chi-med-dpal- 'dren-bzang-mo (an extract from it, copied from the notes of Ven. Chogay Trichen).
(8) Ngag-dbang-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, *Shrī mi yi dbang phyug mahādhar-marāja a ham gyi gdung las zhabs drung mkhas shing grub brnyes rim par byon pa rnams la gsol ba 'debs byin rlabs chu rgyun*, a lineage prayer to the noble monks from the Lo ruling line, unpublished MS.
(9) The *Molla of Mönthang* (extracts copied from the notes of Ven. Chogay Trichen).
(10) David L. Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo* (Oxford: 1967).
(11) A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (New Delhi: S.Chand, 1972), two volumes.
(12) Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.* (Roma: Is.M.E.O., 1977).
I have discussed these and other sources in more detail in Part II, chapter 3 of my thesis.

6. The *Rin chen phra tshom* of Ven.Chogay Trichen, a new compilation based on *TsM*, the above-mentioned *Bem-chag* of 'Chi-med-dpal- 'dren-bzang-mo and other sources, is the most complete source to which I have access.

7. Mr. Corneille Jest, in a personal letter, has kindly informed me that he found a manuscript *A ma dpal gyi gdung rabs* in the library of the Lama of Kagar-Tarap (32 folios, written in *dbu-can* characters on Nepalese paper). At the time that the present paper was written, Mr. Jest was in Nepal: therefore it has not been possible to compare the contents of that *gdung rabs* with the genealogical lists given above.

# THE SHANGS-PA BKA'-BRGYUD; AN UNKNOWN TRADITION OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

Matthew Kapstein

I. Since the appearance, in 1949, of George N. Roerich's monumental translation of 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba's *Blue Annals*, much of the fundamental information required for a study of the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* tradition has been available; for the ninth chapter of that work consists, for the most part, of synopses of the lives of the great *Shangs-pa* masters. Nonetheless, the nature of that tradition and of its contribution to Tibetan Buddhism as a whole has not yet been examined critically. The *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* has thus remained virtually unknown and the few references to it found in secondary literature are in fact based on what seems to be misinterpretations of the Tibetan sources.[1] A brief introduction to the study of the *Shangs-pa* may not therefore be entirely uncalled-for.

If there is any statement concerning the *Shangs-pa* made with sufficient frequency to be termed commonplace, it is that the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* is a branch of the larger *bKa'-brgyud* school, the latter being the tradition that emanates from the great Mar-pa Chos-kyi bLo-gros (1012-1096). R.A.Stein, for example, states that:

> Out of the disciples of the poet hermit Mila Repa (1040-1123) was formed the Kagyü-pa order ... Khyung-po the Yogin ... founded the branch at Shang ... (*Civilization*, p.74)

Giuseppe Tucci on the other hand maintains that the *Shangs-pa* was a sect as much affiliated with the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* as was the school of the ***Karma-pa***; that it was founded by 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang (1310-1391, according to *BA*, p.692); and that it attributes its origin to Khyung-po rNal-'byor (*Religions*, p.64).

The accounts provided by the Tibetan historians all state that the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* was founded by Khyung-po rNal-'byor, who established his seat at *Zhang-zhong* (var.*Zhong-zhong, Zhang-zhang*), in the valley of *Shangs*, from which the name of the school is derived. Nowhere it is said that he was a disciple of Mi-la Ras-pa, or of any other representative of Mar-pa's tradition, though some of his Indian *gurus*, such as Maitripa, had also been teachers of the great *lo-tsā-ba*. Furthermore, no mention of 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang is to be found in connection with the *Shangs-pa*. He was a native of the *Shangs* valley to be sure but his spiritual affiliation was with the *'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud* tradition in the lineage of the renowned Yang-dgon-pa (1213-1287). His teaching, so far as I have been able to determine, derived nothing of significance from the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud*.

Evidently the *Shangs-pa* use of the word *bka'-brgyud* has led scholars to assume that a relation with the *Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud* lineages is implied, for that word is frequently used without further qualification as the proper name for Mar-pa's tradition. Nonetheless it should not be overlooked that it may still be used to denote simply a lineage in which the special precepts of a given spiritual succession are transmitted (*Thu'u-bkwan*, p.72: *bka' babs kyi gdams pa'i brgyud 'dzin*). It is in fact so used to refer to any number of Tibetan Buddhist traditions: *dGa'-ldan bKa'-brgyud* is found as a name for the esoteric lineages within the *dGe-lugs-pa* school;[3] and *Padma'i bKa'-brgyud* is occasionally encountered when mention is made of the oral tradition (*bka'-ma*) of the *rNying-ma-pa*.[4] Thus the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* is the 'spiritual succession of *Shangs*': the name implies only that.

Nonetheless, Jonang rJe-btsun Kun-dga' Grol-mchog (1495-1566) and Thu'u-bkwan bLo-bzang Chos-kyi Nyi-ma (1737-1802) and others, do lump together the

*Shangs-pa-* and *Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud* lineages and sometimes other traditions as well under the general heading *bKa'-brgyud*. It is clear that this is done for reasons of convenience for the very texts in which this occurs unambiguously present the two or more *bka'-brgyud* they treat as distinct traditions.[5]

That the *Shangs-pa* is an independent tradition is confirmed by both historical and doctrinal research. The history of the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* like that of several of the other schools must take into account two separate aspects of the one tradition; namely its existence as a sect, and as a lineage.

By *sect*, I mean a religious order that is distinguished from others by virtue of its institutional independence; that is, its unique character is embodied outwardly in the form of an independent hierarchy and administration, independent properties and a recognizable membership of some sort. A *lineage* on the other hand is a continuous succession of spiritual teachers who have transmitted a given body of knowledge over a period of generations but who need not be affiliated with a common sect.[6] Such a distinction is particularly useful when considering a school such as the *Shangs-pa*; for the sect and the lineage have not shared a similar fate: while the one waned, the other actually flourished.

II. Concerning the sectarian aspect of the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* there is little material available but the outline of its history is still discernable in the *rnam-thar* and *chos-'byung* that we do possess. The sect began when Khyung-po rNal-'byor founded the monastery at *Zhang-zhong,* one of one-hundred-eight religious establishments *(gnas-dgon)* that he created in *Shangs* over a three year period.[7] It is impossible to state precisely when this occurred - Khyung-po's *rnam-thar* is a chaotic affair when it comes to chronology - but it is probably safe to attribute the foundation of *Zhang-zhong* to the last years of 11th century, or to the beginning of the 12th.[8] The master's great learning and miraculous abilities attracted to him vast numbers of disciples from *dbUs, gTsang* and *Khams.* The success was a mixed blessing however because the disciples often drifted from the fraternal ethos of the *saṃgha*, and formed themselves into contentious regional cliques.[9] Khyung-po rNal-'byor was fully cognizant of the danger this held for his tradition and shortly before his death he prophesied that if his body were to be encased in a single shrine, not having been cremated, *Zhang-zhong* would become a centre of religion to rival Vajrāsana itself.

After Khyung-po's decease the disciples from places far away grew quarrelsome. If the body were not cremated, they said, they would be denied their rightful share of the relics. With no alternative but dispute it was decided that the master's remains should be cremated and his relics divided.[10] The *Shangs-pa* thus lost the one opportunity they ever had to create a unified sect. *Zhang-zhong* eventually declined and survived only as a place of pilgrimage. Kaḥ-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi rGya-mtsho who visited it in 1919 bemoaned its fate in his memoirs.[11]

During the 12th and 13th centuries a number of *Shangs-pa* institutions were founded. They were *Shangs-pa* inasmuch as they all represented the tradition of Khyung-po rNal-'byor, but unlike the emerging *Karma-pa,'Bri-gung-pa,* and *Sa-skya-pa* orders, they had no central authority through which they might have achieved a measure of temporal unity: each establishment was an independent entity. The institutions with *Shangs-pa* affiliations seem to have been of three kinds:

(1) Monasteries founded by one or another of the *Shangs-pa* masters such as the one at *rMog-lcog*, founded by Khyung-po rNal-'byor's foremost spiritual heir rMog-lcog-pa Rin-chen brTson-'grus;

(2) Monasteries having a hereditary association with a given family which gained a distinctly *Shangs-pa* aspect only after a scion had become a *Shangs-pa* master, as did *'Bal sKyer-sgang*, whose heir dbOn-ston sKyer-sgang-pa Chos-Kyi Seng-ge became the leading disciple of rMog-lcog-pa Rin-chen brTson-'grus; and

(3) smaller hermitages where dwelt *yogins* who specialized in the *Shangs-pa upadeśa*.

Establishments of this last kind were doubtlessly numerous - most of the 108 places for retreat founded by Khyung-po rNal-'byor in *Shangs* were in all likelihood such hermitages. Of monasteries belonging to the first two categories the names of fewer than a dozen have come to my attention.[12] And of these only one remained active until this century while still retaining its *Shangs-pa* identity, namely *rMog-lcog*. The others appear to have shared the fate of *Zhang-zhong* or to have changed sectarian affiliation before dPa'-bo gTsug-lag Phreng-ba composed his famous history, for there he mentions that only a few adherents of the *Shangs-pa* sect remain.[13] Thereafter the great masters of the lineage were to be adepts affiliated with sects other than the *Shangs-pa*. It may be noted in passing that none of the *Shangs-pa* institutions seem to have played any role in Tibetan political affairs and that the decline of the *Shangs-pa* sect was in no way contribed by outside forces.

III. The *Shangs-pa* lineage like some vine that adorns a whole forest without being able to stand by itself may strike one who follows its twists and turns as being virtually an omnipresent element in Tibetan Buddhism. Precepts derived from the teaching of Khyung-po rNal-'byor may be found amongst the daily practices of all the sects; and the main branches of the lineage which have transmitted the various comprehensive recensions of the *Shangs-pa* doctrines have passed through the greatest luminaries Tibet has known.

Khyung-po rNal-'byor had transmitted to Tibet a vast array of precepts and doctrines derived from the systems of Sūtra and Tantra, but unlike many of the *tantrikas* of his day, he insisted that his students be thoroughly trained in the exoteric aspects of *Buddhadharma* before proceeding to the esoteric. When he sends his young disciple rMog-lcog-pa away to study the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the latter returns after some years and declares that he has had visionary experiences owing to the successful practice of Tantric *sādhanas*. The master is infuriated and says, 'Not knowing the *Prajñāpāramitā* that one should delight in knowing, you now know the lies that one might just as well not know!'[14] And elsewhere we find that Khyung-po rNal-'byor during his own youthful quest for instruction is motivated to seek 'a doctrine that is complete with respect to philosophy, meditation, and ethics' (*lta-spyod-sgom-gsum 'dzom-pa'i chos gcig*).[15] In brief it is clear that the original *Shangs-pa* teaching was not merely a vast collection of miscellaneous doctrines, but was also a complete system embracing all major aspects of Buddhist study and practice.[16]

For the vast reservoir of Khyung-po rNal-'byor's erudition however only a few streams continued to flow for any length of time. The inability of his disciples to remain united may have been one of the reasons for this. The teachings that have survived to form the actual content of the *Shangs-pa* lineage are all esoteric precepts belonging to the *Anuttara-yoga-tantras*. Five doctrinal cycles (*chos-skor*) predominate: those derived from the precepts of the *mahāsiddhas* Vajrāsana, Rāhula and Maitripa; and those derived from the teachings of two remarkable women, Niguma and Sukha-siddhi.[17] Of these five cycles two have played particularly great roles in Tibetan Buddhist practice and continue to do so at the present time:

(1) the cycle of doctrines concerned with the rites of the six-armed form of Mahākāla (*Ṣaḍbhuja-Mahākāla, Nag-po Chen-po Phyag-drug-pa,* but more often *myur-mdzad ye-shes-kyi mGon-po Phyag-drug-pa*), which is derived for the most part from the teaching of Maitripa;[18] and

(2) the cycle surrounding the *Five Golden Doctrines of Niguma* which in its present form incorporates some material derived from sources other than Niguma in addition to that ḍākinī's own precepts.

The doctrines of Niguma are truly the central doctrines of the *Shangs-pa.* They are regarded as especially efficacious means by which the goal of Buddhahood might be attained in a single lifetime and so are thought to rank with the better-known doctrines of Naropa with which they are frequently compared. They were bestowed upon Khyung-po rNal-'byor by the chimerical Niguma herself and she had received them directly from the Ādibuddha Vajradhara. According to the *Jo-nang-pa* tradition the basic precepts are the five known as the *Golden Doctrines (Ni-gu'i gSer-chos lnga)*, and these are likened to a tree:[19]

1) The roots are the *Six Yogas of Niguma (rtsa-ba Ni-gu Chos-drug).*
2) The trunk is the *Amulet-box Precept of the Mahāmudrā (sdong-po Phyag-chen Ga'u-ma).*[20]
3) The branches are the *three means for integrating realization with all one's activities (yal-ga lam-khyer rnam-gsum).*[21]
4) The flowers are the precepts concerning the red and white aspects of the goddess *Khecarī (me-tog mkha'-spyod dkar-dmar).*
5) The fruit is the realization that body and mind are deathless *('bras-bu lus-sems 'chi-med).*

Some of these precepts had been 'sealed' by Vajradhara with the command that for a period of seven generations only one chosen disciple might receive them. So it was that until the 13th century when the seventh successor to this secret lineage fulfilled Niguma's prophecies and 'released the seal' *(chig-brgyud bka'-rgya bkrol),* the teachings of Niguma remained largely inaccessible. The later *Shangs-pa* lineages including those in which material was transmitted that was not so secret, mostly emanated from this *Seventh Jewel (rin-chen bdun-pa),* Sangs-rgyas sTon-pa.

During the next two centuries numerous *Shangs-pa* lineages arose: by the 16th century there were some twenty-five major lineages specializing in the doctrines of Niguma alone.[22] Four such *Shangs-pa* lineages are of particular interest for the impact they had on later generations:

1) The lineage of *bSam-sdings,* founded by gZhon-nu-grub (d. 1319). It was from this lineage that Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal obtained the doctrines of Niguma.[23]

2) The *'Jag-pa* lineage, founded by gTsang-ma Shangs-ston (1234-1309). Successors to this lineage and its offshoots instructed both the great Tsong-kha-pa and his disciple mKhas-grub-rje. The *Shangs-pa* protective deity, the six-armed Mahākāla, was eventually taken over as the foremost protector of the *dGe-lugs-pa* order, whose adherents continue to place great emphasis on the rituals consecrated to him.[24]

3) The lineage of the *mahāsiddha* Thang-stong rGyal-po. This lineage's recension of the *Shangs-pa* precepts, composed by the *mahāsiddha* on the basis of his own visions of Niguma,remains popular to the present day.[25]

4) The lineage of Jo-nang rJe-btsun Kun-dga' Grol-mchog (1495-1566), who gathered together the precepts of all the *Shangs-pa* lineages he encountered and with the inspiration derived from meeting Niguma in a vision created a comprehensive synthesis of all he had gathered. Kun-dga' Grol-mchog's version of the *Shangs-pa* material took final form in

the writings of his reincarnation Kun-mkhyen Tāranātha (b. 1575). This recension known as the *Jo-nang-lugs* is regarded as the culmination of all the various attempts to systematize the *Shangs-pa* teachings.

After the downfall of the *Jo-nang-pas* which occurred during the 17th century, the *Shangs-pa* lineages appear to have become somewhat rare. The eclectic masters of the 19th century - Zhwa-lu Ri-sbug-pa bLo-gsal bsTan-skyong (b. 1804),[26] 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po (1820-1892), and Kong-sprul bLo-gros mTha'-yas (1813-1899) - revived them, basing their work primarily on the systems of Thang-stong rGyal-po and the Jo-nang-pas. All of the modern lineages derived from these masters are, to varying degrees, heirs to the *Shangs-pa* teaching; but the actual *Shangs-pa* practice has been maintained primarily by Kong-sprul's spiritual descendants in the dPal-spungs branch of the *Karma bKa'-brgyud* sect. The present *Shangs-bdag,* Lama Kalu Rinpoche, hails from this lineage and has actively encouraged the study and practice of the *Shangs-pa* doctrines not merely in the Tibetan Buddhist communities of South Asia but also in the growing community of Western Buddhists as well. Indeed his impact on the course of *Shangs-pa* history at the present time has been such that it is now possible to state literally the metaphor that was used to describe the impact of his predecessor, Sangs-rgyas sTon-pa; his disciples, it was said, spread throughout Jambudvīpa, and beyond that too, to encircle Mount Meru.[27]

## Notes

1. A notable exception is the English introduction to the *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng.*
2. On the lineage of the *sTod-'brug,* see *Ba*, pp. 688-696.
3. See, for example, *Madhyamaka Texts Series,* Vol.VII. p.187, Delhi, 1973.
4. rNying-ma-pa use of the term *bka' brgyud* tends to be quite general:e.g. in the *gDams-ngag mDzod*, Vol.XII, p.647.
5. *Thu'u bkwan*, p. 72, carefully distinguishes the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud* from the *Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud.* While he treats them in the same chapter for simplicity's sake, he also maintains the opinion that they have a similar philosophical view (*lta-ba*), though he admits that he has not sufficient material to make a careful assessment of the *Shangs-pa* philosophy (p. 74: *lta-ba'i bzhed-tshul zhib-tu ma-shes*).
   Kun-dga' Grol-mchog, on the other hand, obviously uses *bka'-brgyud* as a general rubric under which to include all lineages that are neither *bka' -gdams-pa*, nor *Sa-skya-pa.* He distinguishes three kinds of *bka'-brgyud:* those stemming from Nāropa; those stemming from Niguma; and those stemming from other *siddhas.* he includes such figures as King Srong-btsan sGam-po and Padmasambhava among the latter (*gDams-ngag mDzod,* Vol.XII, p.600).
6. Tibetan can be as vague as English when distinguishing between various types of religious tradition. In general, words which have *brgyud* as an element refer to lineages: those formed on *lugs,* or *srol* are similar to such English words as 'tradition', 'school', or 'sect'. Where it is necessary to state explicitly that the tradition in question possesses the independent character that I have ascribed to a true sect, a

circumlocution is called for: e.g. *rang-rkang btsug-pa'i rings-lugs, de'i chos-brgyud kho-nar 'dzin-pa'i chos-lugs*, etc.

7. *BA*, p. 732. *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 114. *gnas-dgon* does not necessarily, mean 'monastery' here, but probably includes hermitages, sites for *stūpas*, et cetera.

8. An examination of the dates of famous figures mentioned in Khyung-po rNal-'byor's biography leads to the conclusion that the sequence of events in the biography has been scrambled, probably as a result of carelessness on the part of the four compilers. Khyung-po's dates are subject to some dispute. He was born in a Tiger Year (*sTag-lo*), which cannot have been 1086, as maintained by Roerich (*BA*, p. 728). Sum-pa mKhan-po gives 990-1139, computing the year of Khyung-po's death on the basis of the traditional statement that Khyung-po rNal-'byor lived for 150 years, but on the validity of that tradition see *BA*, p. 733.

9. *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 122.

10. *BA*, p. 733. *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 141-142.

11. *An Account of a Pilgrimmage to Central Tibet during the years 1918 to 1920*, Tashijong, 1972, p.487.

12. Those which seem to have had some real importance are:
    1) *Zhang-zhong*, founded by Khyung-po rNal-'byor;
    2) *gNas-rnying*, founded by La-stod-pa dKon-mchog-mkhar, and passed on in his family;
    3) *rMog-lcog*, founded by rMog-lcog-pa Rin-chen brTson-'grus;
    4) *'Bal sKyer-sgang*, inherited by sKyer-sgang-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge;
    5) *Ri-gong*, founded by gTsang-ma Shangs-ston;
    6) *'Jags*, founded by gTsang-ma Shangs-ston;
    7) *bSam-sdings*, founded by gZhon-nu-grub; and
    8) *rTa-nag rDo-rje-gdan*, founded by Pha-rgod Kun-dga' bZang-po, the great-grandfather of the Second Dalai Lama, dGe-'dun rGya-mtsho, who was born there.

13. *mKhas-pahi-dgah-ston*, Part 3, *Śatapitaka* Volume 9 (3), New Delhi, 1961, p.770.

14. *BA*, p. 736. *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 164.

15. *ibid.*, p. 66.

16. Kong-sprul in his *Shes-bya mDzod*, Vol. I, pp.529-532, attempts a summary of Khyung-po's 'original' teaching. Though his statements seem often conjectural, they are indeed based on indications given in Khyung-po's biography and other early sources.

17. *Shes-bya-mDzod*, Vol. IV, pp.131-132. Note that Niguma and Sukha-siddhi are two individuals. Recently, D.I. Lauf, in his *Secret Doctrines of the Tibetan Books of the Dead*, p. 93, has attributed the *Sukha Chos-drug* to Niguma. The text he cites there is Kong-sprul's manual for the yogas of Sukhasiddhi, which includes two separate texts, from both of which Lauf's quotations are drawn. (The texts in question may be found in the *gDams-ngag mDzod*, Vol. VIII, p.562-578).

18. There is a history of this cycle by Tāranātha: *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, pp. 717-748. Kong-sprul has briefly described its transmission in the various sects and schools in his *Shes-bya mDzod*, Vol. I, p.534.

19. Kun-dga' Grol-mchog makes use of the metaphor of the tree in his *Khrid-brgya*. It is perhaps noteworthy that Khyung-po rNal-'byor uses a similar metaphor to describe the attainments of his best disciples (*Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 135-136).

20. There are two opinions concerning the meaning of the word *ga'u-ma* here. One treats it symbolically, the two halves of an amulet-box (*ga'u*) being thought of as appearance and emptiness (*snang-stong*), or skillful means

and insight (*thabs-shes*), or some similar pair. *Thu'u-bkwan*, p. 74, interprets the term along such lines.
On the other hand, there are those who regard that interpretation as mistaken. *Ga'u-ma*, they say, refers simply to the fact that Khyung-po rNal-'byor, being especially pleased with these precepts kept them always in his personal amulet-box; so, for example, Tāranātha: *Khrid-brgya'i brgyud-pa'i lo-rgyus kha-skong*, f. 3b, in *gDams-ngag mDzod*, Vol. XII. This latter opinion is supported by the colophons of the earliest surviving *Shangs-pa* documents; e.g. *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, Vol. 93, p.10.

21. *lam-khyer* does not lend itself to a precise English rendering. The term is explained in detail by Kong-sprul, *Shes-bya mDzod*, Vol. IV, p.139.
22. Jo-nang rJe-btsun Kun-dga' Grol-mchog, *khrid-brgya'i spyi-chings rnam-par spel-ba ngo-mtshar chos-kyi sgo-mang*, f. 9a, in *gDams-ngag mDzod*, Vol. XII.
23. Bo-dong's lineage is found in *Encyclopedia Tibetica*, Vol. 93, pp.80-81. bSam-sdings itself became a Bo-dong-pa centre.
24. The history of Ṣaḍ-bhuja-Mahakāla within the dGe-lugs-pa order is discussed by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his *gSan-yig Gang-ga'i Chu-rgyun*, Vol. I, pp.401-424, New Delhi, 1970.
25. The tale of the *mahāsiddha's* visions of Niguma is found in his biography *Grub-pa'i dBaṅ-phyug Chen-po lCags-zam-pa Thaṅ-stoṅ rGyal-po'i rnam-thar Ṅo-mtshar Kun-gsal Nor-bu'i Me-loṅ gSar-pa*, pp. 62-65, Delhi 1976.
26. For bLo-gsal bsTan-skyong's study of the *Shangs-pa* teachings, see *History of Zwa-lu*, Leh, 1971, p.563; and for his transmission of those teachings to mKhyen-brtse, pp.635-636.
27. *Shangs-pa gSer-'phreng*, p. 406.
    *Shes-bya-mDzod*, Vol. I,p. 532.

## Abbreviations

*BA* = George N. Roerich, *Blue Annals*, Calcutta, 1949; reprinted Delhi, 1976.

*Civilization* = R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford, 1972.

*gDams-ngag mDzod* = 'Jam-mgon Koṅ-sprul bLo-gros mTha'-yas, *gDams Ṅag mDzod*, Vols. I-XII, Delhi, 1971.

*Religions* = Guiseppe Tucci and Walther Heissig, *Les Religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie*, Paris, 1973.

*Shes-bya mDzod* = 'Jam-mgon Koṅ-sprul bLo-gros mTha'-yas,*The Treasury of Knowledge; Śes-bya Kun-khyab mDzod*, Paro, 1976. Vols. L-IV.

*Thu'u-bkwan* = Thu'u-bkwan bLo-bzang Chos-kyi Nyi-ma, *Grub-mtha' Thams-cad-kyi Khungs dang 'Dod-tshul sTon-pa Legs-bshad Shel-gyi Me-long*, Sarnath, 1963.

# DGE-'DUN CHOS-'PHEL, THE ARTIST

**Heather Karmay**

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel lived between 1905 and 1951. He is one of the most brilliant and controversial figures of Tibet in the twentieth century. This paper presents a glimpse of his many faces, the man skilled with his hands, the artist. He was also a translator, a philosopher, a historian, a poet, a traveller and finally he made an attempt at playing the game of revolution. His untimely death cut short his literary activities but a list of published and attributed works clearly indicates his encyclopaedic potential.

He died in Lhasa in 1951, a little over a month after the first Chinese troops arrived at the capital.[1] Had he lived he would have been seventy-four today and many people who knew him are still living in India, Nepal and other parts of the world. Between 1974 and 1975 I spent a year interviewing over forty of his contemporaries, friends and disciples. This oral information together with three short biographical accounts in Tibetan[2] and documentary evidence gleaned from Indian journals and British government files has resulted in a fairly detailed biography and a list of over forty titles of articles and books written by him. Of these twelve short articles, eight books and several poems are known or published and another twenty-two titles are attributed to him.[3]

To the world outside Tibet dGe-'dun Chos-'phel is primarily known as a scholar. He spent twelve years in India, which put him in contact not only with western scholars and the scientific approach but also the realities and ideals of twentieth century political turmoil. He was deeply influenced by the independence movement in India. During his twelve years there he travelled, studied and read widely. He also accompanied his friend Rahula Sankrityayana on three expeditions in Tibet, in 1934, 1936 and 1938, in search of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts lost in India. They made an important collection of Tibetan texts now kept in the Patna Museum. He worked in the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta and through them he went to study Sanskrit in Benares and Pali in Sri Lanka. He also studied English and wrote several poems and articles in English. Rabindranath Tagore invited him to teach Tibetan in Santiniketan but he is said to have declined the comfortable post, preferring his liberty to wander and study. It was his intention to visit the Soviet Union, the United States and Europe, and in 1939 an unknown American Tibetologist invited him to visit New York. To his deep regret, he was unable to make the journey due perhaps to the Second World War. He worked for some time with Tharchin Babu in Kalimong and through him came into contact with Jacques Bacot whom he helped read the Dunhuang manuscripts. He collaborated over a long period with George Roerich in his translations of the *Blue Annals*[4] and a little before he died, he was consulted by our distinguished colleague Hugh Richardson in Lhasa about the *rdo-ring* inscriptions.[5]

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel was an exceptionally gifted man; beside the mocking dialectician and iconoclastic teacher, beside the searching scholar and the idealistic revolutionary, there was a creative man, a poet and a painter, a lover of wine and women. He is said to have had his own special way of singing and stories about his eccentric behaviour contribute to the legend that is growing up around his person. In his varying activities he combined a mastery of the Tibetan system or point of view with its sharply critical reappraisal.

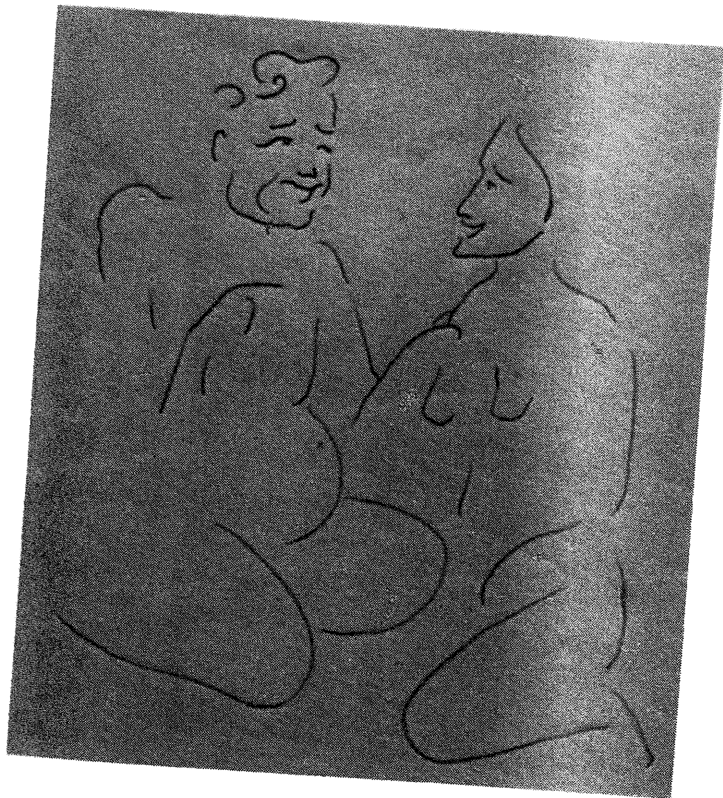
Born at Reb-gong in Amdo his first teacher was his father, a *sngags-pa* who taught him poetry and rNying-ma-pa rituals as well as the basic elements of reading and writing. In Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil where he studied

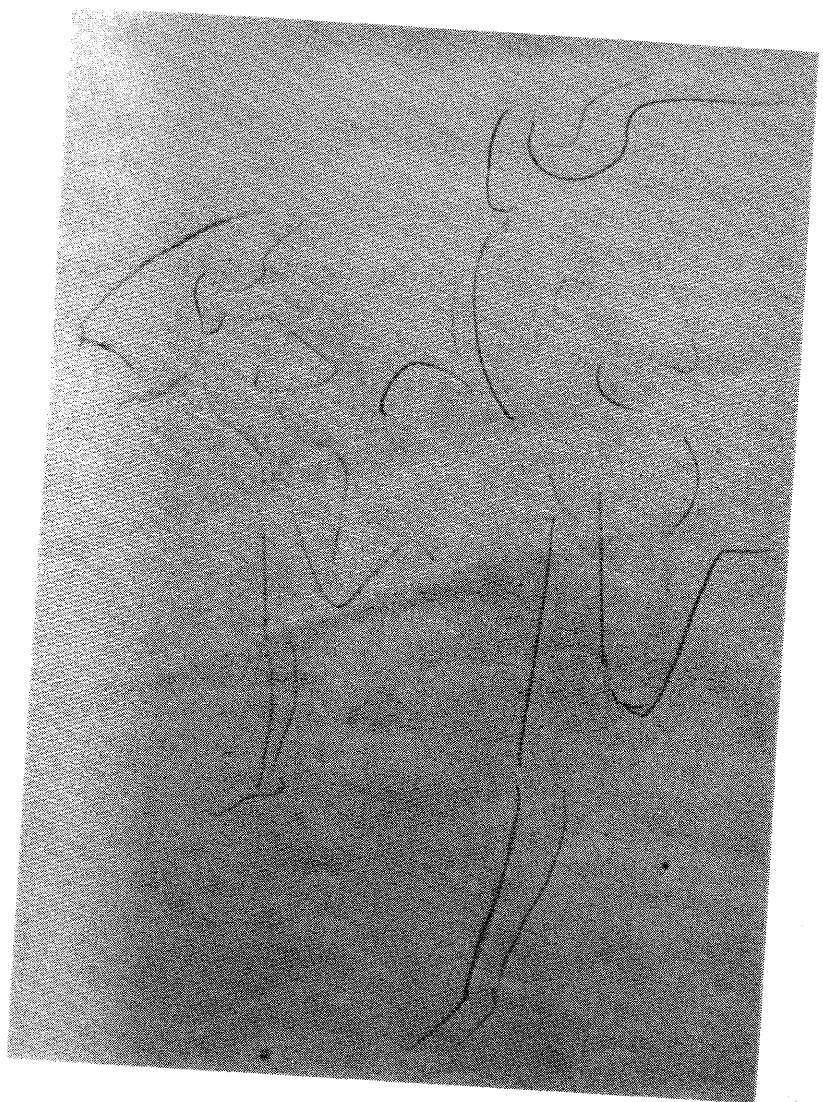
metaphysics for about six years he is said to have made a little automatic boat that crossed the lake near the monastery. Some say it was propelled by the heat of a small flame, others that it was made from bits of an old clock that he had taken to pieces. He is said to have been inspired by a chance reading of the *bzo po-ti*[6] in the *bKa'-'gyur* during the course of a *shabs-brtan* at the monastery. It is also said that he learnt a few things from Shes-rab Dam-'phel, an American missionary who lived for years in the town of Bla-brang mtha'-pa on the outskirts of the monastery. However it is not until he reached Lhasa in 1927[7] that we hear of him as an artist. Monks living in 'Bras-spungs went rather hungry if they had no outside source of income and dGe-'dun Chos-'phel said that he made all kinds of drawings just to fill his belly but that he did not draw Buddhas. In his friend's cell in Klu-'bum *khams-tshan* he painted a portrait of a young and brilliant monk called 'Byams-pa and a Chinese emperor that looked so real it seemed to be talking. Other friends of his report on the realism of his style and the unusual use of colour. They remember pictures of trees, of a woman in Tibetan costume holding a stick of incense, drawings of Milarepa, Atiśa, portraits of nobles, and so on. From 1927 when he arrived in Lhasa until his imprisonment in 1947 he was able to earn a considerable portion of his living through painting. This no doubt gave him a certain independence and with that the freedom to travel.

In Bras-spungs he went to study at the feet of dGe-bshes Shes-rab rGya-mtsho of rDo-yul, the most influential teacher at the time. dGe-bshes Shes-rab was close to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and a powerful personality in Tibet. He was later to become Chairman of the All China Buddhist Association of the People's Republic and also Vice-President of the Province of Qinghai.[8] dGe-'dun Chos-'phel had already made a reputation for himself as a brilliant and unorthodox dialectician in Bla-brang and the relationship between the two, master and disciple, was somewhat testy. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel claimed that he disputed whatever dGe-bshes Shes-rab said and that dGe-bshes Shes-rab always addressed him as the madman. Both had a profound knowledge of the Dharma, both were artists and both were hot-tempered. But their views conflicted and after a while dGe-'dun Chos-'phel gave up attending dGe-bshes Shes-rab's classes. dGe-bshes Shes-rab was angry and sent someone to dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's cell to ask why. He looked up and said: 'Everything he knows I know, everything I don't know he doesn't know', and went on with his drawing.

In Klu-'bum *khams-tshan* there is an oral tradition concerning a famous artist who was also an important teacher of metaphysics, known as Klu-'bum Lha-bris-pa. One day instead of holding classes as usual he held a competition with one of the students who was claiming to be a better artist than he. Both were to draw a mouse. The master asked the class to judge. Some thought that the student's mouse was a little more beautiful but they could not decide. The master then invited a cat in to judge. The cat did not even look at the disciple's mouse, but concentrating on the one drawn by Klu-'bum Lha-bris-pa, it crouched and sprang ... dGe-bshes Shes-rab was considered to be an incarnation of this famous eighteenth century teacher by the monks of Klu-'bum *khams-tshan* until dGe-'dun Chos-'phel arrived. dGe-bshes Shes-rab himself is said to have admitted that while they were both learned in the Five Sciences, it was dGe-'dun Chos-'phel who was particularly clever at painting. He became widely known and appreciated by his contemporaries and his patrons ranged from ordinary lay folk and monks to aristocrats and in his last years sTag-sgra, the Regent of Tibet.

In 1934 Rahula Sankrityayana was in Lhasa looking for someone to help him in his search for ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in the monasteries of Tibet.





Line drawings by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel
from his sketchbook of 1938
(collection Kanwal Khrishna).

He met dGe-'dun Chos-'phel at dGe-bshes Shes-rab's place and they soon became firm friends. They travelled together to Rva-sgreng and then to southern Tibet, Nepal and India, visiting all the important Buddhist sites. Wherever they went dGe-'dun Chos-'phel would make sketches. In Rva-sgreng he became very excited and wanted to copy some ancient Indian *paṭa* and make an index for the colours but they were prevented by the monks there. In Gra-nag in Lho-kha he made a sketch of the clay image of Kha-che Pan-chen called Phyag-bzo-ma which he considered very important. He said that he had a strange feeling when he saw the image. He also drew the sKyid-rong Thugs-rje chen-po. In Nepal they stayed for six months in the house of a wealthy Nepalese merchant Triratna Man whose family had a shop in Lhasa established over one hundred and fifty years ago, trading in pashmena wool. On the wall of the room where they stayed are three Buddhas in rondels painted by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel. Unfortunately the room has been used as a kitchen for many years and the Buddhas retouched twice.

In 1938 Rahula mounted his most important expedition with the backing of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society[9] and beside Rahula and dGe-'dun Chos-'phel two other members were Fany Mukerjee the expedition photographer and Kanwal Khrishna, an artist. Both of these are still living in Delhi. They travelled together for six months in southern Tibet. When not working dGe-'dun Chos- phel spent much of his free time with these two and Kanwal kept a small sketch book made by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel during the journey. He was kind enough to allow me to photograph it in 1974. Mukerjee the photographer related the following story which illustrates well dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's scorn of convention: 'We used to talk about art a lot. I was educated in the western tradition in which art is one activity that can be picked up at a moment's notice and put down again, but dGe-'dun Chos-'phel said the most important thing is concentration. The mind must be totally absorbed in the subject. One day for a joke he said that he would show me what he meant. He went to the market and bought a bottle of arak, he started to drink. He drank and drank and kept asking whether his face had gone red yet. By the last drop he was quite inebriated. He stripped off stark naked and sat down and started to draw; he drew a perfect figure of a man starting off at one fingertip and going all round in one continuous line until he ended back up at the fingertip again.'.

In India he was open to a wide variety of artistic influences from the Buddhas of Mathurā and the cave painting of Ajantā to the luminous mystical Himalaya watercolours painted by Nicholas Roerich, and even to Russian icons. The figure drawings contained in the sketch book are the best of what little we have of his work and show a spare and flowing use of line that seems inspired both by traditional Tibetan painting and a keen observation of the human figure. Two of the works he is said to have written during his time in India, but of which we have no trace, are histories of India and Ceylon, with illustrations made by him of the life and customs of the people.

After his return to Lhasa in the winter of 1945 he was again patronised by the wealthy nobility. He made portraits and decorated their houses. A speciality of his was tigers and he painted a great many on the walls of the House of Ka-bshod. bSam-'grub Pho-brang built a pavilion in their private park on the outskirts of Lhasa. In the entrance on either side he painted lions catching deer and inside, a long wall painting of the history of Tibet from the time of the kings up to the twentieth century with lorries and modern buildings. In the pavilion he is also said to have painted the *rGyan-drug mchog-gnyis*; of these Nagārjuna is said to be the finest. In the autumn of 1947 he was arrested and imprisoned. Sur-khang, the most powerful

man in Tibet in the late 1940's and the head of the committee that condemned him asked him one day to draw anything he liked. He made a circle and a few quick lines and there was a donkey!

In prison he continued to paint for extra food and cigarettes but on his release he seems to have abandoned it along with most other activities. The Regent of Tibet sTag-sgra however commissioned Lantsa decorations in the new sTag-sgra shar-khang at sKyor-mo lung-pa in sTod-lung. He spent two months there with the treasurer of the Regent to look after him. In Lhasa under house arrest, his interest in early Tibetan culture continued. On the spur of the moment he would visit the Jo-khang and carefully examine certain ancient images and wall paintings, or the design of the pillars and cross-beams on the balconies of the cathedral. He especially liked to visit the image of Srong-btsan sgam-po in a little chapel on the roof.

Considering his reputation, the few sketches and paintings I came across in the course of research into his life are not presumed to be representative. They do however demonstrate both a mastery of Tibetan traditional painting and an exploration into new and varied non-Tibetan styles.

## Notes

1. On the night of the eleventh day of the eighth month of the iron hare year, which is approximately 14th October. According to Shakabpa, *Tibet, A Political History*, p.304. 'On September 9th several thousand Chinese communist troops arrived in Lhasa under the command of Wang Chimei'.
2. 1. An unpublished letter from Thub-brten rGya-mtsho to Yon-tan rGya-mtsho, which was used for the short notice on dGe-'dun Chos-'phel by A. Macdonald in *Le Dhanyakataka de Man-luns Guru, BEFEO*, Toms LVII, 1970, pp. 169-213.
   2. *mDo-smad kyi mkhas-pa dGe-'dun Chos-'phel* in *rGyun-mkho'i chos-srid shes-bya gnas-bstus* by Rikkha Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, Varanasi 1972, pp. 173-187.
   3. *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, Vol.5, pp.634-657, by Bla-chung A-pho.
3. A complete analytical list of his works will be published in the near future with his biography.
4. *Blue Annals,* Introduction p.xxi, 'It has been a source of much satisfaction to me that I was able to discuss the entire translation with the Rev. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the well-known Tibetan scholar and I gratefully acknowledge his very helpful guidance.'
5. *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa,* London, 1952, p.14.
6. The section on technique.
7. *The Mahabodhi,* July, 1940, p.241, *My Journey from Khumbum to Lhasa*.
8. *Tibet 1950-1967*, Union Research Institute, Hongkong 1968, Shirob Jaltso p. 178, 179, etc.
9. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Vol. 24, 1938, part iii/iv.

# THE ORDINANCE OF LHA BLA-MA YE-SHES-'OD

Samten G. Karmay

Before we can discuss the ordinance (*bka'-shog*) of lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, the king of Pu-hrangs, it may be useful to say a few words about the king himself. He is perhaps one of the best known figures among the descendants of the Tibetan royal dynasty in the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D., having initiated the revival of the Buddhist monastic tradition in Western Tibet. Consequently no *chos-'byung* could proceed without devoting a few lines to him. Yet nothing much is really known about him apart from the story that he became dissatisfied with the nature of Buddhist practice in his time, and that he sent the Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po (958-1055) to Kashmir to find out whether the tantric teachings were authentic or not. In addition to these, he is said to have renounced the worldly life and to have become a monk, hence the name Ye-shes-'od (Jñānaprabha).[1] In later life he is said to have sacrificed his life in a prison of the Gar-log[2] by continuing his detention voluntarily until death. This ultimately enabled his grand nephew Byang-chub-'od to invite Atīśa who arrived in Tibet in 1042 A.D.[3] Heroic action it might have been, and the Buddhist historians of Tibet seem to have felt that it was enough to mention this story and repeat it through the ages. However this legendary account is in conflict with an almost contemporary source, the short biography of the Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po, composed by a disciple of the Lo-tsā-ba, namely Jñānaśrī of Khri-thang in Gu-ge. According to this biography lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od died in mTho-lding (?) after an illness. It makes no mention of this king dying in a prison.[4]

lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od was one of two brothers and all the sources agree that it was the elder of the two who became a monk, but it is hard to know whether this elder brother was Srong-nge or 'Khor-re. These names sound very strange in Tibetan until we know precisely what they stand for. Yet no historian seems to have bothered to explain them right down until the eighteenth century historian Ka-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755). He discovered a fragment of an old manuscript from an ancient Kanika stūpa in Gung-thang, a district of mNga'-ris. According to him this manuscript which he does not identify explains that Srong-nge stood for Drang-srong-lde and 'Khor-re for 'Khor-lo-lde.[5] He assumes without further question, probably in accordance with the manuscript account, that Srong-nge the elder brother was the one who became lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od and not 'Khor-re as many *chos-'byung* maintain.

In one of the Tun-huang manuscripts, Pelliot tibétain 8497, there is a list of names of the Tibetan kings which takes more or less a genealogical form. It gives the name bTsan-po ācāraya just after the name bKra-shis-mgon. Now every source agrees that this bKra-shis-mgon was the father of the brothers and I presume that bTsan-po ācārya is none other than lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od.[8] Indeed he was known by the title Bod-kyi lHa bTsan-po slob-dpon.[9] Another historical record that bears the name of this king is the inscription discovered by H.A. Francke in the vicinity of the village of Poo near the Tabo monastery. According to him the inscription contains the following line: *lha bla ma ye shes .....*, but the end of this line was effaced.[10] Other historical traces of his activities are the founding of the temple of mTho-lding (Tho-ling)[11] and the translation of an Indian medical work under his patronage.[12] Some Kashmiri Buddhist scholars are said to have been invited to mNga'-ris by him.

Tibetan Buddhists generally considered this king to have been a Boddhisattva like some of the early kings. In an eulogy to him composed by his

grand nephew, Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od, his name is styled as Bla-ma Byang-chub sems-dpa' Ye-shes-'od.[13] Soon after the 11th century, bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142-1182)[14] the Sa-skya-pa writer claims that the advent of this king was even prophesied by the Buddha in the *Mahākaruṇā-sūtra*[15] and *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*.[16]

The *bka'-shog* which I translate as 'Ordinance' is in the form of an open letter. Among a collection of several small works of the rNying-ma-pa polemic writer, Sog-zlog-pa·Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1552-1624) which is devoted to what is known as *dgag-lan* i.e. a reply or refutation to *dgag-yig* 'criticism', there are two short works of the *dgag-lan* type written in order to refute the *bka'-shog*. In the first of the two works Sog-zlog-pa cites the *bka'-shog* passage by passage and deals with each point giving his own replies.[17] It is from this *dgag-lan* that I have extracted the passages of the *bka'-shog* and put them together. This seems to be the only text extant apart from a short paragraph quoted in the *dPag-bsam ljon-bzang* by Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor (1704-1788).[18] The *dgag-lan* which contains the full text of the *bka'-shog*, is in fact more of a confirmation of what the *bka'-shog* said rather than a refutation. However, in the second *dgag-lan*[19] Sog-zlog-pa adopts a partisan point of view. He defends the rNying-ma-pa tradition, at the same time asserting by implication that the *bka'-shog* does not take up any particular point that could be considered as a criticism of the rNying-ma-pa tradition.[20] This assertion on the part of Sog-zlog-pa can hardly be accepted since at the time when the *bka'-shog* was written, there was no question of a rNying-ma-pa tradition as such for the *sNgags gsar-ma* (the New Tantras) had hardly begun. The *bka'-shog* to all intents and purposes is a criticsm of the general tantric practices prevailing at that time. Nevertheless, reading between the lines it is the tantras such as the *gSang-ba snying-po* which are the object of criticism. We shall come to this later. It is probably because of this implication that Sog-zlog-pa refutes it from the rNying-ma-pa standpoint in his second *dgag-lan*. As he takes a partisan position, his replies do not contribute much to the understanding of the *bka'-shog* itself. What is appreciated is that he has faithfully given the complete text of the *bka'-shog*.

The *bka'-shog* is signed only with the title of lHa Bla-ma of Pu-hrangs. Sog-zlog-pa correctly takes it to be that of lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od.[21] It is probably identical to the *sNgags-log sun-'byin* (Criticism of the wrong tantras) which, according to Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od wrote.[22] 'Bri-gung dPal-'dzin,[23] the polemic figure, also ascribes it to lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od. However, there is another tradition which ascribes it to Byang-chub-'od but we cannot substantiate this tradition with any evidence.[24]

The *bka'-shog* was issued in connection with certain tantric practices which were prevailing in the 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. According to the eulogy of Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od, lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od became very doubtful about the religious practices, particularly those of the so-called *sbyor*, *sgrol* and *tshogs*.[25] He states:

> Furthermore, the hidden meaning of the secret mantra was vitiated,
> And it was further corrupted by the practices of the rites of
> 'sexual union', 'deliverance' and 'food offerings'.
> To find out whether these practices were correct at all,
> The Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po was sent to Kashmir.[26]

Already towards the end of the 8th century A.D. there was the question of whether the tantras, especially the anutarayogatantras, were to be practised literally. Finally, it was decided that such tantras should be translated into Tibetan only when royal permission was given.[27] However, after the collapse of the royal authority there was a flourishing of tantric practices. The later sources[28] give various names of personages, groups or individuals,

for example the eighteen *Ar-tsho bandhe*, Sham-thabs sngon-po-can and Acārya dmar-po.[29] We do not encounter these names in the early sources, but those who followed tantric practices during this period were what the *bka'-shog* calls *'Ba'-'ji-ba* described in *sBa-bzhed*,[30] in the following words: 'the keys of some of the temples were kept by the Tantrists who shaved their heads and who for doing coarse practice wore clothes with sleeves attached upside down'. In the same source this description is preceded by another one concerning one sort of monk, who on the contrary did not shave their heads but wore their *sham-thabs* with 'collars' and who called themselves dGra-bcom-pa (Arhats). However, these were not called 'Ba'-'ji-ba.

The fact that the Tantric practices got out of control during this period is supported also by an almost contemporary account found in a Tun-huang manuscript which I have published elsewhere.[31] All *chos-'byung* speak of wrong tantric practices during this period, but none gives any precise account as to which or what kind of tantras were involved. Among the tantras that we can cite as an example and which evidently had been followed is the *gSang-ba snying-po* (Guhyagarbha),[32] the principal work of the *Mahāyogatantras* preserved by the rNying-ma-pa tradition. Chapter 11 of this tantra is exclusively devoted to the exegesis of the practices of *sbyor, sgrol* and *tshogs*.[33] The authenticity of this tantra was questioned and consequently it had been the most controversial tantric work in Tibet. The controversy came to an end only when a Sanskrit original was found in bSam-yas in the thirteenth century.[34]

Such is the background of the *bka'-shog* which was issued in order to fight these religious practices. After lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od's death the campaign was carried on by his grand nephews, Byang-chub-'od and Pho-brang zhi-ba-'od. In connection with the campaign Byang-chub-'od asked Atīśa seven questions[35] concerning Buddhism as it was then practised in Tibet. One of these was the question whether Buddhist monks were allowed to practise certain tantric teachings. Covering these seven questions Atīśa composed his famous short work, *Byang-chub lam-sgron*[36] explicitly mentioning the unsuitability for monks to take the last two of the four kinds of *abhiṣeka*. Because of the malpractice and misunderstanding the Tibetans are said to have become so worried that they did not even allow Atīśa to preach tantric teachings.[37]

The *bka'-shog* can be divided into three parts. The first part gives a general summary of Buddhism as the king understood it; the second part contains criticism of the tantric practices and the consequences of those practices, and the third part is a kind of prohibition of the practices but couched in warm-hearted words of advice rather than in threats. It is the second part which throws light on the nature of religious practices in the 10th century. Apart from the practices of *sbyor-sgrol* the *bka'-shog* also brings out the question of the practices of *sman-sgrub, bam-sgrub* and *mchod-sgrub*. It mentions no particular work nor gives any date. It is quite different in character and in form from that of Pho-brang zhi-ba-'od, whose *bka'-shog* not only indicates the date it was issued but also gives a long list of religious works of which he does not approve.[38] Nevertheless, the *bka'-shog* itself states that it was issued by the king of Pu-hrangs. Assuming that this king was really lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, it may not be too hazardous to suggest an approximate date. When Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po returned from Kashmir around 985 A.D. according to the biography,[39] lHa-lde his nephew was on the throne in Pu-hrangs and the lHa Bla-ma himself was in Gu-ge. Therefore he was no longer the king of Pu-hrangs when the Lo-tsā-ba returned. Since the *bka'-shog* is signed by lHa Bla-ma, king of Pu-hrangs it is almost certain that it was issued within the few years preceding 985 A.D.

**English Translation of the Tibetan Text.**

This ordinance was sent to the Tantrists in Central Tibet by lHa Bla-ma, the king of Pu-hrangs.[40] I request you to be solemn and to straighten up your views.

(I) In our southern continent, Jambudvīpa of the Universe,
The Teacher Śākyamuni took birth.
As an antidote to the 44,000 passions,
He preached 44,000 dharma expanding them from the Tripiṭaka.
As for the causes and their antidotes:
There are the ten evils and five terrible actions.
To avert these he preached the Dharma of Cause and Effect:
Entering the door of the Four Truths and (observing)the 250 rules,
Purification of the eighty-two passions through the Path of Vision and the Path of Meditation,
Adityabandhu, the Teacher, taught these as the Way of Śrāvaka.
Realisation of the Dharma, external and internal, in the state of the twelve interdependences,
Attainment of Bodhi step by step for oneself,
Possession of various supernatural powers,
The Lord of Living Beings taught these as the Way of the Pratyekabuddha.
Labouring for the welfare of living beings through the Two Truths,
Realization of the Dharma, external and internal, in the nature of Voidness,
Achieving the ten pāramitā by degrees,
The Teacher taught these as the Highest Way.

(II) You abbots, Tantrists, living in the villages,
Without having any relation to these Three Ways,
Claim 'we follow the Mahāyāna'.
Entirely devoid of the conduct of Mahāyāna,
Claim to be Mahāyānist,
This is like a beggar saying that he is a king.
To claim to be Mahāyānist, though one is not,
Is like a donkey wearing the skin of a lion.
The apostle of the Conqueror, who has reached the tenth Bhūmi,
Arya Maitreya is free from ordinary objects and cognition, and has accomplished the two great accumulations of merit,
But even he is still not free from the obscurity of that which may be known.
Are you in this impure age more noble than him?
Imprisoned in the dirt of the five kinds of sensual objects and women,
It is astonishing to claim to be Dharmakāya.
Indulging in the ten evil ones and taking on the mode of life of dogs and pigs
You who practise the religion of the heretics, 'Ba'-'ji-ba.
And say 'we are Buddhists'.

Formerly Buddhism came to Tibet.
It saved (living beings) from taking evil births and led them to salvation.
This was the Tripiṭaka which flourished far and wide.
The early kings who were Bodhisattvas,
Prohibited this kind of false religion in accordance with the Word of the Buddha,[41]

Straightened up the views of people and opened the doors of the noble births for them.
Numerous living beings entered the Highest Path.

Now as the good karma of living beings is exhausted and the law of the kings is impaired.
False doctrines called *rDzogs-chen* are flourishing in Tibet.[42]
Their views are false and wrong.
Heretical tantras, pretending to be Buddhist, are spread in Tibet.
These have brought harm to the kingdom in the following ways:
As 'deliverance' has become popular the goats and sheep are afflicted.[43]
As 'sexual rite' has become popular the different classes of people are mixed.[44]
As the ritual of medicine has become popular the materials for treating diseases are used up.[45]
As the ritual of the corpse[46] has become popular the making of offerings in cemeteries is abandoned.[47]
As the ritual of sacrifice has become popular it happens that people get delivered alive.[48]
As the demons who eat flesh are worshipped there is plague among men and animals.
As the smoke of burnt(human) corpses is sent up into space,
The gods of the mountains and the nāgas are offended.
Is this the practice of Mahāyāna?

Village abbots, your tantrist way of practising,
Will shock if the people of other countries hear of it.
These practices of you who say 'we are Buddhists',
Show less compassion than a demon of action.
More avaricious for meat than a hawk or wolf.
More lusty than a mere donkey or an ox.
More greedy for beer than a beetle(?) in a rotten house.
More indifferent to pure and impure than a dog or a pig.

By offering excrement, urine, semen and blood to the pure divinities,
Alas! you may be born in the mire of corpses.
By denying the existence of the Dharma of the Tripiṭaka,
Alas! you may be born in hell.
By way of retribution for killing living beings through 'the rite of deliverance',
Alas! you may be born as a demon of action.
By way of retribution for indulging in lust through 'the sexual rite',
Alas! you may be born as a microbe in the womb.
Worshipping the Three Jewels with flesh and urine,
Ignorant about the signification of 'implicit' and therefore practising it literally,
You, Mahāyānist, may be born as a demon.
What a strange Buddhist adhering to such practices!
If these practices,like yours, bring about Buddahood,
Hunters, fishermen, butchers and prostitutes,
All of these would certainly have attained Enlightenment by now.

(III) All of you tantrists, village abbots,
Must not say 'we are Mahāyānist',
And must reject these erroneous views.
Practice that which is taught in the Tripiṭaka and is correct and pure!
Confess the ten evils that you have committed so far!
If you do not, and continue to practise the false religion,
Karmic retribution will not escape you.
According to the Word which the Teacher himself pronounced,
Is it true that the Dharmatā is said to be void,
But you ought also to take karmic retribution into consideration.
Karma does not deceive anyone, it follows.
It does not turn itself into the four elements.
Since the misery of the three evil births is hard to bear,
Reject these terrible practices and practise that which is taught in the Tripiṭaka!
Those who wish to be Mahāyānist
Must accumulate the two kinds of merit and abandon the notion of grasping and that which is to be grasped.
Must practise the ten Pāramitā, alms giving, etc.,
Must achieve all the practices of a Bodhisattva.
Must accomplish the welfare of living beings through love and compassion.
If you practise religion in this way, then you will be Mahāyānist!

This advice sent to you, 'Ba'-'ji, means,
You should not abandon the practice of Mahāyāna, but keep it close.
Intellect is obscured by the massy darkness of ignorance,
Consciousness sinks into the mud of the ocean of lust,
Weighed down into evil births by a great mountain of pride,
Carried away into the cycle of existence by the whirling storms of jealousy,
Bound with the tight knot of egotism,
Is it not difficult to bring oneself to salvation?

Sent to the Tibetan tantrists by the king of Pu-hrangs, lHa Bla-ma.

**Tibetan Text (ND pp. 438-443)**

Phu hrangs kyi rgyal po lha bla ma'i zhal snga[1] nas/ bod yul dbus kyi sngags pa rnams la brdzangs pa/ gnyan po mdzad cing lta ba bsrang bar zhu'o/

(I) 'o skol mi mjed lho yi dzam gling 'dir/
ston pa shākya thub pa sku bltams te/
brgyad khri bzhi stong nyon mongs gnyen po ru/
sde snod gsum dang brgyad khri bzhi stong gsungs[2]/
rgyud dang gnyen po don du gsungs pa ni/
mi dge bcu dang mtshams med rnam pa lnga/
de las bzlog pa'i chos kyi rgyu 'bras ni/
bden bzhi'i sgor zhugs nyis brgya lna bcu gsungs[3]/
mthong dang goms pas nyon mongs brgyad cu[4] gnyis/
nyan thos theg pa nyi ma'i gnyen gyis gsungs[5]/
phyi nang chos rnams rten 'brel bcu gnyis su/
rtogs nas rang gi byang chub rim gyis[6] sgrub/
ya ma zung gi rdzu 'phrul mthu ldan pa/

rang rgyal theg par ...[7] mgon pos bstan/
bden pa gnyis kyis 'gro ba'i don mdzad cing/
phyi nang chos rnams stong pa'i ngo bor mkhyen/
pha rol phyin rnams rim gyis rdzogs mdzad pa/
bla na med pa'i theg par ston pas gsungs[8]/

(II) grong na gnas pa'i mkhan po sngags pa rnams/
theg pa de gsum gang dang 'brel med par/
nged cag theg chen yin zhes zer ba dang[9]/
theg pa chen po'i tshul spyod gtan med par/
theg pa chen po yin zhes zer ba ni/
sprang pos[10] rgyal po yin zhes zer ba 'dra/
theg chen min pa theg chen khas 'che ba/
bong bus[11] seng ge'i pags[12] pa gyon pa 'dra/
gzung[13] 'dzin gnyis spangs[14] tshogs chen gnyis rdzogs pa'i/
sa bcu'i rgyal tshab 'phags pa byams pa yang/
shes bya'i sgrib pa da dung ma byang na/
de bas snyigs ma'i sems can 'phags sam ci/
'dod lnga bud[15] med[16] rdzab las ma thar bar/
chos kyi sku yin zer ba ya mtshan che/
mi dge bcu spyod khyi phag brtul zhugs can/
mu stegs 'ba'[17] 'ji ba yi chos spyod khyed/
nged cag sangs rgyas yin zhes zer ba ni/
bdud kyis bslus sam yang na smyo bar nges/

mna' sngon bod yul dbus su chos byung ba/
ngan song sgo gcod thar ba'i lam ston pa/
sde snod rin chen gsum po dar zhing rgyas/
sngon gyi rgyal po byang chub sems dpa' yis/
bka' dang bstun nas chos log 'di bkag ste/
kun gyi lta bsrang mtho ris sgo phye bas/
sems can mang po bla med lam du chud/

da lta las zad rgyal po'i khrims nyams pas/
rdzogs chen ming btags chos log bod du dar/
lta ba phyin ci log gi sar thogs pa/
chos par ming btags sngags log bod du dar/
de yis rgyal khams phung ste 'di ltar gyur/
sgrol ba dar bas ra lug nyal thag bcad/
sbyor ba dar bas mi rigs 'chol ba 'dres/
sman sgrub dar bas nad pas gso rkyen chad/[18]
bam sgrub dar bas dur sa'i mchod pa stong/[19]
mchod sgrub dar bas mi la gson sgrol byung/
srin po sha za mchod pas mi nad phyugs nad byung/
me bsur dud pa btang bas yul gyi lha klu 'phangs/
de ltar spyod pa theg chen yin nam ci/

khyed cag grong gi mkhan po sngags pa'i spyod tshul 'di/
rgyal khams gzhan du thos na gzhan dag ngo mtshar rgyu/
nged cag sangs rgyas yin no zer ba'i spyod pa ni/
las kyi srin po bas ni snying rje chung/
khra dang spyang ku bas ni sha dad che/
bong reng glang reng bas ni 'dod chags che/
khang rul sbur khog bas ni skyur dad che/
khyi dang phag pa bas ni gtsang tsog chung/

gtsang ma lha'i rigs la dri chen dang/
dri chu khu khrag dag gis mchod[20] 'bul bas/
ro smyag 'dam du skye ba snying re rje/
sde snod gsum gyi chos la bskur btab pas/
mnar med dmyal bar skye ba snying re rje/
sgrol bas srog chags bsad pa'i rnam smin gyis/
las kyi[21] srin por skye ba snying re rje/
sbyor bas 'dod chags dar ba'i rnam smin gyis/
mngal gyi srin 'bur skye ba snying re rje/
sha khrag gcin gyis dkon mchog gsum mchod cing/
ldem dgongs mi shes drang thad chos spyod pa/
gnod sbyin srin por skye ba theg chen pa/
de ltar spyod pa'i sangs rgyas e ma mtshar/
khyed kyi spyod pa 'di kas sangs rgya na/
rngon[22] pa nya pa shan[23] pa smad 'tshong ma/
gcig kyang ma lus byang chub thob par nges/
(III) khyed cag grong gi mkhan po sngags pa kun/
nged cag theg chen yin zhes ma zer bar/
phyin ci log gi lta ba[24] di spong la/
ma nor dri med sde snod gsum la spyod/
snga phyogs mi dge bcu spyad mthol bshags gyis/
de ltar ma spyad chos log 'di spyad na/
las kyi rnam par smin pas mi bslu ste/
ston pa'i zhal nas gsung pa'i bka' dag las/
chos nyid stong par gsungs[25] pa bden mod kyi/
las kyi rnam par smin pa yid ches byos/
las rnams mi bslu rang gi phyi bzhin 'brangs/
'byung ba bzhi la rnam smim mi 'gyur bar/
ngan song gsum gyi sdug bsngal mi bzod pas/
spyod ngan 'di spong sde snod gsum po spyod/
theg pa chen por smon cing 'dod pa rnams/
tshogs gnyis bsog cing gzung[26] 'dzin rnam gnyis spong/
sbyin pa la sogs pha rol phyin bcu spyod/
byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa mtha' dag sgrubs/
byams dang snying rjes 'gro don rdzogs par gyis/
de ltar spyod pa theg pa chen po yin/
khyed cag 'ba' 'ji rnams la bskur[27] ba 'dis/
theg chen spyod pa ma bor bsnyen par gyis/
gti mug mun pa'i tshogs kyis shes rab rmongs/
'dod chags rgya mtsho'i 'dam du rnam shes byings/
nga rgyal chen po'i ri bos ngan 'gror mnan/
phrag dogs rlung dmar 'tshub mas 'khor bar g·yengs/
bdag tu 'dzin pa'i mdud pa dam pos bcings/
thar ba thob pa dka' mor mi mchi'am/

Pu hrangs kyi rgyal po lha bla mas bod kyi sngags pa rnams la brdzangs pa rdzogs so//

*Notes to the Tibetan Text.*

1. mnga'; 2. gsung; 3. gsung; 4. bcu; 5. gsung; 6. gyi; 7. Two syllables are missing; 8. gsung; 9. ni; 10. po; 11. bu; 12. phags; 13. bzung; 14. spang; 15. bu; 16. mad; 17. Another edition of *ND* has *'ban-'ji*, but *BZ* p. 86, 1.9: *'ban-'dzi*; 18. For this line S gives another version: *sman sgrub dar bas khyi phag 'tsho ba chad/* He considers this incorrect; 19. stong; 20. Here there is an extra syllable: pa; 21. kyis;

22. brngon; 23. gshan; 24. S proposes *lta ba* to be replaced by *spyod pa*;
25. gsung; 26. bzung; 27. skur.

## Notes

1. Bod-kyi lha btsan-po slob-dpon byang-chub sems-dpa' lHa Bla-ma Jñānaprabha, *TG*, Vol. 142, No.5799, p.67-1-4.
2. Qarlug, a Turkic people and country situated to the north of mNga'-ris. They were in contact with the Tibetans already towards the end of the 8th century A.D: *gar log gi pho nyas phyag btsal* - 'the messengers of the Gar-log paid homage', *GB*, p.71-2-3. When the Buddhist persecution took place in Central Tibet, three Tibetan monks are said to have left and went to mNga'-ris and then left Tibet altogether passing through Gar-log and finally arrived in Amdo. *DS*, p.895; On Gar-log one may also see, W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'asie centrale,* Paris 1945, pp.41-44, 60-62.
3. *J*, pp. 105-9.
4. *SP*, p. 95.
5. *HR*, p. 348.
6. *DS*, p.905; Khor-re; *DT*, Ka f.19b, 2(*BA*, p.37): 'Khor-re, but Kha f. 10b, 2(*BA*, p.83): Srong-nge; *J*, p.102: Khor-re, but *Cl* p.344-1: Khri-dpal srong-nge.
7. J. Hackin, *Formulaire Sanskrit-Tibétain du Xe siècle*, Paris 1924, p.17.
8. Another bTsan-po a-tsa-ra is mentioned in the line of Yum-brtan, but this is chronologically too late to be identical, see *J*, p.100.
9. See note 1.
10. *Antiquities of Indian Tibetan,* Calcutta, 1914, Pt.I, p.19; G.Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. III, Pt.I, Roma, 1935, p.112.
11. *SP*, p.89.
12. *TG*, Vols. 141-142, No.5799.
13. *TG*, Vol. 73, No.3335, p.213-4-6.
14. *CL*, p.344.
15. *KG*, Vol. 29, No.780.
16. *KG*, Vol.6, No.162.
17. *ND*, pp.435-44.
18. *PJ*, f.248b.
19. *ND*, pp.444-62.
20. *ND*, pp.437, 459.
21. *ND*, pp. 436, 444.
22. *DS*, p. 1049.
23. *alias* rGya-mtsho-sprin 'brug-sgra bzang-po, a disciple of Nya-dbon Kun-dga'- dpal (XLVth century), *Chos dang chos ma yin pa rnam par dbye ba'i rab tu byed pa*, quoted in *ND*, pp.388-89.
24. *PS*, f.248b; G.Tucci, W. Heissig, *Les religions du Tibet et de la Monglie,* Paris, 1973, p.40.
25. See note 33.
26. *TG*, Vol. 73, No.3335, p.212-5-1.
    *gzhan yang gsang sngags sbas don nub gyur cing/*
    *sbyor sgrol dang ni tshogs la sogs pas slad/*
    *'di rnams don nges brtsal (sic) phyir bkas gnyer ste/*
    *lo tsa rin chen bzang po kha cher brdzangs/*
    I must correct the miscalculation I made in my *'A discussion on the doctrinal position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th centuries'*

(*Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXIII, Année, 1975, p. 150). I stated that the Lo-tsā-ba was twenty in 1027 when in face he was seventy. However, I still assume that the *bka'-shog* was issued long before this date. According to *SP* the Lo-tsā-ba becomes a monk at the age of 13 (i.e. 970 A.D.), p.62; leaves for Kashmir at 18 (975), p.67, and spends ten years there till he is 27 (985), p.86, before he returns to his native country (unfortunately at this point *SP* stops altogether giving any more chronological indications). He then becomes the *mchod-gnas* of King lHa-lde in Pu-hrangs (p.88), and assists him in founding the temple of Kha-char in Pu-hrangs. At the same time he also assists lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od in founding Tho-ling in Gu-ge (p.89). When the temples are completed the lHa Bla-ma asks him to go to Kashmir in order to bring back the books which were left there and artists. It is at this time that lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od sends 15 boys with him to study Sanskrit in his charge (pp. 90-91). It takes six years before he returns again (p. 94). Not long after this lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od dies (p. 95). Therefore it seems that he died towards the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th centuries, A.D.

27. *GB*, p.73-4-6; Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa rin po che'i mdzes rgyan, SPS*, Vol. 55 (*The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Pt.15 Ba), p.127; also *gSang 'dus rgyud 'grel bshad thabs*, *SPS*, Vol. 49 (pt.9. Ta), p.76.
28. The Vth Dalai Lama, *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*, Varanasi, 1967, p.107; *a ra mo*; *Pj* f. 29a; *ND* p. 463.
29. He is identified as a Paṇḍita gSang-ba shes-rab or Shes-rab gsang-ba and is said to have come from Oḍḍiyāna. He preached what one termed as *'Chags lam thig le'i skor'* causing many monks to lose their monkhood. According to 'Gos-lo gZhon-nu-dpal he visited Tibet twice, once before Atīśa came to Tibet and in a later period when he became a teacher of the Sa-chen (i.e. Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158), *DT* Pha, f.20b, 4 (*BA*, p. 1050). This ācārya is an object of criticism, but is also defended by the Vth Dalai Lama, *op.cit.*, p.108.
30. *BZ*, p.86.
31. *King Tsa/Dza and Vajrayāna* (expected to appear soon).
32. *KG*, Vol. 10, No.455.
33. Chapter 11 is entitled *Tshogs kyi dkyil 'khor*. The practices of *sbyor sgrol* in fact forms a part of the ritual known *as tshogs kyi mchod pa*, the practice *sbyor ba* is conceived as being *mchod pa*. Part I, VIII and IX of the Tun-huang manuscript Pelliot tibétain 42 are concerned with these practices (A. Macdonald et Y. Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome I, Paris 1978, Pl. 48-52; Pl. 59-61). Particularly part VIII is almost a résumé of the section on this subject in the commentary of *gSang-ba snying-po* by Sūryasiṃhaprabha: *dPal gsang ba snying po'i rgya cher 'grel ba*, Delhi, 1976, ff.308-17.
34. The Sanskrit original was found by bCom-ldan rig-ral, the great bKa'-gdams-pa master. Certain parts of it were eventually translated by Thar-lo Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan (14th century), see the *par byang* of the edition of Zhol spar khang shar dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling, Lhasa, f.28b. However, according to S it was re-translated by bCom-ldan rig-ral himself (*ND*, p.275). Cf. also *DT* Ga, f.1a (*BA*, pp.102-4).
35. dBal-mang dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1764-1853), *Byang chub lam gyi sgron me'i 'grel ba phul byung dgyes pa'i mchod sprin, Gedan sunrab minyam gyunphel Series* Vol. 63 (*Collected Works*, Vol.4, No.1), Delhi,1974, pp. 51-2.

36. *TG*, Vol. 103, No.5343, p.21-5-1.
37. *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan* by bSod-nams lhun-grub zla-'od rgyal-mtshan, *Collected Works of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams rin-chen*, Delhi, 1975, Vol.I, No.3.(Ga), p.73.
38. The *bka'-shog* issued by him will be published in the near future.
39. See note 25.
40. There is a certain confusion about which king ruled over which territory in mNga'-ris. Tshe-dbang nor-bu (*HR*, p.347) states that Zhang-zhung ruled by bKra-shis-mgon included both Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs. This seems to be quite probable.
41. This probably refers to the prohibition of practising the Anutarayoga-*tantras* in the 8th century A.D.: see note 27; *ND*, p. 440.
42. S.G. Karmay, '*A discussion on the doctrinal position of rDzogs-chen...,*' pp. 150-52.
43. S retorts (*ND*, p.447) that tantric texts propound no such doctrine. However, this in itself is evidence that the Buddhists at this period indulged in having animals killed for them or in actual killing on the excuse of tantric practice, see notes 33 and 48. S extends his reply by giving a long list of what is known as the 'domain of deliverance' (*sgral-ba'i zhing*) comprising various people who oppose Buddhism (*ND*, p.447).
44. S challenges with the statement that the ordinary 'coital act' cannot be equated with the meaning of *sbyor-ba; rigs rgyud 'jog pa'i 'dod chags la sbyor ba zhes gsang sngags pa'i lugs ma yin* (*ND*, p.450). Again on the excuse of the tantric teaching Buddhist monks probably indulged in such practices, hence the word *ser-khyim* (married monk).
45. S states that he heard no such account of this rite causing the scarcity of medicine. It is, he continues, not only the rNying-ma-pa but also the Bonpo who practise this ritual. In the Bonpo tradition this is known as *sgrub-chen* performed by each abbot on his accession as the abbot of the monastery, see P. Kvaerne,'*A chronological table of the Bonpo*',*Acta Orientalia,* XXXIII (1971), p.247, n.36. For an account of the *sman-sgrub* rite performed in 1748, see Tshe-dbang nor-bu, *Chos rje rin po che dznya nas zhus pa'i sman sgrub kyi dris lan, Collected Works* ..., Vol. IV, No.2bis.
46. S replies to this accusation in the following words (*ND*, p.450): *sngags gsar ma las kyang ro langs mkha' spyod sgrub pa la sogs pa gsungs la/ 'di ni mtshan nyi tshang ba'i bam de dngos grub kyi rdzas su sgrub pa yin la/ ro thams cad kyis bam sgrub tu rung ba ma bshad pas skyon de yang mi 'bab bo/* - 'Even in the New Tantras it is said that there are sādhanas such as *Ro langs mkha' spyod sgrub pa*. What is concerned here is that a corpse having the required qualities can be used as the substance for obtaining *siddhi*. As it is not said that any corpse would be suitable for practising the *bam* rite, your charge therefore does not apply to us'. However, in another place (*ND*, p.437) S states that among the New Tantras there is also *Bam sgrub ro langs gser sgrub*. Presumably this work and *Ro langs mkha' spyod sgrub pa* are identical, but no texts have been found. *bam-sdrub* therefore has the same sense as *ro-sgrub* of which there is a story of a corpse having turned into gold, see *BZ*, p.33. For another example of a passage in which the term *bam-sgrub* is used in the same context, see A.W. Macdonald, *Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine,* Paris, 1967, p.19.

47. *dur-sa'i mchod-pa* or *dur-mchod* refers to the custom of making offerings to the spirits of the dead of one's family. *dur-mchod* is probably the same as *tshe* a word of Chinese origin (*BZ*, p.3, line 15).

48. S here admits with reserve this charge (*ND*, p.450): *spyir gsar rnying gi rgyud rnams su gsung ba'i sgrol ba zhes bya ba 'di gson po kho na sgrol ba yin gyis/ gshin po la sgrol rgyu med kyang/ lha bla ma'i skabs der sngags la rnyad btags pa'i spyod tshul ngan pa de byung ba yin mchi/* - 'In general, the *sgrol-ba* attested in the Old and New Tantras applies only to the 'deliverance' of those who are alive. There is no question of applying the *sgrol-ba* to the dead. However, in the time of the lHa Bla-ma there happened that bad practice on the excuse of tantric teachings'. S does not explain the *mchod-sgrub* specifically, but it is implied here referring to a tantric practice which evidently involved killing people. Tun-huang manuscript Pelliot tibétain 840 (recto, Mlle Lalou, *Inventaire des Manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vol. I, Paris, 1939) is a work related to this practice. It describes in minute detail how to carry out this rite. S gives a further explanation which elucidates the difference in method between the practices of *sgrol-ba* and *mchod-sgrub* (*ND*, p.451): *gzugs brnyan la dgra de'i brla (bla) bkug nas sgrol ba yi la/ mi dngos su sgrol bar ma gsungs so/*- 'Summoning the "spirit" of the enemy to an "effigy", one "delivers" him. It is not attested (in Tantras) to kill a man directly'. In this sense, *sgrol-ba* is usually understood, see note 33. Cf. R.A. Stein, '*Recherche sur le phurbu*', L'annuaire du Collège de France, Paris, 1977-78, pp. 649-53.

## Abbreviations

*BA* G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta, 1949.

*BZ* R.A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bzhed*, Paris, 1961.

*CL* bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142-1182), *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo, Sa skya bka' 'bum*, Tokyo 1968, Vol.2, No.17.

*DS* Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364), *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung khung gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, *SPS*, Vol. 64 (*The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Pt. 24 Ya).

*DT* 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), *Deb ther sngon po*, edition dMyal Chos-rgyal lhun po.

*GB* *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, *TG*, Vol. 144, No.5832.

*HR* *lHa btsan po'i rabs (dang) dam pa'i chos ji ltar byung ba'i rim pa mdo tsam smros pa*, *Collected Works of Ka-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu*, H.P. 1977, Vol. IV, No.156.

*J* *Jo bo rje dpal ldan mar me mdzad ye shes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa*, Varanasi, 1970.

*KG* *bKa' 'gyur, The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Tokyo, 1955.

*ND* *gSang sngags snga 'gyur la bod du rtsod pa snga phyir byung ba rnams kyi lan du brjod pa nges pa don gyi 'brug sgra*, *Collected Writings of Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*, New Delhi, 1975, Vol. I, No.5.

PJ *dPag bsam ljon bzang,* edition dGon-lung (?).
S Sog-zlog-pa.
SP *rNam thar shel phreng lu gu rgyud, Collected biographical material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and his subsequent reembodiments,* Delhi, 1977, No.3, pp.51-128.
SPS *Śatapiṭaka.*
TG *bsTan 'gyur, The Tibetan Tripiṭaka,* Tokyo, 1955.

Concerning the term *'ba'-'ji (Notes to the Tibetan text* 17) I am grateful to Per Kvaerne for the following information: 'In the *Caryāgītikośa*, song 17, line 5 runs: *nācanti bājila gānti debī "The Holder-of-the-Vajra dances, the Goddess sings".* *Bājila* must be derived from *vajrin*, cf. Shahidullah, *Chants mystiques*, p.104 where *bājira* is translated *rdo rje sems dpa'*. In the present case Munidatta's commentary glosses: *Vīṇapādā vajradhara-padena nṛtyaṃ kurvanti, = Pi-wang zhabs-te/ rdo rje 'dzin-pa'i go-'phang-gi gar byed-pa'o/'*.

## SOME NOTES ON THE HOUSE OF LHA RGYA-RI

**Joachim Karsten**

At present there are only a few publications dealing with Tibetan noble families. We may mention *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet* by Luciano PETECH, Roma, 1973, but this book is limited to those noble houses whose members served in high positions in the Tibetan Government between 1728 and 1959. HRH Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark presented a list of about 200 noble families in *The Aristocracy of Central Tibet*, Kalimpong, 1954. This booklet and the above mentioned treatise by Professor PETECH provides us however with little information on the house of lHa rGya-ri,[1] one of the most famous Tibetan families. The aim of the present short paper is to present more information on the lHa rGya-ri-pa, mainly their early history, together with a few notes on special customs and their social rank.

The lHa rGya-ri-pa were the local rulers of the little principality of E(-yul), situated between Yar-klungs and Dvags-po. In the north it reaches the gTsang-po, and touches the province of gNyal in the south.[2] From the agricultural point of view this country is not very rich, for there is to be found very long and hard grass - even mentioned in Tibetan texts - and only a little barley is cultivated. Therefore it is mostly inhabitated by nomads. But E-yul is famous for its richness in gold.[3] This gold gave to the main river, usually called the Rong-chu,[4] its other name of gSer-chu,[5] the Gold-River.

The lHa rGya-ri family took its name from the centre of E called rGya-ri.[6] The 'lHa' prefixed to the name rGya-ri is said to be an abbreviation of 'Od-gsal-lha-rigs[7] which should not be understood as the family or descendants of 'Od-gsal-lha,[8] as assumed by BELL.[9] It is in fact the not uncommon designation of the descendants of the old Tibetan kings (GS[10]). The name lHa rGya-ri-pa appears also in the following forms: lHa Bya-ri-pa,[11] Gye-re-lha-pa,[12] Gye-re-lha-btsun,[13] Ge-ra-lha-pa,[14] and was often abbreviated as lHa-rigs,[15] lHa-pa,[16] or only lHa.[17] They are also known as the rGya-ri sa-skyong,[18] the sde-pa of rGya-ri-rdzong,[19] the sde-pa lHa-pa,[15] and are given the titles of rgyal-phran (PL) or chos-rgyal (PL). The head of the family is usually styled lHa rGya-ri khri-chen[20] (GS), rGya-ri khri-chen (GS) and lHa rGya-ri khri-pa.[21]

As to the origins of the family there exist - as far as I know - two different traditions.[22] The first is as follows: the members of the lHa rGya-ri-pa of today claim descent from Glang Darma's son 'Od-srung (GS,YT). It is said that in the times of Mi-la ras-pa (HR)[22a] a descendant of 'Od-srung who was a scholar, the author of some books (GS), went from Western to Central Tibet (GS, HR). He first settled at rTse-thang (HR) where he was welcomed as an offspring of the old Tibetan kings and was 'given many presents and exempted from taxation' (HR) and thus enjoyed much prestige (GS, HR). Later his family moved to lJang,[23] not far from gDan-sa-mthil (HR). In the time of the Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po (1110-1170) a member of that family called Cad-po Tsha-ba-rong-pa[24] had a dispute with the Phag-mo-gru-pa.[25] To one of his descendants the Phag-mo-gru-pa and others donated the land of E sometime between 1354 and 1435.[26] This tradition seems to be based on the account of lHa rGya-ri-pa in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama.[27] The other tradition - not accepted by the members of the family - tells the following story:[28] Six generations[29] after Yum-brtan, who has been named but not with certainty, as the brother of 'Od-srung, there lived Tsha-na Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan,[30] who acted as patron to the Ten Men from dBus and gTsang. He is known as the prince

of bSam-yas. His son mNga'-bdag Khri-pa had four sons, one of them being Bodhiradza who in the late forties of the 11th Century met Atisa in bSam-yas and became the latter's disciple.[31] He is known as the ancestor of the lHa 'Bri-sgang- family,[32] from which some scholars of the bKa'-gdams-school came (PK). From that family was descended the Tsha-rong rtsad-po,[33] who is to be identified with the above-mentioned Cad-po Tsha-ba-rong-pa. He in turn is said to be the ancestor of the lHa rGya-ri-pa.

This second tradition is not only repeated but also accepted by Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu,[34] who stresses the descent of lHa rGya-ri-pa from lHa 'Bri-sgang pa but refuses to accept the 'Od-srung-lineage. Also the rtsis-dpon Zhva-sgab-pa (Shakabpa)[35] prefers the Yum-brtan-lineage. If it is true that the maternal aunt of the Fifth Dalai Lama married a lHa-rGya-ri khri -chen (HR), then we have the reason why the Fifth Dalai Lama made that family descend from 'Od-srung. It is possible that he did not like to be counted as related to, even distantly, the descendants of Yum-brtan whose relationship to Glang Darma is not an established fact.[36] The Dalai Lama therefore seems to present a different genealogy by substituting for the first generations of the Yum-brtan lineage a series from another genealogy.

For reasons of space I shall not deal with the later history of the lHa rGya-ri-pa.[37] I shall limit myself instead to some notes on special customs and the social rank of the lHa rGya ri-pa.

The family were always adherents of the rNying-ma-school (GS, HR) of Tibetan Buddhism, but they used to have at their court a family of sku-gshen, who are Bon-po and claim to be in continuous succession from the time of the Chos-rgyal. They, and they only, officiate at the funeral ceremonies of a Khri-chen and of other members of his family.(HR) When the head of the family died, a tomb was made and encased in silver, just as those of the Dalai Lamas were encased in gold.[38] In the same way the head of the Ra-kha-shar was buried[39] (HR). The sku-gshen 'also officiate at the naming of children of the family' (HR).[40]

Another peculiarity was the way they saluted the Dalai Lama. The Khri-chen stood on a red carpet (GS; tib. gzims-chung-gdan-thog (PL.I) and bowed three times, keeping the palms of his hands upwards (tib. lha-phyag, GS).[40] This manner of salutation is known to be performed by Chinese and Mongolian visitors (PL. I). The custom was only observed by the head of the family when he had no official post.[41]

When the Khri-chen visited lHa-sa he used to wear the dress of a zhabs-pad (PK,HR), 'but he wore his hair in a pigtail and used no ornaments' (HR). On ceremonial occasions he wore a robe and ornaments, including very big ear-rings (GS), like the so-called ring-rgyan[42] (HR) and a tall white headdress. 'The lHa rGya-ri headdress is in shape more like that worn by the Chos-rgyal. It is made of white linen and has an image of 'Amideva' (sic) in its topmost folds. Formerly the lHa rGya-ri had a similar headdress of gold[43] but that was offered to the Fifth Dalai Lama and is said to be one of the offerings on the Fifth Dalai Lama's tomb'.(HR)

Finally, I might add a few comments on the social rank and privileges of the lHa rGya-ri-pa. They are one of the five sDe-dpon families.[44] They 'hold the rank of Duke[45] and the Khri-chen 'is entitled to occupy the same rank' as the Dalai Lama,[45] which seems a bit exaggerated. Among the later descendants it is known that the head of lHa rGya-ri ranked next to the Paṇ-chen Lama (GS). Although they occupied so high a rank they were not allowed to serve in any official post since in the Tsang affair of 1642 the Khri-chen was opposed to dBus (PK). Before that time they 'belonged to the ministry under the first sovereign Dalai Lama'.[46] Because of their opposition the Khri-chen came to be dismissed from his official posts and until about 1955 (KD,PK)[47]

no Khri-chen was ever allowed to hold office.

The Khri-chen had a lHa rGya-ri phyag-mdzod at their court (NK), an official from lHa-sa who acted as regent while the head of the family was a minor. When he reached his majority the phyag-mdzod remained as an adviser.[48]

The Khri-chen was the only one who had the right to dig for gold in E and in the bordering regions of Dvags-po.[49] As far as I know he was not a tributary to the lHa-sa government.

In conclusion we might say that the family of lHa rGya-ri certainly enjoyed more prestige than other families, though for more than 300 years they had no political functions comparable to those of other noble houses who held the fate of Tibet in their hands, a fact that is quite astonishing.

## Notes

1. We should not forget the treatise by CARRASCO, Pedro: *Land and Polity in Tibet,* Seattle, 1958.
2. cf. FERRARI, Alfonsa: *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Roma, 1958, pp.51,126.
   E is also written as g.Ye (cf. ROERICH, George N: *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta, 1949 and 1953 (in the following abbreviated as *BA*), p.1088,etc.) It is the Yee of Desideri (PETECH, Luciano: *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, Roma, 1956, parte VII, p.228). The g.Ye is also said to be spelled better as g.Yas ('above, right' acc. to PUINI, Carlo: *Il Tibet*, Memoire.Soc.Geogr.Ital.1904, vol.X, p.70$^n$, quoted by FILIPPI, Filipoo de: *An Account of Tibet*, Taipei, 1971, repr. p.474) which might represent a popular etymology. On Chinese maps (FUCHS, Walter: Walter: *Der Jesuiten Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit,* Peking, 1948, map.13;) g.Ye appears as Yeh le k'u (ho t'un) or La ye li tsung (tib. g.Ye-re- *[*khul.*]* and lHa g.Ye-re/ri rdzong, not to be found in Tibetan texts). For a g.Ye-re cf. KASCHEWSKY, Rudolf: *Das Leben des lamaistichen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzan grags-pa (1357-1419*), Wiesbaden, 1971, p.165. Is g.Ye-re another spelling for Gye-re? (see below). The second spelling of E is dBye (KASCHEWSKY, op.cit. p.138).
3. FILIPPI, op.cit., p.140.
4. HAYDEN, Sir Henry and COSSON, César: *Sport and Travel in the Highlands of Tibet*, London, 1927, p.218, 205; Rong is the northern part of E yul (KD, see note 10), sometimes it must have been independent, for it is mentioned besides E.
5. WADDELL, L.Austine: *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1929,[4] map between p.508 and 509. We find a Roungse chou (tib. Rong gSer-chu) in HEDIN, Sven: *Southern Tibet*, Stockholm, 1917, Vol. III, map.II.
6. It is situated high above the lCang-ra chu (the name of the river is not known today; cf. PETECH, *Missionari,* parte VI, p.320), a tributary of the Rong-chu, The rGya-ri is the Lhagyari of the maps of today (cf. FERRARI, op.cit., map 1). A photo of the palace and the monastery can be seen in HAYDEN and COSSON, op.cit., facing p.188, which shows the 1903 restored and enlarged building (KD). According to the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (*Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* (in the following abbr. as Chr. DL V) fol.105 v) the estate of rGya-ri below a hot spring (chu tshan kha zhabs su) in

E-stod was founded by the nang-so of mDa'-smad (there is a mDa'-smad mentioned in SCHUH, Dieter: *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke,* Wiesbaden, 1976, VOHD, 11,6, P.LIV; KD knows that there is a *[dajȳ:]*, probably mDa'-yul, in the east of E-yul). As to the pho-brang of lHa rGya-ri we know that it was about eight storeys high and possessed many ancient bronzes (KD, GNT, cf. note.10).

7. See the full designation in LOKESH CHANDRA: *Vaiḍurya-ser-po* (in the following abbr. as *VS*), New Delhi, 1960, p.171:'Od-gsal lha-rigs sa-spyod rGya-ri (Phyag-rdor) and in SARAT CHANDRA DAS: *Pag sam jon zang* (in the following abbr. as *PSJZ*), Calcutta, 1908, p.315:'Od-gsal lha'i-gdung (brgyud).
8. On 'Od-gsal-lha as an ancestor see FRANCKE, A.H: *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1926, p.213 and HAARH, Erik: *The Yar-lung Dynasty,* Kopenhagen, index.
9. BELL, Sir Charles: *The People of Tibet,* Oxford, 1962 (repr.), p.66.
10. The information collected in this paper could not have been obtained without the unselfish help of a few Tibetan friends: *GNT*: rGya-nag-tshang 'Chi-med rdo-rje, Kalimpong; *GS:* dGon-gsar rin-po-che, Rikon, who partly obtained information from his mother the Zom-phud lha-lcam; *KD*: dge-bshes mKhas-grub, Rikon; *NK*: rNar-skyid Ngag-dbang don-grub, Michigan; *PL:* Pha-lha Thub-bstan 'od-ldan, Rämismühl-Zell; *PLI:* sPang-lung Byams-pa blo-bzang, Munich: *PK:* Phu-khang Byams-pa bskal-bzang; *YT:* g.Yu-thog rDo-rje, New York. To all of them I would like to express my sincere thanks.
11. VOSTRIKOV, A.I: *Tibetan Historical Literature,* Calcutta, 1970, p.87, quoting the Deb-ther rgya-mtsho, Vol.I. fol.8r (I did not find the name as I have no access to his blockprint).
12. SARAT CHANDRA DAS: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (abbrev. as *TED*), Delhi, 1973 (repr.), p.236 and AHMAD, Zahiruddin: *Sino-Tibetan relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Roma, 1970, p.141, quoting the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama. They are not identical with the lHa-pa of Gye-re of the gNyos clan (cf. Kha rag gNyos kyi rgyud byon tshul mdor bsdus, fols. 1 - 40) who lived much earlier.
13. cf. *'Jig rten dbang phyug thams cad mkhyen pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa nor bu'i phreng ba* by the Fifth Dalai Lama, fol.33r: There are also mis-spellings such as dGye-re lha-btsun (TUCCI, Giuseppe: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (abbr. as *TPS*), Roma, 1949, p.255[108]) and rGye-re lha-btsun (*TPS*, op.cit.).
14. *TED*, p.224.
15. In the abridged account of the Chr.DLV. by Ā-kya sku-skye Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan called: *sTobs kyi 'khor los sgyur pa sde srid phag mo gru pa sogs bod kyi rgyal blon mang po'i gdung rabs mdo tsam brjod pa'i rab tu byed pa ya rabs mgul rgyan,* fol.9v (abbr. as *A-kya*). I may mention that Zom-phud taiji Thub-bstan dbang-phyug (1909-1949), one of the last gZhi-ka-rtse rdzong-dpon, who was a son of a lHa rGya-ri-pa, signed his documents with 'lHa-rigs' (GS).
16. *A-kya*:sde-pa lHa-pa; *VS*, p.170.
17. Cf. La-dvags rgyal-rabs, ed. by FRANCKE, *Antiquities,* op.cit., p.48, mentioning them as sde-pa lHa.
18. *TPS,* p.43, 51; Chr. DLV. fol. 105v.
19. *TPS*, p.256[108].
20. KAWAGUCHI, Ekai: *Three years in Tibet*, Benares and London, 1909, p.436, writes Khri-chen lHa rGya-ri ('Tichen lHa-kyari').
21. SARAT CHANDRA DAS: *Yig bskur rnam gzhag*, Calcutta, 1901, p.34.
22. *TPS*, p.43 makes them together with the lords of rTse-thang and Gong-dkar a side-branch of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, which probably should not be under-

stood in the genealogical sense. It is a pity that the lHa rGya ri gdung-rabs was left in Tibet (GS).

22a. I would like to express my deepest thanks to Mr. H.E. RICHARDSON, who generously supplied so much information and took a great interest in that family. Without him writing about lHa rGya-ri would be an impossible undertaking.

23. It is the lJang of *BA*, p.612 and the Jang of BELL, Sir Charles, *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta, 1919, map and of HAYDEN and COSSON, op. cit., map, p.204. It lies between the estate of the Khri-smon-family in 'On and the Klu-khang-gru, about two miles north-east of the gTsang-po and south west of gDan-sa mthil. There exists a monastery (NK).

24. Chr.DLV. fol.105v (= *TPS*, p.649, but Tucci reads Chad-po Tsha-ba-rong-pa). The Peking edition of 1957 reads bCad-po; the Indian edition of 1967 bTsad-po; *A-kya* also has bTsad-po. He is the Tsha-rong btsad-po of *VS*, p.170 and the Tsha-rong rtsad-po of *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma* by TUCCI, Giuseppe, Roma, 1971 (abbr. as *DMS*), fol.40v. Tsha-rong here might refer to the district of Tsha-rong between lJang and gDan-sa-mthil (*BA*, p.612).

25. Cf. *VS*, p.170.

26. Cf. *PSJZ*, p.161 (= *TPS*, p.653).

27. Chr. DLV, fol.105v-106r; the information given above is taken from the Fifth Dalai Lama's chronicle when I do not mention other sources.

28. *DMS*, fol. 39v-40v; there are less precise versions of the same story in the '*Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rjes mdzad pa'i Hu lan Deb ther* (abbr. as *DM*) part one, Gangtok, 1961, fol.19r f. and in the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* abbr.as *GSM*) ed. by KUZNETSOV, B.I., Leiden, 1966, pp.194f ( fol. 95v. f.)

29. According to the DMS, op.cit., the lineage goes as follows: Yum brtan, Khri-lde-mgon, mGon-bsten, Rig-pa-mgon, rDo-rje-'bar, dBang-phyug-btsan and Tsha-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. EIMER, Helmut: *Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atisa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna)*, part.1, p.140 f. (submitted for publication in the Asiatische Forschungen, Wiesbaden; my thanks are due to Dr. EIMER for allowing me to use his work) gives a different genealogy: Yum-brtan, mNga'-bdag dGon-ne-spyod, Che-ba Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan, Khri-po and the Tsha-rong-pa. We cannot yet decide which of these traditions is the right one.

30. He is the bSam-yas su mnga'-bdag Tsha-la-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan of *DM*, fol. 19r, the bSam-yas kyi mnga'-bdag Tshan (an error for Tsha-na) Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan of *GSM*, p.196 (= fol. 96v.) and the bSam-yas rtsad-po Tsha-ne Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan of *DMS*, fol.40v. Today he is also known as the bSam-yas bcas-po (PL) or bSam-yas btsad-po (SHAKABPA, W.D. *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs - An Advanced Political History of Tibet,* Kalimpong, 1976, p. 237(in the following abbr. as SHAKABPA).

31. Cf. EIMER, Helmut: *Berichte über das Leben des Atisa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna)*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p.53f.

32. Cf. *BA*, pp. 319,573 and p.278, where the name is spelled lHa 'Dri-sgang-pa.

33. As can be seen from notes 24 and 30 there are several spellings of the title btsan-po. So bcas-po, rtsad-po, chad-po, cad-po, bcad-po and btsad-po all seem to be corrupt spellings of one title btsan po, meaning 'prince, lord'.

34. In his *Bod rje lha btsan po'i gdung rabs tshig nyung don gsal yid kyi me long*, fol.21r. ed. by TAIKHANG, T.T. *Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon Shakabpa*, New Delhi, 1974.

35. SHAKABPA, p.237, 346.

36. Cf. the article by RICHARDSON, Hugh E: 'Who was Yum brtan?', in *Etudes Tibétaines*, Paris, 1971, pp.433-439.
37. It is set forth until the middle of the seventeenth century in Chr.DLV. fols. 105v-106r. Information on their late history is only found scattered in the biographies of the Dalai and Paṇ-chen Lamas and other historical works.
38. Cf. BELL, *People*, p.66.
39. Cf. BELL, op.cit.
40. According to Mr. RICHARDSON: 'He does not prostrate himself as other officials do; but simply makes the gesture of namaskar and bows three times'.
41. The last Khri-chen had to prostrate himself (PK), for on becoming a rim-bzhi he was granted the title of jasak and therefore lost his other ranks (KD) (cf. note 47).
42. See plate 177 in TUCCI, Giuseppe: *Transhimalaya,* Geneva, 1973.
43. The 'golden crown' similar to that worn by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (GS).
44. Cf. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, p.50. KAWAGUCHI, op.cit., counts them among the Yab-gzhis-families.
45. KAWAGUCHI, op.cit., p.436.
46. Cf. *TED*, p.1351, quoting *Klong rdol gsung 'bum*, fol.9, vol.'a, where they are only mentioned by name. But PK also has knowledge of this.
47. The rank was taken over by one of the last khri-chen's paternal aunts(?) both styled lHa rGya-ri rje-btsun-ma. Both were nuns belonging to the monastery of lHa rGya-ri-pa Ri-sgo chos-sde. From ca.1955 until 1959 they 'ruled' over E-yul (KD). (On Ri-sgo chos-sde see *TPS*, p.649).
48. BAILEY, op.cit., p.177; the last lHa rGya-ri phyag-mdzod lived at Gong-po khang-gsar, north-east of the pho-brang (KN).
49. BAILEY, op.cit.

# INDRABHŪTI'S *RDO RJE THEG PA'I RTSA BA DANG YAN LAG GI LTUNG BA'I BSHAGS-PA*: A TANTRIC CONFESSIONAL TEXT

Nathan Katz

The *Vajrayāna mūlāṅgāpatti deśanā* (Tibetan: *rDo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba dang yan lag gi ltung ba'i bshags pa*), or *Confession of Errors in the Roots and Branches of the Vajrayāna*, is found on fascicles 114b-115b of volume *pu* of the sNar thang edition of the *bsTan 'gyur*, and on fascicles 116b-118a of the Peking edition, Otani number 4626.[1] It was written in the eighth century by one Indrabhūti or Indrabodhi of Urgyen (currently Swat state in northern Pakistan).

According to his hagiography (*rnam thar*),[2] he was king of his region and an extremely accomplished tantric master. At some point during his reign, Indrabhūti became inspired by the commitment to Buddhist practice of his sister, Lakshminkāra, another in the traditional listing of the eighty-four *grub chen* (*mahāsiddhas*). Feeling a life dedicated merely to one's own self-aggrandizement not worthwhile, Indrabhūti handed the government over to his son and began studying Buddhism seriously but secretively. Having attained *phyags chen* (*mahāmūdra*) after twelve years' arduous practice, Indrabhūti appeared from the sky to his subjects, who attained the first *bhūmi* on seeing this miracle. Remaining in the sky for seven days, he preached about the inaccessibility of Dharma to mundane thought. His hagiography concludes with the attainment of religious ecstasy by his audience, expressed through the metaphor of sky-walking (*mkha' spyod*).

In the Tibetan tradition, especially the rNying ma and bKa' brgyud lineages, Indrabhūti's importance exceeds many of the other eighty-four *grub chen*. He is paid great homage by the tradition, which ascribes to him the roles of teacher of Nāgārjuna (kLu sgrub), and that of foster-parent to Padmasambhava.[3] Probably for these reasons, B. Bhattacharyya[4] claims he was the very founder of the Vajrayāna itself, a claim we find exaggerated although not totally without support. Several of Indrabhūti's works have been included in *bsTan' gyur*, including some *sādhana* and commentorial writings.

As the title indicates, our text is concerned with a confession (*deśanā; bshags pa*) of errors (*āpatti; ltung ba*) in tantric Buddhist practice. This is significant for any understanding of Vajrayāna Buddhism, since a clear notion of what is taken to be an error in practice would suggest a great deal about the tantric *Weltanschauung* in general. In order to get a clear picture of the tantric usages of 'error' and 'vow' (*sdom pa*), we propose to discuss them comparatively with similar structures found in the Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions, in particular the Theravāda *Pāṭimokkha* (or *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa*, as it would be known in Mahāyāna texts) and the *Bodhisattva Prāṭimokṣa Sūtra*. By doing so, we should be able to get some notion as to the continuities and divergences among these three styles (*yāna; theg pa*) of Buddhism.

A traditional Vajrayana hermeneutical device has been to speak about these three *yānas* in terms of body, speech and mind, and we wish to employ this indigenous tool to assist in clarifying the issues involved in these three types of vows - a topic about which we find a good deal of secondary literature from the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. We offer that the *śrāvakayāna prātimoksa*, as found in the Pali *Pātimokkha* texts, contains vows regarding the body, especially when 'body' (*kāya; sku*) is taken in the sense of intentionality or embodiment of volitions; that the bodhisattva *prāṭimoksa* deals essentially with vows about speech, when 'speech' (*vāca; ngag*), is taken in the sense of one's communicative abilities in terms of teaching others, the major concern of *bodhisattvayāna* in general; and that tantric vows, the type found in our present text, deal with

the mind (*citta; sems*), especially that mind which indulges in conceptualizations (*vikalpa; rtogs pa*) as a style of avoiding what is actually given in a situation (*dngos po*).

The Tibetan commentorial tradition generally sees restraint from misdeeds as the distinguishing feature (*mtshan gzhi*) of the *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa*, and in reading through the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha*[5] one sees that all of the *āpatti* or errors involve certain behaviours understood as misdeeds, and that the vows undertaken by a bhikkhu are essentially restraints against these misdeeds. Citing the *Abhidharmakośa-ṭīkā*, Kong sprul[6] gives this etymology for *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa*: 'As it restrains body and speech (from misdeeds), thus it is called *prāṭimoksa* vows or restraints.'

Although the Sa skya Paṇḍita, in his *sDom gsum*,[7] tells us that all three types of vows are harmonized in the tantric path, and that these three vows are likened to the three jewels, nevertheless the restraining character of the *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa* is understood as being at a lower level than the bodhisattva or tantric (*vidyādhāra*) vows, and that they are potentially subject to abrogation by these vows understood as higher.

Similarly, Kong sprul[8] says that the distinguishing feature of the *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa* is: '... morality which is not merely aspiring for the refuge of protection from fear and the wish for something good, but the thought of gaining peace for oneself (*rang nyid shi ba*) and developing a strong feeling of disgust (*nges pa 'byung pa*) for the whole cycle of *saṁsāra*.' Of course, in Tibetan Mahāyāna literature the idea of *rang shi* or 'self-pacification' is thought to be of a much lower order than the noble aspiration (*pranidhāna*) of the bodhisattva to save all sentient beings, so the nature of the *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa* is understood as lower than that of the bodhisattva.

The vows undertaken by the bodhisattva chiefly deal with the cultivation and maintenance of *bodhicitta*, which is the thought of attaining complete enlightenment for the welfare of all sentient beings. The *Bodhisattva Prāṭimokṣa Sūtra*[9] rather self-consciously distinguishes itself from the *śrāvakayāna prāṭimokṣa*. It says that the distinguishing feature of the bodhisattva *prāṭimokṣa* is that the bodhisattva works for the good (*artha*) of all sentient beings, while the *śrāvaka*, who need not do so, is basically concerned with his own goal.

Kong sprul[10] tells us that the bodhisattva vows involve four aspects: '(1) a special objective, namely being motivated by the attitude of acquiring *samyaksambodhi* (*rdzogs pa'i byang chub*) for the benefit of others; (2) trying to practise the factors conducive to *samyaksambodhi* (*mthun phyogs*); (3) abandoning all vulgar behaviours (*nyes spyod*) which are adverse to *samyaksambodhi*; and (4) morality of renunciation (*nges 'byung*), together with a mind in accord with all of the above.' Thus, according to both Kong sprul and the *Bodhisattva Prāṭimokṣa Sūtra*, what is essentially different about the bodhisattva vows is a concern for others, and it is in this sense that we maintain the relevance of the speech-communicativeness metaphor for the bodhisattva vows. That this concern is higher than the concerns of the *śrāvaka* is indicated by the Sa skya Paṇḍita's maintaining[11] that the *śrāvaka* vows are binding only for a single lifetime, while the bodhisattva vows carry from birth to birth.

The tantric or *vidyādhāra* vows deal with obscurations of mind (*jñeyāvaraṇa; shes sgrib*). Kong sprul[12] tells us that the nature (*ngo bo*) of tantric vows is: '... to be restrained (*sdom*) from the preconceptions of subject/object with its instincts (*'pho ba'i bag chags*), and to resolve to hold the wisdom (*ye shes; jñāna*) of great bliss (*mahāsukha; bde chen*) which restrains, and the mind which trains itself by this method.' He also gives this etymology for '*vidyādhāra* vows' (*rig 'dzin sdom*):[13] *Vidyā* means 'the excellent wisdom of the non-duality of subject/object, called "the wisdom of the great bliss" '; *dhāra* means

'though this *vidyā* is unborn, we re-call it' (*slar gsal gtap pa*); and vow means 'the method of re-calling it through the aspect of the deity (*lha'i rnam par*), or by being blessed (*adhiṣṭhāna; byin rlabs*).

Our text begins with a dedication to the *vajrācārya*, the tantric guru, to the *vīra* and *vīrā*, embodiments of the heroic deeds of one striving for enlightenment, and to the lord of the practice of yoga. There are then fourteen specific confessions, followed by three verses of entreaty which serve both to summarize the fourteen specific confessions and to pray for the accomplishment of *siddhi*. It is to the fourteen specific confessions that we wish to call attention.

Of these fourteen errors, eleven are clearly problems of conceptualization. Of the remaining three, two deal with vows of secrecy involved in tantric training, and one deals generally with the breaking of vows. To summarize, the eleven errors of conceptualization are: (1) undervaluing the guru; (2) disregarding Buddhist doctrines; (3) not adequately respecting the intimacy of the 'tantric family' or teaching situation; (4) not generating sufficient loving thought (*byams sems*) for all beings who are potential Buddhas; (5) losing *bodhicitta* by indulging in such conceptions as 'relative' and 'absolute'; (6) insufficiently regarding the integrity of all philosophic systems (*siddhānta; grub mtha'*), whether Buddhist or not; (7) regarding the five *skandhas* as problematic, whereas in reality they are the five wisdoms; (8) the prejudice of imposing affirmation or negation and moral judgements onto one's experience; (9) infatuation with those who are opposed to the Vajrayāna; (10) imposing one's own personal affirmation or negation onto the wisdom of *śūnyatā*; and (11) because of the *kleśa*, not sufficiently regarding one's own insight into the Buddhist path.

Clearly, then, the predominant notion of an 'error' in Indrabhūti's texts involves the conceptualizing mind, and perhaps the harmony of these three vows which the Sa skya Paṇḍita maintains is that of the harmony of body, speech and mind, a harmony which is the goal of all Buddhist practice.

## Notes

1. This text is not found in either the Co ne or sDe rge editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*, according to a personal communication from Professor Lewis Lancaster, University of California at Berkeley, dated October 26, 1978.
2. bLa ma chen po Mi 'jigs pa sbyin pa dpal, *'Phags yul grub chen brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin rlabs skor lus/ lo rgyus rnam par thar pa rnams bzhugs so//*, Varanasi: E. Kalsang, 1972, translated by Nathan Katz, 'A Translation of the Biography of the Mahāsiddha Indrabhūti with Notes,' Gangtok: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, XII, 1, 1975.
3. W.Y. Evans-Wentz (ed.), *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
4. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 3rd edition, 1968, p. 57f.
5. Ñāṇamoli Thera, (ed. & tr.), *The Pāṭimokkha: The Rule for Buddhist Monks*, Bangkok: King Mahā Makuṭa's Academy, 1969.
6. Kong sprul, *Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, intro. E.Gene Smith, *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, Parts I-III, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, Śāta-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 80, 1970, *'grel*, II:38: lus ngag sdom pa'i phyir so so thar pa'i sdom pa shes bya'o.

7. Sa skya Paṇḍita, *Rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sdom pa gsum rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos bzhugs so*, n.p.: The Press of the Indestructable Sacred Word, n.d., fasc. 55a.
8. Kong sprul, *op.cit., 'grel*, II:37.
9. Nalinaksha Dutt (ed. & tr.), 'Bodhisattva Prāṭimokṣa Sūtra,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, 1931, pp.259-286, 278.
10. Kong sprul, *op.cit., 'grel*, II:101.
11. Sa skya Paṇḍita, *op.cit.*, fasc. 2b.
12. Kong sprul, *op.cit., 'grel*, II:136-137.
13. *Ibid., 'grel;* II:137.

## Translation

Huṃ Vajrācārya, the one who is peerless
in the fundamentals of the *maṇḍala*
to the vīra and the vīrā,[1]
the Yogeśvara[2] and so forth,
I beg you to think of me compassionately.

I beg forgiveness from the *trikāya* of the gurus[3]
because, being intoxicated by the great disease of arrogance,
I have, by my recklessness, held the Vajrācārya,
who is the root of all *siddhi*, in contempt.

I sincerely declare and confess
having transgressed and disregarded,
by underestimating its worth,
the speeches from the holy mouths
of the indescribable Dharmakāya, the Sambhogakāya and
Nirmāṇakāya, which exist for the benefit of others.

I sincerely declare and confess
being angry with and rebuking the tantric family,[4]
which by one vow[5] is conjoined
of one guru, one wisdom consort[6] and one *maṇḍala*,
especially in other times.

I sincerely declare and confess,
because I have been unskilful and totally influenced by hatred,
the giving up of all beneficial and loving thought[7]
for all sentient beings, who are endowed with *Buddhagarbha*.[8]
the ability to become the holy, exalted offsprings of the
Jīna.[9]

I sincerely declare and confess,
by having succumbed to the influence of mundane preconceptions,[10]
the abandonment of the blissful *bodhicitta*,
which is the nature of all phenomena,
beyond the ideas of relative and ultimate.[11]

I sincerely declare and confess
abusing the philosophic systems[12]
of outsiders,[13] *śrāvakas*,[14] *pratyekabuddhas*,[15] mahāyānists[16]
and peerless secret mantrayānists,
those either seeking or having already entered the path.[17]

I sincerely declare and confess
the promulgation of secret *mantras, mūdras,* signs, *mantra,*
profound secrets and so forth, to improper containers,
those degenerated from the rituals, immature and
not suitable receptacles for the profound mantrayāna.

I sincerely declare and confess
killing, hindering, bashing, mortifying, abusing and
regarding as inferior,
the five *skandhas*,[18]
which are in reality the five Buddha-families
which are of the nature of the five wisdoms.[19]

I sincerely declare and confess
to the stainless Dharmadhātu[20]
my prejudices which prevented me from realizing
that, although all phenomena are by nature pure,
they are labelled into two as 'yes/no' and 'good/evil'.

I sincerely declare and confess to the guru,
the *triratna*,[21] my failure to convert,
in fact, my infatuation with, the people who abuse,
cast aspersions upon and disregard
the secret *mantra* and Vajrayāna.

I sincerely declare and confess
the labelling as 'yes' and 'no'
the great wisdom of the vacuity of constructed thought,[22]
in which there is not the least predicament
as all names are merely projections.[23]

I sincerely declare and confess
to those who are the devoted ones
and who follow the transmission
my being responsible for the loss of faith
of those who possess the initial disposition,
who are childlike,
by disclosing the profound words and tantric practices.

I sincerely declare and confess,
with a mind filled with extreme regret,
my not keeping by belittling
all branches of the vows
which should be known, safeguarded, engaged in and kept,
despite my knowing better.

I sincerely declare and confess
to the common and special peerless wisdom consort
abusing and seeing the shortcomings and faults
of the holy insight[25] into the external, internal and
secret (levels),[26]
having been motivated by the defilements.[27]

Though confession and what is to be confessed
are non-objectifiable,
in order to eliminate the instinctive thought-constructs,
as I sincerely confess to the exalted object of the holy vows,
so may I have happiness.

Please grant forgiveness, O compassionate protector!
(I have) cultivated the wisdom-consort which has no vow,
argued in the offering-circle[28] and so forth,
taken the elixir[29] and the inferior wisdom-consort,
not preached to the right containers who aspire to the secret Dharma,

and mislead the faithful ones with non-Dharmic talks,
passed more than seven days among the *śrāvakas*,[30]
claimed to be a tantrika only in name,
and wrongly disclosed mantra to improper containers,
contradicted and made mistakes in meditation and recitation
and committed errors of impure views and practice.

Please grant the *siddhi* of Brahama[31] quickly.
I declare and confess the degeneration of the vows of body.
I declare and confess the degeneration of the vows of speech.
I declare and confess the degeneration of the vows of mind.
I declare and confess the degeneration of the root vows.
I declare and confess the degeneration of the branch vows.
I declare, declare, declare to the wisdom deity.[32]
I confess, confess, confess to the assembly of the *ḍākinīs*[33]
of the vows.
By offering this declaration and confession,
please grant me the *siddhi* of Brahma.

## Notes to the Translation

1. *Vīra* and *vīrā* = *ḍpa' bo dpa' mo*, literally 'hero' and 'heroine', or the heroic quality of striving for enlightenment, as indicated by the Tibetan translation of 'bodhisattva' by *byang chub sems dpa'*.
2. The 'lord of yoga' = *yogeśvara* = *rnal 'byor dbang phyug*.
3. The '*trikāya* of the gurus' = *bla ma rnam gsum sku*.
4. 'Tantric family' means *vajrabandhu*, or that which is joined in the Vajrayāna. In this case, the *vajrabandhu* is composed of one guru, one wisdom-consort (*rig ma*) and one *maṇḍala*, brought together by the very nature of the vows, which are always described as mutually binding between the guru and disciple.
5. 'Vow' in this instance is our translation of *dam tshig* or *samaya*.
6. The 'wisdom-consort' or *rig ma* (*prajñā*) is the embodiment of the wisdom principle in a feminine form. Of course, this symbol is found repeatedly in tantric literature and iconography, and some dimensions of its usage are explored in my essay, 'Anima and mKha' 'gro ma: A Critical, Comparative Study of Jung and Tibetan Buddhism,' Dharamsala: *The Tibet Journal*, II, 3, 1977, pp.13-43.
7. 'Loving thought' is *byams sems* or *maitri*, which Kong sprul (*'grel*, II:101) says is 'the root of all virtue'.
8. *Buddhagarbha* or *sangs rgyas snying po* is the potentiality for awakening in all sentient beings.
9. *Jīna* or *rGyal ba* means 'the conqueror', an epithet of the Buddha and of the highest Tibetan lamas.
10. 'Mundane preconceptions', *'jig rten rnam rtog* or *vikalpa*, are conceptual avoidance devices employed by ego to avoid confronting its own insubstantiality.
11. *Bodhicitta*, according to *bodhisattvayāna* texts, is said to be either relative or ultimate. Āryadeva, in his *bZhi rgya pa*, chapter five, tells us that this distinction is based on whether or not the individual's

*bodhicitta* is suffused by the pure perception of *śūnyatā*.

12. The philosophic systems (*siddhānta; grub mtha'*), are summarized in Herbert V.Guenther, tr. and ann., *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice,* Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972.
13. 'Outsiders' = *phyi rol pa*, or non-Buddhists.
14. The '*śrāvakas*', or *nyan thos*, are literally the 'hearers' of the Buddha's teachings. The term *śrāvakayāna* (*theg pa'i nyan thos*) is generally an equivalent to the derisive '*hīnayāna*'. On the use of this term in Mahāyāna literature, see my doctoral dissertation, 'The Concept of the Arahant in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, with Reference to the Bodhisattva and the Mahāsiddha,' Temple University, 1978, esp. pp.448-479.
15. The *pratyekabuddha, rang rgyal* or *rang sangs rgyas*, originally was one who, according to the Buddha, was able to resolve the multi-lemma of *saṃsāra* outside of the Buddhist system. Gradually this term came to be used rather vaguely to discuss a type of Buddhist practitioner. A fine discussion of its original use in the Pali texts is M.A.G.T. Kloppenborg, *The Paccekabuddha,* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.
16. Mahāyānists (*theg pa chen po*) are followers of the bodhisattva method.
17. 'Those either seeking or having already entered the path' indicates the traditional notion that each stage of spiritual growth has both a generative and resultant aspect. The earliest use of this type of idea is found in the Pali Buddhist notion of the four paths and the four fruitions (*maggā* and *phalāni*); in the *bodhisattvayāna* it gets expressed through the ideas of wishing and engaging types of *bodhicitta* vows (*smon pa sems* and *'jug pa sems*); and in the Vajrayāna it is expressed as the general classification of tantras into causal and resultant, and which has been discussed by Tsong kha pa in his *sNgags rim chen mo*.
18. The five *skandhas* or *phung po* are the aggregates of form, sensation, recognition, volition and consciousness which make up what we call the 'individual'. These are often expressed as the 'five aggregates of clinging' (*upāndānakkhandā*) and are seen in Pali Buddhism as essentially problematic. Tantric Buddhism tends toward an intrinsic valuation of the person, and thus the five *skandhas* are here said to be of the nature of the five wisdoms.
19. See note 18. According to tantric Buddhism, the five wisdoms are none other than the five *skandhas* transmuted.
20. The *Dharmadhātu* (*chos kyi dbyings nyid*) or 'realm of Dharma' is none other than one's ordinary experiencing without conceptualizations.
21. The *triratna* or *dkon mchog gsum* means the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, and is identical with the triple refuge of Buddhism.
22. 'Constructed thought' (*rtog pa; vikalpa*) has been discussed in note 10 above.
23. See note 10 above; 'projections' is an alternate translation of the same term.
24. 'Practices' is our translation of the difficult term, *spyod* or *cārya*, which could alternatively be rendered as 'behaviour','carrying-out', 'coursing', etc.
25. 'Insight' = *shes rab* or *prajñā*.
26. The 'external, internal and secret (levels)' is one way of talking about the three *yānas*.
27. The 'defilements' (*kleśa, sgrib*) are ignorance, aversion and attraction, essentially, that which keeps one from enlightenment.
28. 'Offering-circle' = *gaṇacakra* = *tshogs 'khor*.
29. 'Elixir' = *bdud rtsi* = *amṛta*.

30. Passing seven days among the *śrāvakas* is understood in the *bodhisattvayāna* as one of the potential causes for losing *bodhicitta*.
31. The '*siddhi* of Brahma' is *tshangs pa'i dngos grub*, a way of expressing simply 'the highest *siddhi*.'
32. The 'wisdom deity' (*ye shes lha*) is, according to Tsong kha pa, the distinguishing characteristic of the tantric path. In his *sNgags rim chen mo* (partially translated by Jeffrey Hopkins, *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra,* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977) p.142, he says that the practices of visualization associated with this deity are the most direct method for the attainment of a Buddha-body or Buddha-intentionality.
33. See note 6.

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# THE MCMAHON LINE: THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISPUTED FRONTIER

Josef Kolmaš

As the subject of my paper I have chosen the question of the further development of the so-called McMahon Line after the conclusion of the tripartite conference between China, Britain and Tibet held in Simla in 1913-1914 (by coincidence exactly 65 years have elapsed, to be exact on 3rd July, since its termination).

It is adequately known from the relatively rich quantity of literature on the McMahon Line when, under what circumstances and in what way it was established, where this 'frontier' ran approximately and what validity is attached (or rather not attached) to it in international law.[1] To begin with I intend merely to recapitulate certain basic facts.

At the time of the tripartite Anglo-Sino-Tibetan negotiations on the delimitation of the frontiers between Tibet and Inner China, held at intervals and, in essence, unsuccessfully, from October 1913, separate secret Anglo-Tibetan discussions on a joint Indo-Tibetan (*de facto* Chinese) frontier along the sector between Bhutan and Burma simultaneously took place in February and March 1914 in Simla (and partially also in Delhi). As is generally known, China was not invited to take part in them under the pretext that the question of the Indo-Tibetan frontiers did not directly concern it.[2]

The fact that, in variance with the original tripartite character of the conference and without regard to the legal aspect of the matter, Great Britain acceded to separate negotiations with Tibet and finally reached an agreement on the subject of frontiers merely proved that it did not want to miss the opportunity of solving, to its own advantage, the problem of the frontiers between British India and its northern neighbour. Charles Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim and McMahon's adviser on Tibetan matters, who led the negotiations on behalf of the British party, said the following on this question:

> The opportunity was also taken to negotiate the frontier to be established between Tibet and north-eastern India ... It proved fortunately possible to establish the frontier between India and Tibet over eight hundred and fifty miles of difficult and dangerous country. We have thus gained a frontier standing back everywhere about a hundred miles from the plains of India.[3]

In another of his works the same author admits quite openly to the manner in which the establishment of the Indo-Tibetan frontier in the given sector came about:

> It was one of my duties to negotiate with the Tibetan Plenipotentiary the frontier to be established between Tibet and north-eastern India, following for this purpose a line, eight hundred and fifty miles long, marked out on a map by the British Plenipotentiary, Sir Henry McMahon. I was able to gain Sha-tra's consent to the frontier *desired* [italics mine - JK] by Sir Henry, which stands back everywhere about a hundred miles from the plains of India.[4]

The Tibetan delegate Lönchen Shatra, who separately negotiated the Indo-Tibetan frontier, likewise proceeded incompetently in view of the then legal status of Tibet. The question of the extent to which this Tibetan delegate really negotiated freely and the degree to which he acted under pressure from the British negotiators also remain open problems.[5]

The course of the discussions between Bell and Shatra on the Indo-Tibetan

frontier was a simple matter on the whole. In February 1914 the British party had already sent the Tibetan party two exemplars of a map on which the route of the frontier between 'Outer Tibet' and the neighbouring regions of North East India proposed by the British was indicated in red. As is clear from the text of the notes exchanged between McMahon and Shatra on 24th and 25th March, 1914, the Tibetan government had no substantial objections to the British proposal and agreed that Shatra should sign and seal it.[6] One exemplar of this map remained in the hands of the British government in India, the other being kept by the Tibetan government.[7]

The route of the frontier was drawn on two sheets (I and II) of the official map entitled *North East Frontier, Provisional Issue. Rough Compilation* issued - 'for official use only' - at a scale of eight miles to the inch by the General Staff India in August 1913. Both exemplars of the map were provided on each sheet with the inscription: 'Map showing India Tibet frontier as mutually agreed upon by the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries'. Then followed the signature and official seal of the British plenipotentiary A.H. McMahon, after these the seal and signature of the Tibetan plenipotentiary, the Tibetan Minister (*Bod-kyi bka'-blon*) Bshad-sgra-dpal-'byor-rdo-rje (i.e. Lönchen Shatra), and, finally, the place and time (Delhi, 24th March, 1914).

Notes were exchanged between the two plenipotentiaries in connection with the signing of the map (McMahon's note is dated 24 March and Shatra's 25th March 1914) in which the establishment of the frontier between India and Tibet was confirmed in writing.

And with this the separate Anglo-Tibetan negotiations on the Indo-Tibetan frontier in the sector between Bhutan and Burma, or on the so-called McMahon Line, formally came to an end. The Chinese delegate to the Simla conference, Ch'en I-fan (Ivan Chen), had the possibility for the first time of becoming generally acquainted with the route of this frontier as late as the 27th April, 1914, the day on which the draft of the Simla Convention was initialled, i.e. 35 days *post factum*, and, moreover, not in its original, detailed version, but only on the general map showing, according to Article IX of the draft of the convention, the whole route of the frontiers of 'Inner' and 'Outer' Tibet into which the India-Tibet sector of the frontiers of 'Outer Tibet' was incorporated supplementarily and on a considerably decreased (and inaccurate) scale.[8]

To this brief recapitulation of the problems connected with the McMahon Line I should now like to add a couple of comments concerning its fate after 1914. The first is connected with the publication of the official documents on the McMahon Line (Notes and Maps) and the second with the drawing of this frontier on official maps and atlases.

With regard to the question of the publication of the official materials concerning the McMahon Line, I should like to point out that in international treaty-making practice the good principle prevails according to which international agreements, on becoming officially valid, are usually sooner or later published or at least registered in a collection of laws or some other official publication of this kind by the countries concerned in order to make them generally known on the one hand and to demonstrate the regularity of the adopted commitments to the home and foreign public on the other hand.

From a study of the relevant sources and other materials it comes to light that the text (without the map) of the 24/25th March 1914 notes between the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries on the McMahon Line appeared for the first time in Volume XIV of C.U. Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries* ('Revised and

continued up to 1929 by the authority of the Foreign and Political Department. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch'), pp.34-35. True, the year 1929 is given on the title page of this volume ('Vol. XIV containing the treaties, etc., relating to Eastern Turkistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Siam') as the year of publication, but in actual fact *two* versions or variants of it exist - separated by a period of nine years. The first version, that of 1929 (the original issue), does not contain the text of the McMahon Line Notes, but it is included in the second version (revised issue) of 1938. As has now been proved conclusively, the second version was produced by certain persons in the British Indian government in New Delhi; this revised issue (with the Notes) being intended to replace the original issue (minus the Notes) without, however, any change in the date of publication of the book. Sixty-two exemplars of the thus supplementarily 'topicalized' 14th volume of Aitchison's *Treaties* were allegedly sent to the India Office in London with the request that all available copies of the original version of Volume XIV be withdrawn and replaced with revised issues.[9] Naturally not all the original exemplars were destroyed. Some have been preserved, especially at foreign public and private libraries from where it was impossible to withdraw and liquidate them. One of these exemplars exists, for example, at the Harvard University Library[10] and another in the India Office Records.[11] The respective Notes are also missing in the exemplar which was lent to me by the Westdeutsche Bibliothek at Marburg for my work in the past; they are also missing in the exemplar which I borrowed this year from the Universitätsbibliothek at Tübingen in order to check and verify my data (the copy in this case was the modern reprint issue of the original 13th and 14th volumes of Aitchison's *Treaties* of Messrs.Kraus Reprint, A Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1973).

In later years the McMahon Line Notes were published, for example, by C. Sen (1960), H.E. Richardson (1962), A.Lamb (1966) and others.

In January 1960, when he completed his work *Tibet Disappears*, C.Sen still said that the map with the added McMahon Line which accompanied (in two copies) the two notes dated 24th and 25th March, 1914, had not yet been published (pp. 63 and 64). However, in his book *Tibet and Its History* (1962) H.E. Richardson was able to state that the mentioned map 'has been published for the first time in *An Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India*, issued on 15 January 1960 by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India' (pp. 267-268).[12]

The Chinese party (as has already been said in Note 7) gained possession after 1951 of an exemplar of the original map with the McMahon Line included, owned until then by the Tibetan government. The Chinese acceded to its publication in 1962 in connection with the Sino-Indian border conflict (see *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question*, Reference Map 6, two sheets).

Now for the question as to when the McMahon Line first began to appear on maps as a new cartographic fact. According to the ascertainment of Karunakar Gupta, the Indian expert on South Asia and the Far East, at the time when Volume XIV of Aitchison's *Treaties* was revised it was also indicated to the Surveyor-General of India that the maps issued by the Survey of India should be relevantly revised in order to show the frontier of North East India in accordance with the route of the half-forgotten McMahon Line. Due to the inaccessibility of the necessary sources I am unable to prove whether this was done then (in 1938). According to the same author, the McMahon Line appeared on British maps for the first time as late as in 1940, namely in *The Times Handy Atlas*.[13] Up till then, or for a whole quarter of a century after the establishment of the McMahon Line, the frontier was not marked according to McMahon's alignment on British or Indian maps of India or China in the sector between Bhutan and Burma and instead there appeared a frontier line showing the situation in this region up to the establishment of the McMahon Line.[14] This line, winding in the vicinity of the

foot of the hills, was roughly concordant with the version known from Chinese maps and atlases of the Republican and later period and which, in current Chinese terminology, is called the 'traditional customary line'.[15]

The fact that British and Indian authorities seemingly forgot to revise their maps in this sector of the Indo-Chinese frontier and to bring them into accord with the results of the Anglo-Tibetan negotiations on this question at the time of the Simla conference is documented in different ways also by British authors themselves. I consider the statements of some of them to be of such importance in this respect that I should like to quote them *in extenso*.

For example, Sir Robert Reid, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service who was Governor of Assam from 1937 to 1942 and later Acting Governor of Bengal, wrote in his article 'The Excluded Areas of Assam' of 1944:

> The international boundary of Assam and Tibet has never been defined, but in 1914 a tentative agreement was reached which was embodied in a line on the map - our map - called the McMahon Line ... China never ratified the agreement, the war of 1914-18 intervened, the 1914 Convention was never published [in 1944 that was no longer true, as is clear from my previous explanation - JK], and the fact is that the McMahon Line was forgotten until a few years ago.[16]

Another British expert on the given problems, J.P. Mills, who held the most varied official functions in the Indian Civil Service in North East India in the years 1913 to 1947, wrote in 1950, when he lectured at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, in his article 'Problems of the Assam-Tibet Frontier':

> ... the outbreak of the 1914-18 war led to the Convention's being forgotten. Even maps issued by the Survey of India do not show the boundary which we agreed upon with Tibet, and that has been a source of serious trouble.[17]

A.J. Hopkinson, once the British Trade Agent in Tibet (1926-28) and from 1945 Political Office in Sikkim, wrote about the McMahon Line in his article 'The Position of Tibet':

> ... it is that treaty [the Simla Convention - JK] also which secures the boundary of Assam, though owing to other pre-occupation, we forgot, or omitted, to vindicate the boundary allotted to us, which is commonly known as the McMahon Line.[18]

Ten years later, in 1960, Sir Olaf Caroe, who throughout World War II was Secretary of the Department of External Affairs of the Government in India, and Governor of the North-west Frontier Province from 1946 to 1947, expressed himself in a similar sense, but even more pregnantly. In his article for *The Geographical Journal* he admitted quite frankly that:

> China is on stronger ground in observing that many British maps, before and after 1914, showed India's frontier along the municipal line at the skirt of the foothills, and that British maps were not generally amended to designate a frontier according to the McMahon Line until some twenty years had passed ... It must be admitted that we left India with a quite unnecessarily difficult heritage by our failure to bring the maps promptly into consonance with international agreement. The failure was largely due to the outbreak of war in 1914 just after the Simla Convention, and the departure of McMahon himself to Egypt.[19]

Professor Owen Lattimore, an acknowledged expert on Chinese border problems, likewise states (in his article 'India-Tibet-China: Starting Principle for Frontier Demarcation'):

> They [i.e. the British - JK] never occupied and administered this 'McMahon Line' territory; they forgot even to show the 'McMahon Line' on maps published by the Survey of India.[20]

In the Forties the British, whose field of competence included problems of the Indian frontiers up to 1947, entrusted their official J.P. Mills with the task of bringing official British maps of India in the Tibet-Assam sector into concord with the thirty years old, but forgotten 'facts' of the McMahon Line. For this purpo<sup></sup>se Mills explored in detail the geographical, ethnical and historical conditions prevailing on the large tertitory of the Indian state of Assam neighbouring directly upon Tibet. He described the difficulties he encountered in the course of his work as follows:

> In 1943 I was allotted the task of making the Convention boundary good ... Our official maps ... showed the boundary along the base of the hills. The Tibetans issued no maps and said, in effect, that they could not find the papers about the Convention. What they really meant was that if we had forgotten the boundary for over twenty-nine years we could go on forgetting about it altogether. China was issuing maps showing Tibet as one of her Provinces with the boundary about 100 miles on the Indian side of the Convention Line.[21]

So much, then, for British authors themselves. As is evident from the official materials published by the Chinese party in 1962 on the Sino-Indian border conflict then under way, the border between India and China in the Assam-Tibet sector was first drawn absolutely clearly according to the McMahon Line on the official map of India from 1950 - *India: Showing Political Divisions in the New Republic* published by the Survey of India (this map is usually quoted as the '70-Mile Political Map of India, First Edition'). From the cartographic aspect, however, this frontier was still marked as an 'undemarcated international boundary'.[22] The boundary between the so-called North East Frontier Agency (NEFA; now the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh) and the neighbouring regions on the Chinese side (the Chinese People's Republic) was definitely drawn as a delimited 'international boundary' as late as on the second issue of the same official map of India from 1954 - *Political Map of India* published by the Survey of India (quoted as the '70-Mile Political Map of India, Second Edition').[23] Indian (and also certain other) maps still present the boundary between India and China in the sector between Bhutan and Burma in this form.[24]

On the other hand, at the time when British and Indian authorities thus inconsistently marked the route of the frontier between India and China in the given sector and arbitrarily changed its character, maps were and still are issued in China (and elsewhere in the world) which in general consistently draw this boundary far to the south of the assumed route of the so-called McMahon Line, or, in other words, according to the so-called 'traditional customary line' running roughly along the northern border of the Assam plains and the southern foot of the Himalayan ridge.[25] The disputed territory which originated as the result of the differently presented boundaries covers an area of approximately 90,000 square kilometres (Chinese estimate) or 32,000 square miles (Indian estimate).

This abnormal state of affairs - both on maps and in reality - which I have tried to characterize briefly, is merely the result of the fact that a *formal, treaty-based agreement between competent representatives of the interested parties,* i.e. India and China, *on the question of the Indo-Chinese frontier in the Bhutan-Burma sector was never*, that is, neither before nor during the Simla conference or later, *reached.* The so-called 'traditional customary line', on which the Chinese viewpoint is based, is a somewhat vague concept and the

other party categorically rejects the idea of its existence. On the other hand, the separate Anglo-Tibetan so-called McMahon Line lacks, for many good reasons, legal validity and China does not feel bound to respect it. However, if we do not admit the right of one party to interpret one-sidedly and also draw the boundary with its northern neighbour according to the illegal McMahon Line, it does not mean that we automatically admit the right of the other party to interpret equally one-sidedly and also draw the boundary with its southern neighbour according to the indefinite 'traditional customary line'.

We know from the further process of development that the unclarified and differently interpreted situation on the boundaries of the two countries was still able to evoke disputes between them even after many years. The conflict between India and China in 1962 thus only confirmed once more the danger concealed in the unsolved problem of their joint frontiers.[26] If the situation of 1962 is not to be repeated in the future, obviously nothing remains for the two parties concerned but to reach an agreement, on the basis of equal rights, governing the precise, just and mutually acceptable delimitation of their joint boundaries. Such a delimitation would replace the two one-sided and thus mutually unacceptable lines - the 'McMahon Line' and the 'traditional customary line' - and thereby form a new and better foundation for their co-existence.

## Notes

1. Of basic importance for problems connected with the McMahon Line is Alistair Lamb's two-volume work *The McMahon Line: A Study in the Relations between India, China and Tibet, 1904 to 1914*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul - Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966 (Studies in Political History, edited by Michael Hurst). The work also contains all the relevant sources and literature.
2. On this occasion the British negotiators probably based their considerations on the following lines: (a) the British proposals concerning the solution of the problems of the status and boundaries of Tibet of 17th February and 11th March, 1914, anticipated the division of Tibet into two zones - Inner and Outer Tibet - and vindicated autonomy for Outer Tibet; (b) on the maps accompanying these draft proposals India neighbours directly only upon Outer Tibet. From this the conclusion - naturally an erroneous one - was derived that the question of the Indo-Tibetan boundary was the exclusive concern of Outer Tibet and India and that China was not involved at all.
3. C.Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, p.155.
4. C.Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama,* London: Collins, 1946, p.206.
5. A.Lamb, *op.cit.*, pp. 547 *et seq.*
6. In his letter to Shatra dated 24th March, 1914, McMahon said, among other things: 'I understand that your Government have now agreed to this frontier ... I shall be glad to learn definitely from you that this is the case' (see, for example, Chanakya Sen, *Tibet Disappears: A Documentary History of Tibet's International Status,* London-Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960, p.63). In his reply of the following day Shatra said: 'I submitted the map which you sent to me in February last, to the Tibetan

Government at Lhasa for orders. I have now received orders from Lhasa, and I accordingly agree to the boundary as marked in red in the two copies of the maps signed by you' (C.Sen, *op.cit.*, p.64).

7. In the same letter addressed to McMahon, Shatra said: 'I have signed and sealed the two copies of the maps. I have kept one copy here and return herewith the other' (C.Sen, *ibid.*). This exemplar, which was in the possession of the Tibetan government, most likely found its way into the hands of the Chinese government after 1951, when the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (23rd May, 1951) was concluded with the Chinese People's Republic. Chou En-Lai, for example, speaks in this sense in his 'Letter to the Leaders of Asian and African Countries on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question', November 15, 1962: see *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question,* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1962 (2nd enlarged edition), p.27. For an explicit statement of this fact see, for example, *Peking Review*, No.43 (26 October 1962), p.10.

8. H.E.Richardson, *Tibet and Its History*, London: Oxford University Press, 1962, pp.116-117, writes: 'The Chinese were not invited to take part in the discussions about the Indo-Tibetan frontier and their specific acceptance of it was not sought; but they were provided with information about it, for the McMahon Line was later embodied, on a reduced scale, in the map showing the proposed boundaries of Inner and Outer Tibet under Article IX of the draft tripartite Convention, which was initialled by all three plenipotentiaries.' The map in question has been published for the first time in *An Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India*, issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India, New Delhi, 1960, Map 23. In the same year it was printed on a reduced scale by Sir Olaf Caroe in his article 'The Geography and Ethnics of India's Northern Frontiers' published in *The Geographical Journal*, Volume 126 (1960), Part 3(September), map following p.308. However, this author arbitrarily distorted the real state of affairs when, to this map bearing the text 'We hereby *initial* [italics mine - JK] in token of our acceptance, this 27th day of April 1914. A H.M. British Plenipotentiary; Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary, Blon-chen Bshad-sgra-dpal-'byor-rdo-rje [in Tibetan cursive script - JK]', he presented the following explanation: 'Map to illustrate Article 9 of the Simla Convention, 1914, initialled by the British Representative and signed by the Chinese and Tibetan Representatives. The two latter did not merely initial the convention but signed it.' Is it possible that Sir Olaf, a man of great experience, failed to take into account the fact that neither Chinese names written in Chinese characters nor Tibetan names written in Tibetan script can be written, in our sense of the word, with initials and that the 'initials' of the Tibetan representative on this document are identical with his whole name, whereas the Chinese representative Ch'en I-fan used as 'initials' the anglicized form of his name, i.e. Ivan Chen?

9. For further details concerning 'manipulation' with the 14th volume of the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties* see Karunakar Gupta, 'The McMahon Line 1911-45: The British Legacy', *The China Quarterly*, July-September, 1971, No.47, pp.521-545 (especially p.535 *et seq.*). See also A.Lamb, *op.cit.*, p.546, note 26.

10. A.Lamb, *ibid.*

11. Karunakar Gupta, *op.cit.*, p.536.

12. Similarly also A.Lamb, *op.cit.*, p.618, note 2.

13. Karunakar Gupta, *op.cit.*, p.537.

14. Cf. *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question*, Reference Map 2A (the map 'Tibet and Adjacent Countries', published by the Survey of India in 1917) and

Reference Map 2B (detail of the map of China on pp.68-69 of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, 1929, Volume 24).

15. Compare, for example, *Chung-hua min-kuo hsin ti-t'u* (New Atlas of the Republic of China), published in Shanghai in 1934 (maps Nos.1-3, but especially Nos.50 and 51); *Chung-hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo ti-t'u-chi* (Atlas of the Chinese People's Republic) published in Shanghai in 1957 (especially the map of Tibet and the Ch'ang-tu Region on pp.72-73); *Chung-hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo fen-sheng ti-t'u-chi* (Atlas of the Chinese People's Republic According to Provinces), Peking, 1974. See also the official map of China, 'The Republic of China' in the appendix to the *China Yearbook 1961-1962* (Taipei, Taiwan, 1962), or *The Standard Map of China* published by Dah Chung Book Co., Hong Kong, 1973.
16. R.Reid, 'The Excluded Areas of Assam', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.103, (1944), Nos.1-2 (January-February), p.19.
17. J.P.Mills, 'Problems of the Assam-Tibet Frontier', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol.37 (1950), Part II (April), p.154.
18. A.J.Hopkinson, 'The Position of Tibet', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol.37 (1950), Parts III-IV (July-October), p.232.
19. O.Caroe, 'The Geography and Ethnics of India's Northern Frontiers', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.126 (1960), Part 3 (September), p.307.
20. O.Lattimore, 'India-Tibet-China: Starting Principle for Frontier Demarcation', *The Economic Weekly Annual*, January- 1960, p.137.
21. J.P.Mills, *op.cit.*, p.154.
22. For a partial reproduction of this map see the appendix to *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question*, Reference Map 3.
23. For a partial reproduction of this map see the appendix to *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question*, Reference Map 4. The difference between 'delimited' and 'demarcated' lies in the fact that 'delimitation' means the establishment of a frontier on the basis of a treaty document and its definition in written verbal terms, while 'demarcation' means the concrete marking-out of a boundary in the field (with border posts and so on).
24. See, for example, the map 'India's Frontier with China' issued by the Director, Press Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, on 28 September, 1959, which is reproduced by C.Sen, *Tibet Disappears*, after page 464 (with an official verbal accompaniment on pp.465-467.
25. See any of the Chinese maps and atlases quoted in note 15.
26. Was it irony on the part of fate that it was Sir Henry McMahon himself, with whose name an 850 miles long sector of the Indo-Tibetan frontier is connected, who pronounced the following words in his Presidential Address (1935-36) to the Royal Society of Arts, London: 'The lessons of history teach us the grave political dangers of an ill-defined and undemarcated frontier... I fear that future history may have to record yet further wars arising from disputes over undemarcated boundaries' (quoted in Karunakar Gupta, *op.cit.*, p.530, note 26).

# A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CHAP. VI OF THE *GZER-MIG*

Per Kvaerne

The line of research which, in a modest way, I shall try to develop in this paper, was suggested to me by two articles. The first was Anne-Marie Blondeau 'Le Lha-'dre bka'-thaṅ' in which one of the parts of the 14th century Nyingmapa *gter-ma*, the *bKa'-thang sde-lnga* (*KTDNg*) is compared with the *gZer-mig* (*ZM*), the Bonpo text containing the biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab.[1] A.-M. Blondeau establishes that contrary to what Western scholarship had taken for granted until then, the *ZM* is probably the older text, and the *Lha'-dre°* an adaptation of certain parts of the *ZM* to a new purpose, namely the glorification of Padmasambhava instead of sTon-pa gShen-rab.

The second article is S.G. Karmay 'A *gZer-mig* version of the interview between Confucius and Phyva Ken-tse lan-med',[2] in which he shows how a non-Tibetan literary motif, viz. the Chinese motif of Confucius meeting a boy wiser than himself, has been incorporated in the *ZM*. He has thus pioneered the literary analysis of the *ZM*, a task to which I shall attempt to make a small contribution.

A central episode in one of the texts of the *KTDNg*, the *bTsun-mo bka'-thang*, is the series of events triggered off by the passionate love for the monk Vairocana which arises in queen Tshe-spong-bza',one of the wives of king Khri-srong lde-btsan.[3] One fine morning, the queen contrives to send her husband, her children, and the servants, out of the palace so that she is alone when Vairocana comes on his daily alms-round. She serves him a sumptuous meal, and then, casting all sense of propriety and shame aside, she throws herself on him, reveals her passion, and begs for his love. Terrified and confused, Vairocana manages to escape. Deeply offended by this act of repulsion, however, the queen tears her clothes, scratches her face, and calls for help, and when at last she is able to still her sobs, she tells the king a shocking tale of how the monk, on finding her alone, had attempted to ravish her.

Realizing that he can no longer stay at the king's court, Vairocana sadly leaves for a distant forest where he practices meditation in solitude. However, in order to turn the wicked queen's thoughts towards religion, he compels a *klu* to enter her body and cause a terrible disease. The efforts of doctors and soothsayers are all in vain.

Vairocana then sends the goddess dPal-ldan lha-mo to the king's palace in the form of a female soothsayer. She throws lots, discerns the cause of the disease, and announces that only by inviting the master Padmasambhava and confessing her sins, may the queen be healed. This is done, and Padmasambhava summons Vairocana. The queen confesses her guilt, and elaborate rituals are performed, with the result that she is cured.

The purpose of this colourful story is clearly the glorification of Padmasambhava who, by the time the *KTDNg* appeared as a *gter-ma*, had come to be regarded as the great master of more than human powers, thanks to whom Buddhism had been firmly implanted in the Land of Snows.[4] However, as early as 1928 A.H. Francke noted that the *ZM* narrates exactly the same story in Chap. VI. Of course, in the *ZM* the main actors have different names. The scene is now the land of Hos-mo gling-drug; the king is Hos-rje Dang-ba yid-ring; the queen is Phya-za Gu-ling ma-ti. The virtuous monk is Yid-kyi khye'u-chung, 'The Little Youth of the Mind', the emanation of the World-God (*srid-pa*), and the master who effects the cure and to whose glory the story is told, is of course sTon-pa gShen-rab, the Buddha and Teacher of the present age according to the Bon religion.[5]

Recently A.-M. Blondeau, referring specifically to this story, has pointed out the priority of the *ZM* as compared with the *bTsun-mo°*.[6] This raises the question of the presence and origin of this story in the *ZM*. In this connection it should be noted that the actual agent causing the disease is a *klu* and I suggest that the whole story, as related in the *ZM* (and, consequently, in the *bTsun-mo°*), is basically a reinterpretation of the ancient Tibetan ritual and mythological theme of disorder caused by man, resulting in disease sent by the irritated *klu* (or other supernatural beings), subsequent unsuccessful attempts at healing by one type of ritual expert, and, finally the successful attempt at healing made by a representative of another group of ritual experts.

This theme is well attested in the Tun-huang documents, and may be outlined as follows:[7]

I. The 'hero', who may be human or divine, commits some act which destroys a state of harmony, thereby angering a supernatural being. The fatal act may consist in hunting animals which somehow are sacred, or causing the forests of the country to be destroyed.

II. He is consequently afflicted by disease and either hovers between life and death, or actually dies.

III. In its simplest form, he is cured by one or several ritual experts, styled *bon-po* or *gshen*. In a more complex form, the first ritual experts, often referred to as 'a hundred male and a hundred female *gshen*', perform oracles but are unable to find the remedy.

IV. In the extended form of the story, the next step is the summoning of one or several *bon-po*. They remove the pollution and by means of oracles find the correct remedy.

V. Finally the hero is cured, and stated to be 'better than before'.

As R.A. Stein has shown, essentially the same narrative, repeated over and over again with slight variations as to detail, is to be found in the later ritual text entitled *Klu-'bum*, which has found a place in lamaist ritual. As is indicated by its name, this text is concerned with the propitiation of the *klu*. Stein has published an example of the stereotype found in the *Klu-'bum*.[8] His description may be summarised in the following five points, which, as will be seen, closely correspond to the narrative as found in the Tun-Huang documents:

I. The *klu*, who are 'guardians of the soil', are upset by man's activity as *homo faber*, in particular by changes made in the surface of the soil, such as ploughing, digging up stones, cutting down trees, etc.

II. They consequently afflict the 'hero' of the story with disease.

III. A ritual expert, a *bon-po*, is summoned. 'He consults the oracle and performs rites ... but is unable to find the name of the god who is the cause'.[9] Likewise the medicines prescribed by a physician are without effect.

IV. A deity is appealed to and reveals the cause of the disease, but gives no remedy.

V. gShen-rab is summoned. He not only identifies the cause of the disease, but also its remedy. He performs the appropriate rites whereby the *klu* are pacified, and the 'hero' is cured.

In the *ZM*, the same basic structure is found in Chap. VI:

I. The moral norm of chastity and fidelity is broken by the queen.

II. She is punished by means of disease caused by a *klu*.

III. Various ritual devices are resorted to, but to no avail.

IV. A female diviner reveals the cause of the disease, and indicates the remedy, but does not effect a cure.

V. sTon-pa gShen-rab is summoned. He causes the queen to repent, performs the appropriate rites, exorcises the *klu*, and after elaborate rituals the

queen is cured. As her thoughts are not turned to religion, her state is 'better than before'.

It is immediately seen that the parallel between the *ZM* and the *Klu-'bum* is very close, and I would suggest that this episode in the *ZM* is based on the *Klu-'bum* or on some other prototype, perhaps oral, related to it. This close relationship is evident not only from the identity of structure, but also from a number of details. For example, the question arises why, according to the *ZM*, it is Yid-kyi khye'u-chung who is sent by gShen-rab to the land of Hos-mo gling-drug. Why not one of the other disciples, for instance rMa-lo or g.Yu-lo? The answer, in terms of textual history, is evident if we regard the *Klu-'bum*, for there Yid-kyi khye'u-chung plays an important role, either as an intermediary between the sick person and gShen-rab[10], or as the actual healer acting together with sTon-pa gShen-rab and indeed identified with him.[11]

At the same time there are certain significant aspects of the *ZM* which illustrate how the mythical and ritual narrative of the *Klu-'bum*, essentially belonging to the autochthonous, pre-Buddhist religion, has been recast to serve the purposes of a new religion, viz. the Bon religion as it emerges on the religious scene in Tibet in the late 10th/early 11th centuries.

We note, first of all, that the fault which causes the disease is a moral one, a breach of certain universal ethical norms. The wicked passion of the queen does not upset a demon or a deity; it is the universal moral order which is upset, a fact which is brought out in the *ZM* by describing the mute sorrow of the birds and animals when Yid-kyi khye'u-chung approaches the palace on his daily alms-round on the day after the fatal incident.

True, it is a *klu*, exactly as in the *Klu-'bum*, which actually causes the disease. But it is spurred to action not because it is irritated by the behaviour of the queen, but because it is forced to act by the powerful mudrās and mantras of Yid-kyi khye'u-chung. The *klu* is a dangerous, but distinctly inferior being. When the disease has had the desired effect on the queen, the *klu* is once more compelled to leave her body, and while the *ZM* says that, once liberated, it goes 'leaping back to its own country', its status is even further diminished in the twelve-volume, 14th century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab, the *gZi-brjid*, for there it is given human shape, the size of a little boy, by gShen-rab and ordained as a monk.[12]

It is true, certainly, that the element of moral causation, i.e. the law of karma, is not absent in the *Klu-'bum*. This is not surprising, as the narratives contained in it have gone through a process of lamaist redaction. Thus on one occasion, Yid-kyi khye'u-chung, summoned to perform a cure after the *bon-po* Mu-cho ldem-drug (who, incidentally, plays a significant role in the *ZM* as one of the chief disciples of gShen-rab) has been unsuccessful, says 'Why do you cast lots and seek a diagnosis? It (i.e. the disease) is due to the power of former deeds'.[13] On the other hand, while precisely this idea is fundamental in the *ZM*, it is incidental in the *Klu-'bum*, where there is no question of *sdig-pa* 'sin' causing disease, but of *sgrib-pa* 'pollution' or *nyes* 'fault'.

Let us return to the story of queen Gu-ling ma-ti and her passion for the virtuous monk. We have identified the basic structure of this story, viz. disorder > subsequent disease > final cure. This may, I believe, justifiably be called an autochthonous Tibetan element. However, the story obviously contains another motif, of secondary importance but equal interest, viz. 'the motif of Potiphar's wife'.[14] The story is found in the Bible, in Genesis Chap. 39, vv. 7-20. However, it is much older than Genesis, being attested in Egyptian literature as early as the 19th Dynasty, i.e. the 13th century B.C., and it has had an extremely wide diffusion, particularly in Asia.[15] In India the oldest examples are to be found in the Pāli jātakas, where it occurs twice, in jātaka

No.472, the *Mahāpadumajātaka*, and No. 120, the *Bandhanamokkhajātaka*.[16] Very briefly, the story is as follows. In the *Mahāpaduma°* the bodhisattva, Padumakumāra, son of king Brahmadatta, is desired by his stepmother. When the king is about to return from a military campaign, she attempts to seduce the young and handsome prince, but he leaves the palace. The queen then scratches her body and pretends to be ill, and when the king comes to enquire, she accuses the prince of having attempted to ravish her. From here the story somewhat differs from the *ZM*, as the prince is arrested, beaten, and finally thrown over a cliff. However, he is caught up in mid-air by the deity of the hill, and just as in *ZM*, he spends some time among the nāgas. Later he goes to the Himalayas to meditate. The king, hearing of this, repents, goes to salute his son, and is admonished. He returns to the capital and punishes the queen by throwing her over the same cliff. A similar story is also connected with King Aśoka in the *Divyāvadāna*.

In jātaka No.120, we are closer to the story as found in the *ZM*. The bodhisattva is a brahmin and purohita to the king, in other words, his role is identical to that of Yid-kyi khye'u-chung. Also, he succeeds in convincing the king of his innocence, and the queen confesses her evil deed. Finally, the bodhisattva persuades the king to desist from punishing the queen.

The jātakas as well as the avadānas have been translated into Tibetan and have enjoyed great popularity in Tibet. The motif is also present in the *'Dzangs-blun* (Chap. 16 and 36), which, as A.-M. Blondeau has pointed out, was translated into Tibetan during the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (Pelliot tib. 943).[17] In other words, the motif is well attested in Tibetan literature of Indian origin, and its presence in the *ZM* (and hence in the *bTsun-mo°*) can best be accounted for on the assumption that it has first passed through such translated literature, or - and this would perhaps seem even more likely - has been part of a floating body of popular literature, continually receiving impulses from written literature, but also providing written literature with a fund of material. An example of the motif as found in popular literature is its presence in the *ro-sgrung*.[18]

In such a perspective, it is neither irrelevant nor surprising to discover that it is in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva - which has not been translated into Tibetan - that a version is found which would seem to come closest to that of the *ZM*. It is the story of king Mahāsena, his virtuous brahmin minister Guṇasarman, and the amorous queen Aśokavatī.[19] The story begins as usual, including Guṇasarman's use of a pretext to escape from the embraces of the queen. The king, on hearing the queen's story, promises to punish the brahmin. When Guṇasarman goes to the palace after some days, he is met by unfavourable omens, just as Yid-kyi khye'u-chung is met by weeping animals and confused servants. He is not saluted by the king, but is accused of the crime. In the same way as Yid-kyi khye'u-chung he escapes, but instead of living for a time as an ascetic, which in fact was his intention, and which would have conformed with the *ZM*, he is persuaded by another brahmin to propitiate the god Skanda who gives him great wealth, and, quite in the spirit of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, he gathers an army, marches on the capital, and deposes the king.

We may now summarize as follows: The basic element of the narrative of Chap. VI of the *ZM* is the autochthonous Tibetan theme of man-made disturbance or disorder, causing disease, and the curing of the disease by a religious expert. To this theme is joined a secondary motif, that of 'Potiphar's wife', which has reached Tibet via India.[20] The combination of these two elements admirably illustrates the eclectic nature of the *ZM*, the unknown author (or compiler) of which has drawn freely on a great variety of sources, not only on the extremely complex Tibetan pre-Buddhist religious tradition, but also on non-Tibetan literary motifs.[21]

I would like to offer a few final remarks. Firstly - although it hardly needs to be said - it is quite obvious from our discussion of the motif of 'Potiphar's wife' that no historical credence can be attached to this motif when it occurs in Tibetan literature. Thus there is no reason to believe that anything as romantic as scorned love should be among the reasons for queen Tshe-spong-bza's inimical attitude to Buddhism. Helmut Hoffmann has quite rightly stressed the considerations of *Realpolitik* which no doubt determined the opposition of the queen and parts of the aristocracy to the new religion.[22]

This is, of course, not to say that such incidents are not part of real life; but their historical validity in specific cases must rest on particularly reliable sources when, as is the case here, they also take the form of widely diffused literary motifs. What is of importance is to note the *function* of the motif in a given context. Thus its function in the *ZM* (and the *bTsun-mo°*) is to show the baseness of worldly passions (as typified in the person of the queen), the virtuousness of the monk (as a representative of religion), and the saving power of the Teacher. An entirely different function is obvious in a late version of the story of queen Tshe-spong-bza' and Vairocana given by the *gter-ston* Padma gling-pa (b.1450), according to whom the king, grieved at having had to banish the monk, refuses to have sexual relations with the queen who then consorts with a dog and a goat in order to satisfy her passion. The issue of this union, prince Mu-rum btsan-po, is banished to the frontier and eventually becomes the ancestor of the population of a part of Bhutan.[23] In this case the queen's infidelity is a necessary prelude to an origin myth.

Secondly, in order to bring out fully the composite, eclectic nature of the *ZM*, it must be mentioned that in the story which we have now studied, there is inserted a curious episode. After Yid-kyi khye'u-chung (or, in the *bTsun-mo°*, Vairocana) has left the king's palace, he comes, towards nightfall, to the house of a smith, and is hospitably received by the smith and his wife. The following morning, after he has left, the smith cannot find a piece of gold with which he was working. His wife says it must have been stolen by the itinerant *bon-po* and the smith sets off in hot pursuit, armed with a knife. When he catches up with Yid-kyi khye'u-chung, he prepares to plunge his knife into him, but the latter seizes both arms of the smith and touches the knife with his mendicant's staff. The knife instantly turns into gold, and Yid-kyi khye'u-chung tells the smith that in the meantime the missing piece of gold has been found in the stable manure by his wife. The smith returns to his house, overjoyed at having obtained a knife of gold.

There is no inherent connection between this episode and the main story. Again it must surely be a question of a literary motif which has been incorporated into an extremely composite text, although in this case in a rather awkward fashion. So far, I have not been able to trace this story elsewhere, although I would expect further research to rectify this. There is, however, a fairly close parallel in a version of the motif of 'Potiphar's wife' in the Indian text *Pālagopālakathānaka*, quoted by Bloomfield, where the hero, prince Pāla, repulses the amorous wife of a merchant. She then cries out that he has attempted to rape her, whereupon 'The merchants of the caravan fall upon him, but every blow upon his body produces ornaments of jewels and gold, owing to the magic power of his virtue'.[24]

Thirdly and finally, it must be pointed out that the whole story of queen Gu-ling ma-ti is also to be found in the *gZi-brjid*.[25] As far as this story is concerned, the *gZi-brjid* follows the *ZM* rather closely, but with a number of independent developments throughout. For instance, in the episode of the smith, the smith's wife is said to fall in love with Yid-kyi khye'u-chung, just as the queen had done, and for this reason she hides the piece of gold on the

road where the monk finds it and picks it up, thinking to return it later on. When her husband misses the gold, she accuses the *bon-po* and urges her husband to pursue him, but tells him to make sure, however, to bring him back alive. This is explicitly said to be a stratagem on her part to ensure that Yid-kyi khye'u-chung is brought back to her. Another detail is provided by a parrot, which unnoticed by the queen has witnessed her attempt to seduce the monk. When the king returns to his palace, the queen tells her story, but the parrot, which can talk, tells the king the truth. Finally, while the queen, according to the *ZM*, sent her husband out of the palace on an errand on the day she wished to seduce the monk, in the *gZi-brjid* the king first leaves the capital with his army to settle a dispute between two vassal chiefs on the frontier, and then, in his absence, the queen falls in love with Yid-kyi khye'u-chung.

This, then, is an example of the kind of literary analysis I believe it would be worthwhile undertaking with regard to the entire *ZM*, and which might eventually clarify, as A.-M. Blondeau has aptly phrased it: 'le mécanisme des associations qui finissent par constituer un récit cohérent'.[26] I am convinced that in the process it will be found that this text can shed much light on the literary, religious, and cultural history of Tibet.

## Notes

1. A. Macdonald (ed.), *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, pp.29-126.
2. *BSOAS*, 38, 3(1975), pp.562-580. A comparative study of this motif (including Chinese sources) has been carried out by M. Soymié, 'L'entrevue de Confucius et de Hiang T'o', *JA*, 242, 3-4 (1954), pp.311-391.
3. Chap. 7-16. Text and translation of the entire *bTsun-mo°* in B. Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911.
4. The apologetic nature of the *gter-ma* literature has been emphasized by A.-M. Blondeau, *Annuaire de l' E.P.H.E. 5e section*, 84 (1975-1976), pp. 109-119, 85 (1976-1977), pp.89-96.
5. A.H. Francke, 'gZer-myig, A Book of the Tibetan Bonpos', *AM*, 4(1927), pp. 481-540 (text of Chap. VI), 5 (1928), pp. 1-40 (translation). For the most recent summary of the *Stand der Forschung* as far as *bon* is concerned, see A.-M. Blondeau, 'Les religions du Tibet', H.-Ch.Puech (ed.), *Histoire des religions*, III, Paris, 1976, pp.233-329, to which may be added S.G. Karmay, 'A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No.33, Tokyo, 1975, pp.171-218.
6. *Annuaire E.P.H.E.*, 84, p.118.
7. M. Lalou, 'Fiefs, poisons et guérriseurs', *JA*, 246 (1958), pp.157-201, and R.A. Stein 'Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang', *Et.tib.*, pp.479-547. Summary in R.A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris, 1962, pp.200-201.
8. Stein, *Civ.*, pp.206-209.
9. Stein, *op.cit.* (Stanford, 1972, ed.), p.244.
10. Stein, *op.cit.* (Paris, 1962, ed.), p.207.

11. Vol.GA, ff.1-10. I have consulted the three-volume edition of the Klu-'bum in 749 ff., of which the Oslo University Library possesses a complete copy. My references are to this copy. The same edition has been published in India in 1977 by the Bonpo Monastic Centre (*Gtsaṅ ma klu 'bum chen mo*, 5 Vols., Dolanji, P.O.Ochghat, H.P., 1977).
12. Vol. CHA, Chap.28 (sTon-pas khab-kyi dpal-'bar bzhes-pa'i mdo), Delhi, 1967-1969 edition, ff.88b-92a.
13. gto dang dpyad ci 'tshal/ sngon-gyi las-kyi dbang lags-so/ Vol.GA, f.7a.
14. The presence of this motif in the *bTsun-mo*° was already pointed out by Laufer in 1911, op.cit., p.16. Its presence there and in the *ZM* has been briefly discussed by A.-M. Blondeau, *Annuaire*, 84, pp.117-119.
15. It is retold(on the basis of Genesis) in the Quran, 12.23-25, and from there it has passed into Persian literature. Firdausi composed a poem in 9000 lines on this motif (*Yūsuf and Zulaikhā*) and it is found in various forms from Turkey to Kashmir. Copious references to further literature may be found in C.H. Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, ed. N.M.Penzer, Vol.II, London, 1924, pp.120-124, and Vol.IV, 1925, pp.104-107. See also Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature,* Bloomington, Indiana, 1966, under K2111.
16. The motif as found in Indian literature has been dealt with by M. Bloomfield, 'Joseph and Potiphar in Hindu Fiction', *Transactions of the American Philological Society,* 54 (1923), pp. 141-167.
17. *Annuaire*, 84, p.118.
18. A.W. Macdonald, *Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine I*, Paris, 1967, Chap. XVI, pp.249-251.
19. C.H. Tawney, op.cit., IV, Chap. 49, pp.85-102.
20. However, as to this motif, Chinese influences are also possible; the *'Dzangs-blun*, while ultimately of Indian origin, has been translated into Tibetan from Chinese, and the motif is also attested in China itself, cf. Stith-Thompson, *Motif-Index*, K2111.
21. It will be clear from the preceding that I prefer diffusion through contact in the course of history as an explanation of the presence of a literary motif in different periods and areas, rather than an explanation invoking a basic similarity in human psychological structure and hence in human behaviour, the latter theory being - where such a motif is actually present - incapable of either proof or disproof.
22. H.Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, London, 1961, p.68.
23. Michael Aris, 'Some Considerations on the Early History of Bhutan', M.Brauen and P.Kvaerne (eds.), *Tibetan Studies*, Zürich, 1978, pp.5-38. See in particular pp.20-21.
24. Bloomfield, pp.152-153.
25. See n.12.
26. *Annuaire*, 85, p.91.

# ĀRYADEVA ON THE CAREER OF THE BODHISATTVA

**Karen Lang**

According to Tibetan tradition, Āryadeva (ca. 2nd-3rd century A.D.) is one of the six ornaments (*rgyan drug*) of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[1] His major work, the *bZhi brgya pa*, which consists of 400 hundred verses divided into sixteen chapters, was translated into Tibetan along with the commentary of Candrakīrti (ca. 7th century A.D.), the *Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*, as a result of the collaboration of the Indian *paṇḍita* Sūkṣmajana and the Tibetan *lo tsa ba* Nyi-ma grags during the latter part of the eleventh century.[2] Candrakīrti's commentary reports that the commentary of Dharmapāla (ca. 6th century), the *Ta-ch'eng-kuang-pai-lun-shih-lun*, divided the *bZhi brgya pa* into two sections: one on the teaching of doctrine and the other on argumentation (*rtsod pa*).[3] The commentaries of Red mda' ba (1349-1412) and rGyal tshab (1346-1432), the *dBu ma bzhi brgya pa'i 'grel pa* and the *bZhi brgya pa'i rnam bshad legs bshad snying po*, which are based upon Candrakirti's work, both criticize Dharmapāla. rGyal tshab says that Dharmapāla's commentary, which depends on the rNam par rig pa tsam system in its interpretation, does not convey the meaning of the root text; and, moreover, the *bZhi brgya pa* was not composed for the sake of argumentation, but to aid individuals of the Mahāyāna lineage (*rigs*) in completing the stages of the path to perfect enlightenment, and to make it clear that things have arisen in interdependence (*rten cing 'brel bar*) and are not established by virtue of their own nature (*rang bzhin*).[4] The path, according to Red mda' ba's and rGyal tshab's outlines of the *bZhi brgya pa*, is described in the first eight chapters from the viewpoint of conventional truth (*kun rdzob bden pa*) and in the latter eight from the viewpoint of ultimate truth (*don dam bden pa*).[5]

Candrakīrti in a brief biographical note on Āryadeva identifies him as a student of Nāgārjuna and states that there is no difference between the truth as presented in both authors' works.[6] However, in response to the contention that the composition of the *bZhi brgya pa* was unnecessary, since Nāgārjuna had dealt with the same topics earlier in his works, rGyal tshab reiterates his position that the work was not composed just for the purpose of refuting many Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools' tenets, but to lead those of the Mahāyāna lineage to Buddhahood through a gradual path of spiritual discipline (*rnal 'byor*). rGyal-tshab's questioner responds: hasn't this been taught in the *Rin po che'i phreng ba*? rGyal tshab answers that the content is different, for prior to the generation of the intention (*sems bskyed*) to gain perfect enlightenment, it is necessary to cleanse the mind of the four perverted views (*phyin ci log*).[7] These perverted views, namely, mistakenly perceiving what is impermanent as permanent, what is painful as pleasant, what is impure as pure, and what is non-self as a true self, are the topics, respectively, of the first four chapters of Āryadeva's *bZhi brgya pa*. These four perverted views, as Red mda' ba's outline indicates, are unfavourable conditions (*'gal rkyen*) for Buddhahood; teaching about the bodhisattva's career is the first of the favourable conditions (*mthun rkyen*).[8] This paper will focus on Āryadeva's presentation of the bodhisattva's career in the fifth chapter of the *bZhi brgya pa* viewed in the light of Red mda' ba's and rGyal tshab's commentaries.

Both commentaries are written in an interlinear style with the words of Āryadeva's verses incorporated into the text of each author. They exhibit a remarkable unity of thought and organize the material of the fifth chapter in much the same fashion. They divide the material into four major sections with

each of these further subdivided. rGyal tshab's outline is the more detailed of the two, for he treats each verse under a separate sub-section. The first major section, concerned with demonstrating the Buddha's greatness, covers verses one to three of the root text; the second section, which depicts the bodhisattva's career, covers verses four to twenty-three; the third section on the attainment of omniscience as the result of a bodhisattva's career covers verse twenty-four; and the fourth section on the reason that those of little intelligence fear the Mahāyāna covers the last verse of the chapter.

The fifth chapter begins with a verse extolling the Buddha's activity. Āryadeva says:

> It is said that there is not any activity of the
> Buddhas that is causeless; even breathing arises
> for the sake of sentient beings' benefit.[9]

rGyal tshab in his commentary on this verse distinguishes between those individuals of the Hīnayāna lineage who strive for liberation after they have become disgusted with the world and those of the Mahāyāna lineage who strive for Buddhahood after they have developed great compassion. Despite this distinction of rGyal-tshab's there is no indication in the *bZhi brgya pa* that the posession of the Tathāgata lineage was considered a pre-requisite for entrance upon the career of a bodhisattva. Nāgārjuna's *Rin po che'i phreng ba* states that after the intention to seek enlightenment has been generated the bodhisattva enters the Tathāgata's family.[10] The bodhisattva's goal is to attain the perfect knowledge of the Tathāgata, for as Āryadeva says:

> Just as the phrase 'Lord of Death' terrifies
> all people, so the phrase 'All-knowing One'
> terrifies even the Lord of Death.[11]

The commentaries, quoting the Lord Buddha, explain that all those who hear the name of the Buddha will attain Nirvāṇa.[12] Those who realize the fruit of the path will triumph over the Lord of Death.

Throughout this chapter on the career of the bodhisattva, Āryadeva stresses that the bodhisattva's resolution to work for the benefit of all sentient beings is the motivation for all his actions. Knowledge of this motivation is of great importance in understanding the bodhisattva's actions, for as Āryadeva says:

> Since without understanding the motivation
> the merit in [an action] going, etc., is
> not perceived, therefore one must realize
> that mind is foremost in all actions.[13]

As Red mda' ba points out, the nature of actions of body, speech, and mind are classified as virtuous or non-virtuous in accordance with the motivation for their performance.[14] Even the heinous action of taking life can be meritorious for a bodhisattva, if it is performed with the proper motivation. Āryadeva explains:

> Because of the intention [of benefitting others],
> everything, whether virtuous or non-virtuous
> [for someone else], is only good for a bodhi-
> sattva, since mind is under his control.[15]

rGyal tshab's commentary cites the example given by Candrakīrti of the ship captain who, under the influence of great compassion, kills a thief to prevent him from killing 500 others, for he knew that the thief would suffer in the hells for many eons should that action be carried out.[16] The vast store of merit that the bodhisattva has accumulated over a long period of time - Āryadeva remarks that a bodhisattva remains in the world as long as there are sentient beings -[17] has the effect of cancelling out the maturation of any negative actions.

The *bZhi brgya pa* maintains that the bodhisattva's career begins with the generation of the intention. After the completion of this initial action, an individual attains the first stage of the ten stage path to Buddhahood. This intention to work for the benefit of all sentient beings produces a vast quantity of merit. Āryadeva says:

> Far superior to the merit of all people on earth and those who become universal monarchs is [the merit of] a bodhisattva's initial intention.[18]

The store of merit that has culminated in the bodhisattva's attaining the first stage of the path is sufficient to enable him to be reborn continuously as a great monarch. The *Rin po che'i phreng ba*, tracing the ascension of the bodhisattva through the stages of the path, depicts him as becoming a more and more powerful and influential monarch in progressively higher spheres.[19] Given the temporal and spiritual power and influence attributed to Indian monarchs, it is not surprising that Āryadeva should ask the rhetorical question:

> Why should someone who in all lifetimes is born precisely due to control over mind not become a ruler over the whole world?[20]

Someone who is reborn as a monarch is in a position to make generous donations. Throughout a bodhisattva's entire career, but especially on the first stage of the path, he is encouraged to give. Āryadeva emphasizes the importance of this activity:

> The word 'giving' illumines death, Dharma, and other existences. Consequently, the word 'giving' continually pleases a bodhisattva.[21]

The commentaries explain that the word 'giving' illumines death because one's future births will follow as a result of actions done in the present life. The word 'giving' epitomizes the Dharma, since the three types of giving encompass all six perfect virtues (*pha rol tu phyin pa*). Giving material goods (*zang zing*) is linked with the perfect virtue of giving; giving security (*mi 'jigs*), to the perfect virtues of moral conduct and patience; and giving the Dharma, to the perfect virtues of meditation and insight. In the *Rin po che'i phreng ba* Nagarjuna urges the king to use his wealth to construct images of the Buddha, reliquaries, and temples;[22] yet, as Āryadeva points out, the merit of donating material goods is far surpassed by that of giving instruction in the Dharma:

> Someone may build a reliquary (*mchod rten*) made of jewels as high as the world; it is said that better than that is [the merit of] one who trains a single sentient being [to produce the intention of enlightenment].[23]

Āryadeva speaks also of a bodhisattva's energetic activity in encouraging sentient beings through teaching:

> If someone within a bodhisattva's realm were to go to a bad rebirth because of not being inspired, that bodhisattva would be blamed by other intelligent people.[24]

The commentaries say that if a bodhisattva who has acquired the power to train sentient beings fails to exercise it, this would result in the weakening of his resolution to work for their benefit.[25] A bodhisattva himself may take on a bad rebirth and go to the lower regions to teach the Dharma, for he has the superknowledges (*mngon shes*) that facilitate this action. Nonetheless, as

Āryadeva remarks, it is a difficult action to perform:

> Someone who has all five superknowledges in all births; *[yet]* in an inferior one has an existence viewed as inferior *[for example, a dog]* -- this is very difficult to do.[25]

One of these superknowledges, the bodhisattva's ability to discern others' thoughts, helps him to adapt his teaching to the capabilities and needs of each student. Initially, great care must be exercised in examining a prospective student. Āryadeva says:

> He must examine first whatever someone takes pleasure in; someone who is weak is never a vessel for the pure Dharma.[26]

Red mda' ba's commentary on this verse emphasized that the instruction must be tailored to fit the student. Those afflicted by greed will dislike teachings on generosity; those afflicted by hatred, teachings on patience; and those who are immoral, teachings on moral conduct. Generosity should be taught to those who desire wealth; moral conduct, to those who desire rebirth in the heavens; and patience, to those who desire a beautiful complexion in the next life. In this way, the student is introduced gradually to the Buddha's teachings in accordance with his interests and abilities. When the teacher has determined that the student is capable of comprehending the most profound teachings, they will be imparted to him.[27]

The *bZhi brgya pa* portrays the bodhisattva also as a skilled diagnostician who provides the proper medication based upon his diagnosis of the illnesses that afflict sentient beings.[28] In the fifth chapter, Āryadeva utilizes this analogy of illness and treatment several times in describing the actions of Buddhas and bodhisattvas:

> Just as a physician is not disturbed by someone who is possessed by a demon, even though he is angry *[at the physician]*, the Sage sees the affications *(nyon mongs)* as the enemy, but not the individual who has the afflictions.[29]

And again he says:

> In the same way as it is rare for a skilled physician not to have patients, it is very rare for a bodhisattva who has acquired the power *[for training]* not to have disciples.[30]

rGyal tshab, commenting on the latter verse, says that a bodhisattva who increases the power of his skill in liberative technique (*thabs*) and in the ways of attracting disciples (*bsdu ba'i dngos po*) rarely will lack them.[31] In addition to skill in liberative technique, a bodhisattva must possess love (*brtse ba*) and compassion (*snying rje*), particularly for those sentient beings who abuse him, for they are ignorant of his motivation. In stressing this point, Āryadeva uses the example of a mother's love:

> In the same way as a mother especially feels pain for a son tormented by illness, a bodhisattva's love especially is for the inferior.[32]

However, since a bodhisattva's actions will not bring about his rebirth in the world, the question arises: why does he not enter Nirvāṇa? Āryadeva replies:

> Even in this world there is no harm for someone who has a powerful mind. Consequently, to him there is no difference between cyclic existence (*srid pa*) and Nirvāṇa.[33]

Red mda' ba explains that in the same way as a lotus is not affected by the mud in which it grows, so the mind of the bodhisattva is not affected by the afflictions. Moreover, since he is not harmed by the suffering of birth, old age, and death, there is no difference to him between cyclic existence and Nirvāṇa. After this lengthy section on the career of the bodhisattva, the third and fourth sections of Red mda' ba's and rGyal-tshab's treatment of chapter five briefly comment on omniscience as the result of the bodhisattva's career in the Mahāyāna and why those of inferior intelligence fear the Mahāyāna. The truth known by the omniscient Tathāgatas, namely, as rGyal tshab explains, the fact that things are not produced through their own-nature, but in interdependence, frightens those of lesser intelligence.[34] rGyal tshab, summarizing his remarks on this chapter of the *bZhi brgya pa*, says:

> One ought to reflect on the disadvantages of cyclic existence; [this is] the basis for fear in those of little intelligence. Having entered the profound and extensive Mahāyāna, one should make the realization of a bodhisattva's career the heart [of one's practice].[35]

In conclusion, one finds that in Āryadeva's conception of the bodhisattva's career the emphasis is placed upon the cultivation of active virtues. The bodhisattva is exhorted to teach, to have patience in dealing with those who are ignorant and afflicted by illness, and to pursue vigorously the task of leading all sentient beings to perfect enlightenment. Āryadeva compares the bodhisattva to a teacher and to a physician as a way of illustrating his point that both skill in liberative technique and compassion are necessary to rescue those who are trapped in the cycle of existence. One finds also in this early treatment of the bodhisattva's career little evidence for Luis Gomez's assertion that 'the cultivation of compassion is primarily and necessarily a contemplative discipline.'[36] Compassion, according to Āryadeva, is linked with the giving of gifts, whether material goods, security, or teaching the Dharma, to those who lack protectors.[37] The best of these gifts is that of actively encouraging others to produce the intention of enlightenment and pursue the career of a bodhisattva.

## Notes

1. *rGyan drug mchog gnyis* (Sikkim, 1962), pp.29-30.
2. Jean Naudou, *Les Bouddhistes Kasmirens au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1968), pp. 171-172.
3. Candrakīrti, *Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (Peking edition), fol. 34a.
4. rGyal tshab, *bZhi brgya pa'i rnam bsad legs bshad snying po* (Sarnath, 1971), chap.1, pp.4-5.
5. Red mda' ba, *dBu ma bzhi brgya pa'i 'grel pa* (Sarnath, 1974), p.6.
6. Candrakīrti, fol. 34b.
7. rGyal tshab, chap. 1, pp.5-6.
8. Red mda' ba, p.6.
9. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:1 sangs rgyas rnams kyi g.yo ba ni /
rgyu med 'ga' yang yod min te /
dbugs kyang sems can rnams la ni /
sman slad kho nar yang dag 'byung /
10. *Rin po che'i phreng ba* 5:41
11. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:2 'jig rten kun la 'chi bdag sgra /
ji ltar 'jigs pa skyed 'gyur ba /
de bzhin kun mkhyen sgra 'di ni /
'chi bdag la yang 'jigs pa bskyed /
12. rGyal tshab, chap. 5, p.3; cf. Red mda' ba, pp.53-54.
13. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:4 sems ma rtogs par 'gro sogs la /
gang phyir bsod nams la sogs pa /
ma mthong de phyir las kun la /
yid ni don por bsgrub par bya /
14. Red mda' ba, p.55.
15. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:5 bsam pas byang chub sems dpa' la /
dge'am 'on te mi dge rung /
thams cad dge legs nyid 'gyur te /
gang phyir yid de'i dbang gyur phyir /
16. rGyal tshab, chap. 5, p.6.
17. See *bZhi brgya pa* 5:16.
18. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:6 byang chub sems dpa' sems dang po /
sa steng skye bo thams cad ni /
'khor los sgyur ba nyid 'gyur ba /
de dag bsod nams las khyad 'phags /
19. *Rin po che'i phreng ba* 5:41-60
20. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:23 gang la kun tshe sems dbang ni /
nyid las skye ba yod gyur pa /
de ko rgyu cis 'jig rten ni /
kun gyi mnga' bdag 'gyur ma yin /
21. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:19 'chi dang chos dang srid pa gzhan /
sbyin pa'i sgra yis gsal byed pa /
de phyir byang chub sems dpa' la /
sbyin pa'i sgra ni rtag tu snyan /
22. *Rin po che'i phreng ba* 3:21-24
23. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:7 rin chen rang bzhin mchod rten ni /
'jig rten snyed mtho 'gas byas pa /
de bas sems can gcig 'dul po /
mchog tu bkrabs par brjod pa yin /

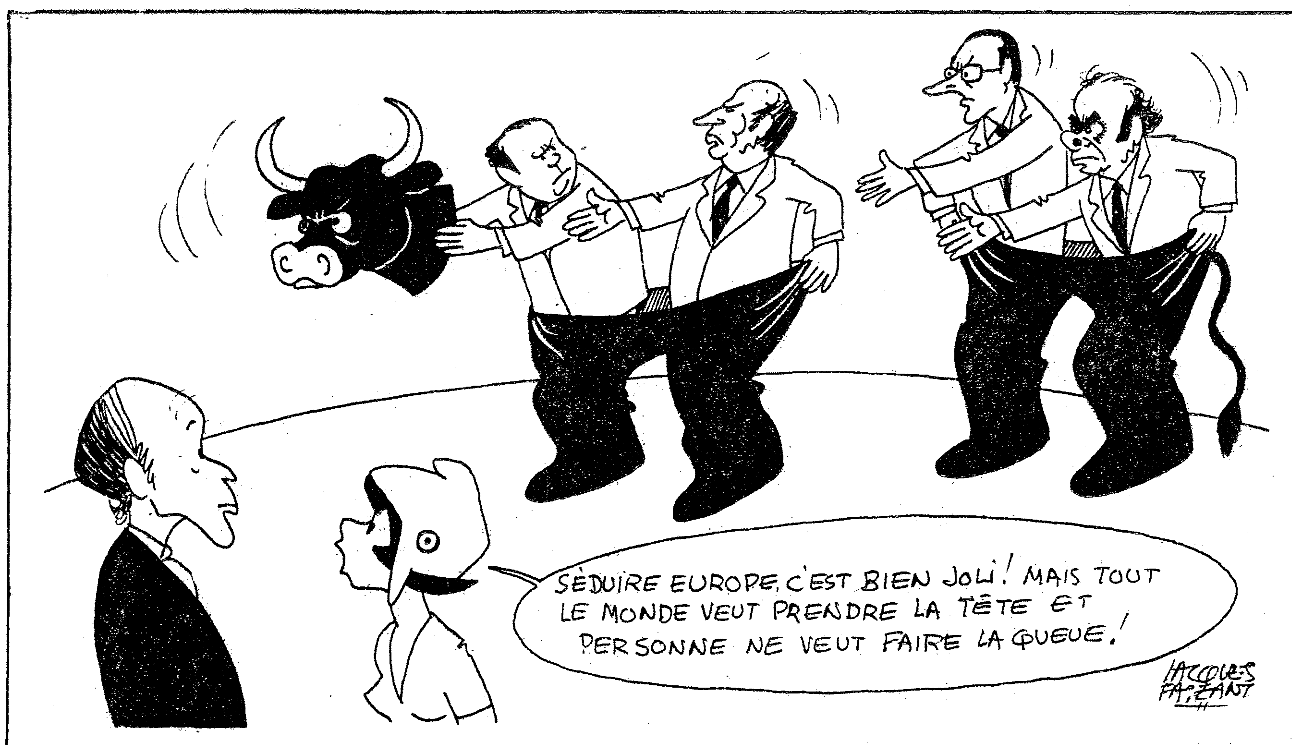
24. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:14 byang chub sems dpa' yul du ni /
gal te 'ga' zhig ma bskul bas /
ngan song 'gro bar 'gyur na de /
blo ldan gzhan gyis smad byar 'gyur /
25. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:17 gang la skye ba thams cad du /
mngon shes lnga char yang yod pa /
de yi dman par dman lta'i dngos /
'di ni shin tu bya dka' ba'o /
26. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:10 gang zhig gang gang la dga' ba /
de yis de de sngar dpyad bya /
nyams par gyur pa dam chos kyi /
snod ni cis kyang ma yin no /
27. Red mda ba, p.59.
28. See *bZhi brgya pa* 8:20
29. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:9 khro yang 'byung pos bzung pa la /
sman pa 'khrug pa min pa ltar /
thub pa nyon mongs dgrar gzigs kyi /
nyon mongs dang 'brel gang zag min /
30. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:13 ji ltar sman pa mkhas gyur pas /
nad pa bsgrub med dkon de bzhin /
byang chub sems dpa' stobs rnyed nas /
gdul bya ma yin shin tu dkon /
31. rGyal tshab, chap. 5, p.10.
32. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:11 ji ltar ma ni khyad par du /
nad thebs bu la gdung gyur pa /
de bzhin byang chub sems dpa'i brtse /
dam pa min la khyad par du'o /
33. *bZhi brgya pa* 5:22 rlabs chen yid can de la ni /
'di na'ang gnod pa yod min te /
des na de la srid pa dang /
mya ngan 'das la khyad par med /
34. rGyal tshab, chap. 5, pp.17-18.
'khor ba'i nyes dmigs legs par bsam bya ste /
blo gros dman pa skrag pa skye pa'i gzhi /
zab dang rgya che'i theg chen 'dir zhugs te /
byang chub spyod la bsgrub pa snying por bya /
35. Ibid., p.18.
36. Luis Gomez, 'Karunabhavana: Notes on the Meaning of Buddhist Compassion', *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 3 (Summer, 1978), p.33.
37. See *bZhi brgya pa* 5:15.

## CREATIVE DISMEMBERMENT AMONG THE TAMANG AND SHERPAS OF NEPAL

A.W. Macdonald

The Tamang are numerically one of the more important ethnic minorities of Nepal, numbering over 500,000. They live in and around the Kathmandu Valley and are implanted in large numbers to the north (Yol-mo and Lang thang), north-east and south, as well as to the north-west of the Valley. The Sherpas, concentrated mainly in Solu-Khumbu where there are about 15,000, are also to be found as far west as Yol-mo, but are numerically much less important. The presence of Tibetan documents in the Sherpa area of habitat is well known. Linguists, for example Martine Mazaudon who has worked mainly in the Risiangku area, some distance to the east of the Valley,[1] have pointed to the presence of Tibetan documents in Tamang hands but no thorough anthropological study of the role these documents play in Tamang culture has as yet been undertaken. Sherpas, apart from some slight shamanistic hang-overs, are Buddhists; and their Buddhism arrived from the north. Recently they have been influenced to some extent by Hinduism. The Tamang are not only Buddhists but, according to my colleague Andras Höfer who has studied the more western Tamang, maintain traditions stemming also from Hinduism, Shamanism (in the sense of the curing of the sick with the help of ecstatic ritual techniques) and their own tribal background.[2] Some years ago, I wrote a short article in *L'Homme* pointing to Tibetan influences in Tamang culture.[3] Since writing that article, a few more Tibetan documents in Tamang hands have come to my notice, the titles of which are as follows: *'Jig-rten gtam-gyis lo-rgyus srid-pa'i chags-pa'i byung-khung* (9 fol.); *'Jig-rten gtam-gyi rta-dmag skad bzhugs-so* (21 fol.). and *'Jig-rten bstan-bzhags zhugs-sho* (18 fol.). The contents of these three manuscripts are basically similar. The creation of the universe is sketched out in mainly Buddhist terms. In a temporal sequence gods precede men on earth, some of the latter being affiliated to the former. Sky, wind, fire, earth and water are separated out along with the cardinal points. Colours are differentiated. Speech is divided into 360 *skad-rigs* and writing into 360 *yig-rigs*. The points on the earth's surface on which the Eighteen Great (Tamang) *rus* alight - their *babs-sa* - are indicated along with the *pho-lha* of each *rus*. These lists could be compared to the similar composite list published by Santabir Lama, to be found in my previous article on the Tamang.[4] It is not, however, the primary purpose of this paper to discuss such lists in detail; and at this point I do not wish to get too heavily involved in discussions of proper names. These three manuscripts depict an initial diaspora of gods and men which is throughout envisaged as a descent. They are not concerned with the structure of society or its re-structuring. All three manuscripts accord a primary place to the Ldong; and the Ldong will be already well known to you in the masterly summary of the information concerning them to be found in Professor Stein's *Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, p.31-51.[5] A fourth manuscript, which also contains a list of *rus*, *babs-sa* and *pho-lha* is entitled: *Mi-chos srid-pa'i mgo-sngon lha-rgyud Ldong-gis che-rab zur-tsam-cig yod lags-sho*. It has 17 fol. of 5 lines recto and verso, is signed by a certain bla-ma Nyi-ma brgyan-mtshan (about whom I know nothing) and, like the other manuscripts, is undated. I found it in an old box of Tibetan books and manuscripts at Bodhnath.

The spelling of this fourth manuscript is remarkably poor, and there are undoubtedly gaps in the traditions which it vehicles. After a somewhat muddled account of the creation of the universe, of gods and men, and the genealogy of a series of personages of divine then semi-divine origin, the


SÉDUIRE EUROPE, C'EST BIEN JOLI ! MAIS TOUT LE MONDE VEUT PRENDRE LA TÊTE ET PERSONNE NE VEUT FAIRE LA QUEUE !
JACQUES FAIZANT

manuscript devotes some space to the deeds of a certain Ldong chen-po dpung-grags who married a lady called Stong Zab-mo rma-li. One day, in a country called Byang-kha sna-brgyad,[5a] he went hunting with eight servants and they killed three g.yag. When they were getting ready to divide up the carcasses, the Ma-sang dpun-dgu - who will also be known to you through the work of Professor Stein on the Ge-sar epic[6] - hearing that one man had three carcasses, were jealous and went to steal them. Ldong chen-po, understanding what they had in mind and in order to break their pride, divided up the meat without having recourse to a knife. The Ma-sang dpun-dgu, realising that they were powerless against him, asked for meat to roast. Ldong chen-po named each portion of the meat (*sha res la ming brtag-nas*) and did not give them any. Again the Ma-sang dpun-dgu cried out and asked for portions. Ldong chen-po answered them: 'As the head is the principal portion, it should be offered to the gods of Ldong, the nine or twenty-five gods of creation: and I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the nape of the neck is the tree of life (*srog-shing*) of the head, it should be used for the great *rten-'brel*: and I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the back should be offered to the male ancestors of the great Ldong, I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the spinal cord should be offered to/by my ministers (*blon*), I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the lower parts should be eaten by my attendants (*'khor*), I won't give it to you. As the inner flesh should be given to my servants (*bran pho mo rnams*),I won't give it to you'. Saying that the flesh of the breast was fit for roasting, he gave it to them.[7] The Ma-sang dpun-dgu asked him how he had managed to kill the three *g.yag*; he lifted up the remains of the three *g.yag* with his right hand and said: 'I did like that; then I killed them'. Ldong chen-po then returned home carrying the three *g.yag* bodies, or what was left of them, on his shoulder.

The first comment that I wish to make is that in this instance gods and men of varying status are depicted as having rights to particular portions of dead *g.yag* whereas some of the meat is, so to speak, ritually neutral, and can be given even to hostile strangers.

To go back to our manuscript ... After returning home alone, Ldong chen-po is depressed and his wife asks him what is wrong. He answers that he is depressed, that is all. She says: 'If one wants a big herd of horses, one buys a lot of mares.' Ldong chen-po at once cheers up and organises offerings to be made by his Lha-bon to the Ldong-lhu dmu-dgu, to the twenty-five gods of the Ldong, etc. Thereafter Ldong chen-po takes six wives, whose names are indicated in the manuscript[8] and from whom he begets eighteen sons, fifteen of whose names are indicated.[9] These eighteen sons spread out in different directions, multiply exceedingly and prosper. Somewhat later, Ldong chen-po announces to the men of the four directions what are their *rus*. As they themselves cannot say what are their *rus*, they come together to ask him.[10] He leads them to the dead body of a *g.yag* and says: 'All of you, take hold of the body of this *g.yag*! I will give you as name whatever part you take hold of. To those who seized the horns, he gave the name of Rva-pha. To those who seized the nose, he gave the name of Snar-pha. To those who seized the nape of the neck,he gave the name of Snya-shur-pha. To those who seized the tongue, he gave the name of Lce-pha. To those who seized the lungs (*blo-ba*), he gave the name of Blo-pha. Some seized the liver (*phyin-pa*:for *mchin-pa*?); he gave them the name of Phyin-pa-pha. Some took the blood; he gave them the name of Dmar-lpag. Some took the skin (*rko-pa* for *ko-ba*?); he gave them the name of Rgya spags-pa. Some seized the tail; he gave them the name of Rna-ldang. Some took the testicles; he gave them the name of Li-pha. Some seized the stomach; he gave them the name of Thing-pha.

Some took the lungs (again *blo-ba*: doubtless a mistake); he gave them the name of Blo-pha. Some came up very happily; he gave them the name of Dgyes-shing.'[11] The enumeration stops at this point, and the manuscript goes on to deal with other matters which are not pertinent to my enquiry. You will have noticed that, in this case, more parts of the body are listed than in my first example, that the list concerns only men of one cultural group (the descendants of the Ldong), and that the pattern of distribution does not concern the Eighteen Great or Pure *rus* of the Tamang.

Let us now turn to some Sherpa documents which were published by Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and myself in 1971, and which appeared under two Western language titles: *The Shar-pa Book* in Kathmandu, and *Documents pour l'étude de la religion et de l'organisation sociale des Sherpa*, I, at Junbesi/Nanterre. My first example is taken from pages 151 through 154 of the Tibetan text. In Sherpa tradition, the *rigs* of the Ldong are a branch of the Six Dwarfs (Mi-bu gdung-drug).[12] Under the leadership of Sger-rgyal, they moved into Khams and established themselves at Zal-mo sgang. Above Zal-mo sgang was the country Mi-gnyag ri-mang; below was Cha-mo rong. There were Eighteen Sho-khag in Khams and there were Eighteen Pure, human *rus*. The majority of the lineages descended from Sger-rgyal settled in the Mi-gnyag ri-mang and are called Mi-gnyags-pa. From the Mi-gnyags-pa there segmented off other *rus*: the Shar-pa, the Shis brag-pa, the Mdo grub-pa, etc. The Ser-pa, for instance, were at Khams-Kaḥ-thog or Ser-ta; the Lca-ba were at Khams Snyes-dong; the Tha-med were at Khams U-ni. Each of these four groups, troubled by the lengthy campaigns of Ge-sar in the Hor, Sog-po and Bdud countries, left the lands of their forefathers and set out for Tibet. When they were crossing the Byang-thang, at a place called Bsam-gtan chos-gling in the northern plain, at the moment when they reached there together, a lama called Dgon-pa Rol-pa rdo-rje was taming the wild male yak (*'brong*). The savage Mi-gnyags-pa who were present caught the wild yaks by their foreheads; the savage Tha-med caught the wild yaks by their humps; the savage Ser-pa caught the wild yaks by their tongues, and killed them. When the skinning and dismemberment of the wild yaks was finished, the forefathers of the Lca-ba arrived. Those present said to them: 'As we've finished carrying off the different quarters of flesh and bone of the wild yaks, you, Lca-ba, haven't got your share of the meat. You, Lca-ba, take as your share of the meat Bya-khyung dkar-po'. Then arrived the forefathers of the hunters (Rngon-pa'i mes-bo). Those present said to them: 'You, hunters, you haven't had your share of the meat. Some of you, take, any old how, bits of flesh and skin; and some of you, take, anyhow, bones and blood, and having cooked them angrily, eat them, hunters!'

In this example, we should note that the ancestral Sherpa clans are characterized by different techniques of killing wild yaks; that their savagery is presumably indicated by the fact that they kill the yaks and do not try to domesticate them as the lama does; and that those who arrive late for a ritual share-out are in the wrong. Presumably too there is some comic intent in the fact that it is the hunters (not members of a *rus*) who turn up when everything is over.

I will now turn to the account of the origin of the *pho-lha*.[13] of the Lcags-pa and the groups with which they were in relation. It is to be found on pages 180 and 181 of the Tibetan text and is taken from the *mes-rabs* of the Lcags-pa. 'At the time when there was a big drinking-party in Mdo-khams, a male *lha-g.yag* came down from a rainbow turning in the sky. All the *rus* saw it and ran towards it. First the Lcags-pa seized the right horn: their *pho-lha* therefore became Bya-khyung dkar-po. The Mi-nyag (-pa) seized it by the forehead: their *pho-lha* became Gdong-dar. The Ser-pa seized it by the tongue:

their *pho-lha* became Ar-sha. The Thi-mi seized it by the hump: their *pho-lha* became 'Od-ldan dkar-po. The 'Khram-pa seized it by the body: their *pho-lha* became Gzugs-po. The Dvags-po seized it by the lungs: their *pho-lha* became Glo-ba. Then, after each *rus* had carried off the flesh and skin of the divine yak, the hunters arrived. As they had not obtained a *pho-lha*,being in great distress, they looked up at the sky. From the firmament fell a white light the size of a jar and the hunters seized it: their *pho-lha* became Gnam-lha dkar-po. In this manner the name of the *pho-lha* of each *rus* was established.'

This is my last example. In it a similar pattern of dismemberment fixes the *pho-lha* of various Sherpa groups according to their different ways of seizing hold of the animal's body. As we are confronted by the Lcag-pa's own *mes-rabs*, it is not surprising that they arrive first. Here the hunters get the *pho-lha*.

In all the examples quoted there is a double movement: of the human beings *in* towards what we may call the sacrifice, and of hierarchised meat *outwards* towards the human participants who, in consuming it, acquire not only rights to be what they are but also religious duties. This is to say that the animal victim serves not only to fix the relationships between its human consumers but also classifies their relationships to their gods or, if you prefer, with the other world. In this respect its role rejoins that of the well-known Indian series of the fire, the cosmic mountain, the sacrificial pillar, the tree and the body of the giant. Man through this series measures himself against the cosmos which is itself measured against the instruments of this series: the result is not only a horizontal measurement of men's relationships with their neighbours but also a vertical measurement of man's relationship with the divine.

Thus far I have limited my enquiry to juxtaposing four Tibetan-language accounts of yak-dismemberment and to making a series of short, canny comments on each. Obviously the analysis should and must be carried further. My accounts are all taken from documents called in Tibetan *rabs*: even if the Ldong example does not have the word *rabs* in its title, its content proves it to be a *rabs*. Professor Stein has already pointed out that 'if the diachronic aspect predominates in the word *rabs* (succession, filiation) it also contains the synchronic notion of classification.[14] Now while *rabs* in their entirety are not what sociologists and anthropologists would call models, the pattern of yak-dismemberment in the context of these *rabs* is, to my mind, an indigenous model of and for the differentiation of society,[15] that is to say: of its human members, its divine components and its rituals.

Were we to undertake a diachronic analysis of this model, we could point back on the Tibetan side to the theme of yak-dismemberment in Chapter VIII of the Tun-huang manuscript known as the Chronicle, which has been commented on by Nick Allen[16] and where it is already a question of the Ldong and the Stong who receive respectively the horns and the tendons. On the Indian plains side of the Himālaya,yaks being absent one would not expect to find the theme of their dismemberment, and one does not do so. However, I would point to the *Puruṣasūkta*[17] as the starting-point in time of a veritable series of transformational models of dismemberment conserved in literature and art[18] and which has occupied an essential place in Indian thinking about society from the late Vedic period up to comparatively modern times. Tibetan source materials have not yet been examined with the same thoroughness as India's art and literature, and I would certainly be hard put to it to find Tibetan examples in any way comparable quantitively to the massive generation and maintenance of such models as has occured in India.

Were we to proceed synchronically, many of the documents figuring in two previous articles of mine, 'A propos de Prajāpati' and 'La notion du

*saṃbhogakāya* à la lumière de quelques faits ethnographiques'[19] would have to be taken into account along with others evaluated recently by Nick Allen in his paper 'A Thulung myth and some problems of comparison'.[20] To my mind, it is not methodologically imperative to limit the analysis to the exemplary dismemberment of one species of animal, nor to confine the enquiry for comparative purposes to populations within the same linguistic or ethnic groups. Diverse social models have been generated and manipulated in different societies throughout the world where their presence is, seemingly, practically universal. Tibetans, Indians, Tamang, Sherpas and Americans are all human beings; and Clifford Geertz has well written that 'the perception of the structural congruence between one set of processes, activities, relations, entities, etc., and another set for which it acts as a program, so that the program can be taken as a representation, or conception - a symbol - of the programmed, is the essence of human thought.'[21] My four examples are not just stories, nor are they history. They vehicle and impose a view of the past (a *darśana*) which conditions the present and gives direction to the future of the societies concerned.

When reading the voluminous literature on models one often gets the impression that models have a sort of autonomous existence, that in the course of time they slide through a series of sometimes spectacular (but generally intellectually satisfying) transformations to their ultimate disappearance or displacement by other models, and this almost without human intervention. This impression may find justification in some writings about models but in many cases it conflicts with the reality of social facts. It derives from and is, in the first instance, conditioned by our own experience of the utilisation of models in our own society. In the present-day Western world, social models are primarily generated in and manipulated by academic circles: the application of such models, their direct impact on the outside world is practically nil.[22] Greatly impoverished versions of such academic models are, of course, ultimately used by politicians and ruling elites either to maintain the social *status quo* or to launch programmes of future reform or revolution. But, with us, politicians and rulers hardly ever invent such models; and the use to which the academics who invented them can and do put their models is socially, politically and religiously insignificant. An academic model may help its manipulator into a university chair: it does not change society and the world.

The context and the manner in which models are used in the type of Himālayan society we are dealing with in this paper, are quite different. In the Himālayan cases, models are deliberately and directly exploited by political and economic élites who, if not themselves always very literate, have at their service, in a massively pre-literate milieu, beaux parleurs, literate scribes, monks and 'priests' to help them put them across. One does not need to know how to read Sanskrit or Tibetan to grasp the impact of the yak-dismemberment verbal messages. So the first point I wish to make is simple: in such societies models are not just made by men who vehicle them; they are used by certain men and groups of men as instruments of social control.

My next point follows on from this: a model only maintains a healthy transformational potentiality as long as it remains politically on centre. The most striking illustration of my argument which comes to mind is provided by the recent film of the *Agnicayana* ritual made by a team from the University of California, Berkeley. In that film, a ritual which was once, if philologists and Brahmanically-inclined anthropologists (not to speak of Brahmins!) are to be believed, one of the most effective normative instruments

in the edification and consolidation of Hindu society, is dithered through in a jungle setting. Whoever sees the film realises at once that the rituals, as the expression of a conscious or unconscious model *for* Indian society, is a spent force. It may exemplify, to some extent, what India *was*. Carried out, in the 1970's at foreign expense, far from the geographical centres of current Indian political and economic power,and out of step with the pre-occupations of the common man, it no longer carries any message for India's future.

To return to my four examples, I am afraid I cannot tell you whether or not there lurks a dismemberment model in the unconscious of the Sherpa or Tamang common man. The fact that such models have been transmitted orally down the centuries - the Tamang and the Sherpas are our contemporaries - and written down in the twentieth century suggests that this may be so: but I simply do not know enough about what goes on in the Tamang and Sherpa sub-conscious to make useful observations on the subject. However what I am reasonably sure of is that the yak-dismemberment models I have evoked will before long lose their efficacity in their local contexts if they are not transformed in time by their manipulators and adapted to the changing social context and local aspirations. If this is not done, the models and their manipulators will, like those who still know and can carry out the *Agnicayana* ritual, become the victims of history. It may be that future Tamang and Sherpa leaders are more likely to win response and active support to models phrased in terms of the re-distribution of surplus production or the class-struggle rather than to old tales about cutting up yaks. However this may be, that is their business and not ours. As for ourselves, I suggest that as social scientists we would employ ourselves more usefully in scrutinising the aptness for use in different cultural contexts of models of society, than in speculating on the past diffusion of Hindu, Tantric, Bon, Buddhist and other models into the Himālayan areas.

The fact that no anthropologist has observed and recorded a yak-dismemberment which re-structured a particular Tamang[22a] or Sherpa group and its relationships with other human or divine groups does not trouble me overmuch. Inversely I would point to the fact that there is no Tibetan manuscript in Tamang or Sherpa hands, nor any recorded oral narrative, which explicitly formulates the rules of marriage in these societies. This does not mean that there are no such rules, nor does it mean that they are not observed. It is indeed part of the anthropologist's job to identify and to seize hold of the kind of models to which I have drawn attention, in the body of the ethnographic, textual and artistic materials at his disposal.

I have not enlarged on the place that meat, still less yak-meat, occupies in Tamang and Sherpa life, culinary custom and etiquette. Today, it is rice which is the pre-eminent, the prestige food in these areas, a custom doubtless introduced, in the process of Hinduisation, by the Indo-Nepalese conquerors in whose own society boiled rice occupies such an essential ritual role. The share-out of rice was once an important theme in early Buddhist literature on Society;[24] but rice does not seem to have been used in the Nepalese hills to formulate local models of society.[24a] With regard to dismemberment we should remember that Jäschke's Dictionary under *lhu-tshigs*, reiterated by Desgodins', mentions twelve or eighteen such 'quarters';[25] and that the Tamang usually designate themselves as belonging to the Twelve or Eighteen Tamang.[26] There is also, as I have already stated, a local theory concerning the Eighteen Sherpas.[27]

Of the yak model it might be said that its total is more than the sum of its parts or, to put it another way, that the eighteen quarters, not all attested to in the 'poor' texts at our disposal, make of one whole yak one

world. The contours of the society into which the eighteen *rus* contract are marked by the outline of the yak's body. Just as individuals are transformed by *rites de passage* into responsible adults, so are the *rus*, to which the individuals belong, integrated into a society through the different segments of the yak's body and are at the same time differentiated. By their integration they are named and express their submission to and their dependence on the distributor of the meat. The brahmin is not yet there to consecrate the measure of the chief's dominion over subjects, livestock and land. But the text spells out this relationship. The yak's body is not yet a *mandala*: the model is that of a society which is not yet Hindu.

## Notes

1. See M. Mazaudon, *Phonologie Tamang,* SELAF, Paris, 1973, p.4, 39, 41.
2. A. Höfer, 'Some Non-Buddhist Elements in Tamang Religion', in *Vasudha,* XIV, 3, Kathmandu, 1971, p.17-23. See also his 'Notes sur le culte du terroir chez les Tamang du Népal, in J. Thomas and L.Bernot (eds.) *Langues et Techniques, Nature et Société,* Vol. 2, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971, and 'Is the "bombo" an Ecstatic ? Some Ritual techniques of Tamang Shamanism', in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal* (ed. Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf), Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1974, pp.168-182.
3. 'Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux', in *L'Homme*, VI, I, Paris, Mouton et Cie., 1956, pp.27-58. This article was published in English translation in *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975, pp.129-167.
4. *Essays on the Ethnology* ..... p. 138.
5. Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, t.II, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959.

5a. This presumably 20th century appellation goes back to old sources. See, for instance, G. Uray, 'The Old Tibetan Sources on the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: a survey', in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia,* Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1979, pp. 299, 300, 302.

6. See for instance the index of *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet,* Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, Vol. XIII, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p.505.
7. Ms. p.5a-5b: *g.yag gis mgo-bo 'di ni / sha'i phud yin-pas/ ldong-gyis lha srid-pa'i lha dgu'am / nyi-shu rtsa-lnga la mchod dgos-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /gnya'-pa'i sha ni kho go-bo'i srog-shing yin-pas / sten-'brel che-ba'i sha yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /stod gyis sha ni ldong chen-po'i mes-pho mchod-pa'i sha yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /bdal-mo'i sha ni ldong chen-po'i /blon-po rnams kyi bsol-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro/ smad kyi sha ni ldong chen-po'i 'khor-rnams bza'-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /nang gyi sha ni ldong chen-po'i bran pho mo rnams la sbyin-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /zhes gsung ste / brang gyi sha ni bsregs-sha'i 'os yin gsungs-ste bster-nas btang-ngo/*
8. Ms.4. p.7a: *yum-gyi min ri sman /sto-za ma-mo /'brong za-mo skyid-lding/ dar bzang-mo dge-sman / khu bzang-mo nya-mo rgyan/ bzi bzang-mo mtshog -leg /*

9. Ms. p.7a-b: *cos-se tso-ro / co-si go-ga'o /co-si ra-ga gsum /rtse-rtse dpal / rtse-rtse por /rtse-rtse phrom / go-ba [ gap ] btsan-pa/ 'dar-tsha gsum /bha-bha/ khu 'ol /'phrul-ka gsum / bod-dpa' /zhi-pa /gling-pa gsum/*
10. Ms. p.8a-b: *de'i dus-su phyog-bzhi'i mi-rnams la khyed-kyis rus 'di yin /nga'i rus 'di yin zer-pa med-pa la /ldong chen-po'i drung-du mtshogs-nas zhus-pa/ nged thams-cad la rus ming re bsnang-ba zhu zhus-pas/*
11. Ms. p.8b-9a: *thams-cad g.yag gis ro 'di la bzung-cig / gang 'dzin-pa di'i ming bstag-so gsung-pas / ro-ba la bzung-bas / ra-pha mtshan zhes stags-so / sna-ba la bzung-pas / snar-pha mtshan zhes stags-so/ [ ] snya-ba la bzung-pas / snya' shur-pha mtshan zhes stags-so /lce la bzung -pas / lce-pha mtshan zhes stags-so / blo-ba la bzung-pas / blo-pha mtshan zhes stags-so //la-las phyin-pa la bzung-bas /phyin-pha mtshan zhes su bstag-so /khrag la bzung-pas /dmar-lpag zhes su stags-so / la-las rko-pa la bzung-pas / rgya-spags-pha mtshan zhes bstags-so / rnga-ma la bzung-bas / de la rnga-ldang zhes-su bstags-so / rlig-pa la bzung-bas / li-pha mtshan du bstags-so / grad-pa la bzung-pas /thing-pha mtshan du bstagso/ la-las blo-ba la bzung-bas /blo-pha mtshan du bstags-so / la-las thams-cad dgyes-nas slebs-pas /de la dgyes-shing du bstag-so/*
12. For further references, see R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée ...*, index, p.638, under 'tribus primitives'.
13. On Tibetan *pho-lha*, see R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilisation,* tr. by J.E. Stapleton Driver, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1972, pp.206, 222, 227, 238 and G. Tucci and W. Heissig, *Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie,* tr. by R. Sailley, Paris, Payot, 1973, pp.239, 246, 254. To my knowledge, there exists no adequate account of the cult of the *pho-lha* among the Tamang and Sherpa of Nepal. From the lists in the four manuscripts we are concerned with, it would seem that while many of the *pho-lha* are *btsan* some are *yul-lha*. Moreover one *rus* may worship several *pho-lha:* in the case of the Zhang Zhangs-pa are indicated Dbus-kyi jo-bo; Dgun-thang-gi jo-bo; Mthang-dpal kyi jo-bo; and Yambur jo-bo (does this signify that his seat is at Kathmandu?). Again, the Smag-bstan worship what is apparently a whole family of *lha*: Yab brtse lha'i rgyal-po; Yum Nyi-li mtsho-sman rgyal-mo; Sras Chibs-brtsan rgyal-po Rgyab-brtsan rgyal-po. Different *rus* have sometimes the same pho-lha. It is not at all clear whether the *pho-lha* are lineage divinities or not; nor do I understand how their cult was inaugurated and is maintained.
14. See R.A. Stein, 'Du récit au ritual dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang', in *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971, p.540.
15. See C. Geertz, 'Religion as a culture system', in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, A.S.A. Monographs, 3. (ed. M.Banton), London, Tavistock Publications, 1966, p.7-8. On the respect with which indigenous models should be treated, see c. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale,* Paris, Plon, 1958, p.309, 310.
16. 'Quadripartition of Society in Early Tibetan Sources', in *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1978, fasc. 3 & 4, pp. 345-347. See also pp.15-17 of Gene Smith's Appendix I to *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, New Delhi, 1969, *Śata-Pitaka Series* Vol. 78, edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra.
17. See Cours de Paul Mus, *La première constitution hindous, Ṛg Veda X, 90* in *Annuaire du Collège de France,* 1960-61, Paris, pp. 275-277.
18. See the remarks of Paul Mus in 'Pensée occidentale et doctrines orientales,' article reprinted in *L'angle de l'Asie* (éd. Serge Thion), Collection Savoir, Paris, Hermann, 1977, particularly pp. 171, 172.
19. *Journal Asiatique,* 1952, pp.323-338,and 1955, p.101-115: English translations in *Essays on the Ethnology ....* pp. 1-13 and 73-80.

20. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford,* IX, 3, pp.157-166.
21. *loc.cit.,* p.8.
22. For example, in France the models issued from Structuralism have influenced the content of the weeklies and the monthlies and are the subject of conversation, outside universities, in cafés and bars: but they have not had any profound social, religious or political consequences. Structuralists would not occupy any part of the animal in my illustrations.
22a. Elsewhere, among the Western Tamang, my friend A. Höfer (personal communication) found the dismemberment theme in a little myth: One day, a cow belonging to four brothers, Jeṭhā, Mahĩlā, Sahĩlā and Kāncā, died. The three younger brothers made the eldest eat, unknowingly, of the cow's meat. After the meal, they told him what he had done. Furious, Jeṭhā hit out at Mahĩlā with the entrails (symbolizing the sacred thread, *janai*) and the latter became the Brahmin; he hit out at Sahĩlā with the stomach (symbolizing the kerchief, *rumāl*) and the latter became the Ṭhakuri; he hit out at Kāncā with the skin (symbolizing the bellows, *khalā̃ti*) and the latter became the Kāmi. The eldest brother himself became the Tamang. The story serves to explain why Brahmins 'caress' daily a cow's entrails, that is to say their sacred threads (*janai*), when pronouncing the Gāyatri mantra.
Mythical and physical dismemberment do not always overlap; but I doubt whether the one could exist without the other.
23. On conscious and unconscious models, see C. Lévi-Strauss, *op.cit.*, pp. 308-310, and, for the Sherpas, B.Ortner, *Sherpas through their rituals,* Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems, 2, Cambridge University Press, 1978, *passim.*
24. References in *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal ....*, pp. 75, 76, 79.
24a. Confer, however, A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal, A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854*, Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979, pp.216-217.
25. H.A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968, p.601 and Desgodins et al., *Dictionnaire Thibetain-Latin-Francais,* Hong Kong, 1899, p.1075.
26. See Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Ethnographic Notes on the Tamang of Nepal', in *Eastern Anthropologist,* Vol. IX, No.3-4, p.167. This is confirmed in the four manuscripts we have utilised in this paper.
27. See also Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'The Sherpas of the Khumbu Region', in *Mount Everest; Formation, Population and Exploration of the Everest Region,* Oxford University Press, London, 1963, p.144 and *The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders,* London, John Murray, 1964, p.19. For the four Sherpa proto-clans at the core of the theory of the Eighteen Sherpas, see the chart on p.125 of M. Oppitz, Myths and Facts: Reconsidering some data concerning the clan history of the Sherpas, in *Kailish, A Journal of Himalayan Studies,* Vol. II, 2, Kathmandu, 1974, pp.121-131. One might remark that in Sikkim too,among the Tibetan elements of Sikkimese society, we find four proto-clans known as the **Stong-'dus rus-bzhi**(the Tong-du ru-zi of H.H. Risley, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894, p.28, and J.F. Rock, 'Excerpts from a history of Sikkim', in *Anthropos,* 48, fasc. 5-6, Freiburg, 1953, p.929).

# GENDER MARKERS IN TIBETAN MORPHOLOGY[1]

**Ngawang Thondup Narkyid**

## I. Explanation of the Gender Marker (GM)[2]

*A. Six Suffix Gender Markers: /pa/, /po/; /ma/, /mo/ and /wa/, /wo/*

The suffixes /pa/, /po/ indicate 'masculine'; /ma/, /mo/ 'feminine'; and /wa/, /wo/ 'common' (to indicate 'a man or a woman' or 'common to both').

In modern Tibetan, /wa/ and /wo/, the 'common gender', can also indicate 'masculine' (Ex. II.A.5) and /pa/ and /po/ can also indicate 'common' (Ex. II. A.7, II.B.1). There are thousands of Tibetan basic nouns, deverbal nouns, and adjectives which are made with the above six suffixes. (Ex. II.B.1-3.) Based on this evidence, we can hypothesize that (1) there were three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) in Pro-Tibetan for *inanimate* things; (2) that gender gradually got lost, and (3) that now there are only two genders (masculine and feminine), as in the French language. There is no agreement between noun and adjective except for /p'u-mo mdze:-ma/ 'the beautiful girl', /p'u mdze:-po/ 'the handsome boy', and a very few other phrases.

How these gender markers are selected is rather complex to state in a simple way. There are phonological rules involved in some cases. The suffix /wo/ can be used only after a vowel final syllable (Ex. II.A.5-6, II.B.3), but the suffix /wa/ can be used after either the consonant-final syllables /ng/, /r/, /l/ or a vowel-final syllable (Ex. II.A.6, II.B.3). But /pa/, /po/ and /ma/, /mo/ can be used after any consonant-final or vowel-final syllable (Ex. from II.A.1. to II.B.3, and the final chart).

*B. Four Prefix Gender Markers: /p'o/, /mo/ and /p'a/, /ma/.*

The prefixes /p'o/ 'male' and /mo/ 'female', /p'a/ 'father' and /ma/ 'mother', can also indicate a gender: /p'o/ or /p'a/ signifying 'masculine' and /mo/ or /ma/ signifying 'feminine' (Ex. III. A.1-2).

The gender markers /p'a/ and /ma/ always indicate 'father' and 'mother' respectively and are used for animate things (Ex. III.A.2) /p'o/ and /mo/, 'male' and 'female', are used for both animate and inanimate things, even including a design or a shape (Ex. III.A.1, /p'o-ch'ä?/ 'man's costume' and /mo-ch'ä?) 'woman's garment'). But I have not yet been able to find a rule to specify under what conditions /p'o/ is used instead of /mo/ for some inanimate objects (Ex. III. A.1, /p'o-Ïo?/ 'positive electricity' and /mo-Ïo?/ 'negative-electricity').

## II. Examples of Gender Markers (Suffixes /pa/, /po/; /ma/, /mo/; /wa/, /wo/)

*A. Gender Markers on Animate Nouns.*

1. The Suffixes /pa/ and /ma/

The suffix /pa/ indicates 'masculine' and /ma/ indicates 'feminine':

| Ex. | Masculine: | | Feminine: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | /tsüm-pa/ | 'monk' | /tsüm-ma/ | 'nun' |
| | | (/tsün/ 'to discipline'+ GM) | | |
| | /ñyom-pa/ | 'mad, crazy' | /ñyom-ma/ | 'mad, crazy' |
| | | (/nyo/ 'to be mad'+ GM) | | |
| | /kug-pa/ | 'stupid' | /kug-ma/ | 'stupid' |
| | /lem-pa/ | 'foolish' | /Ïem-ma/ | 'foolish' |

2. The suffixes /pa/ and /mo/

The suffix /pa/ indicates 'masculine' and /mo/ indicates 'feminine':

Ex.

| Masculine: | | Feminine: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /k'am-pa/[3] | 'a man who was born in KHAM' | /k'am-mo/ | 'a woman who was born in KHAM' |
| (KHAM /k'am/ 'the eastern region of Tibet' + GM) | | | |
| /tsang-pa/[4] | 'a man who was born in TSANG' | /tsang-mo/ | 'a woman who was born in TSANG' |
| (TSANG /tsang 'an area in the central region of Tibet'+ GM) | | | |

3. The suffixes /po/ and /mo/

The suffix /po/ indicates 'masculine' and /mo/ indicates 'feminine':

Ex.

| Masculine: | | Feminine: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /gyä:-po/ | 'king' | /gyä:-mo/ | 'queen' (/tsüm-mo/) |
| (/gyäl/ 'to conquer'+ GM) | | | |
| /t̲'og-po/ | 'friend' | /t̲'og-mo/ | 'friend' |
| (/t'og/ 'to accompany, to help'+ GM) | | | |
| /n̄ä:-po/ | 'host' | /n̄ä:-mo/ | 'hostess' |
| (/n̄ä:-ts'ang/[5] 'dwelling' + GM) | | | |
| /sȯg-po/ | 'Mongolian' | /sȯg-mo/ | 'Mongolian' |
| (/sȯg-yül 'Mongolia'+ GM) | | | |
| /chem-po/ | 'elder brother' | /chem-mo/ | 'elder sister' |
| (/chen/ 'elder'[6] + GM) | | | |
| /chung-po/ | 'younger brother' | /chung-mo/ | 'younger sister' |
| (/chung/ 'younger'[7] + GM) | | | |

4. Basic nouns and the suffix /mo/:

Many basic nouns do not have any gender marker. These nouns become 'feminine' after adding the suffix /mo/, the 'feminine' gender suffix.

Ex.

| Common (unspecified): | | Feminine: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /hla/ | 'god, deity' | /hla-mo/ | 'goddess, deity' |
| (/hla/ 'god'+ GM) | | | |
| /l̄u/ | 'demi-god' | /l̄u-mo | 'demi-goddess' |
| (/l̄u/ 'demi-god'+ GM) | | | |
| /mḑe/ | demon, ghost' | /mḑe-mo/ | 'demon, ghost' |
| (mḑe/ 'demon'+ GM) | | | |
| /dü?/ | 'devil' | /dü:-mo/ | 'devil' |
| (/dü?/ 'devil'+ GM) | | | |
| /ra/ | 'goat' | /ra-mo/ | 'goat' |
| (/ra/ 'goat'+ GM) | | | |
| /ta?/ | 'tiger' | /tag-mo/ | 'tiger' |
| (/ta?/ 'tiger'+ GM) | | | |

5. The suffixes /wo/ and /mo/:

The suffix /wo/[8] sometimes indicates 'masculine' (it seems to be an exception) and /mo/ indicates 'feminine':

Ex.

| Masculine: | | Feminine: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ts'a-wo/ | 'nephew' | /ts'a-mo/ | 'niece' |
| (/sha-ts'a/[9] 'affection'+ GM) | | | |
| /mdza-wo/ | 'lover' | /mdza-mo/ | 'lover' |
| (/mdza/ 'to love'+ GM) | | | |
| /pa-wo/ | 'brave(man)'[10] | /pa-mo/ | 'brave(woman)' |
| (/pa/ 'brave'+ GM) | | | |
| /tso-wo/ | 'chief(man)'[11] | /tso-mo/ | 'chief(woman)' |
| (/tso/ 'chief+ GM) | | | |

6. The suffixes /wa/ and /wo/:

The suffixes /wa/ and /wo/ both indicate 'common' gender ('both masculine and feminine'):

Ex: Common gender /wa/:

/mḍo-wa/ 'living being'
(/mḍo/ 'to go'+ GM)
/hla-mo-wa/ 'actor or actress'
(/hla-mo/ 'folk drama'+ GM)
(/hla/ 'god'+ /mo/ 'female'= /hla-mo/ 'goddess'+ GM)
/hla-sa-wa/ 'a man or woman who is a native of LHASA, the capital of Tibet'
(/hla/ 'god'+ /sa/ 'place'+ /hla-sa/ 'heaven'= LHASA+ GM)

Common gender /wo/:[12]

/kye-wo/ 'human being'
(/kye/ 'to be born'+ GM)
/kya-wo/ 'layperson'
(/kya/ 'white'+ GM)
/mda-wo/ 'spouse' (husband or wife)
(/mda/ 'companion, partner, match'+ GM)

7. The suffix /pa/ for common gender:

The suffix /pa/[13] can also indicate 'common' gender when it occurs after a location.

Ex: Common gender (unspecified):

/shar-pa/ 'a man or woman who lives in the eastern part of the country, such as the 'Sharpa' (Sherpa) people in eastern Nepal'
(/shar/ 'east'+ GM)
/ch'ang-pa/ 'a man or woman who lives in the northern part of the country, such as the 'Jangpa' (nomads) in northern Tibet'
(/ch'ang/ 'north'+ GM)
/k'am-pa/[14] 'a man or woman, or a group of people, including both men and women, who are native to the KHAM'
(KHAM /k'am/ 'the eastern region of Tibet'+ GM)

*B. Gender Markers with inanimate nouns and adjectives.*

In the Proto-Tibetan language, the suffixes /pa/ and /po/ were the 'masculine' gender markers, /ma/ and /mo/ were the 'feminine' gender markers, and /wa/ and /wo/ were the 'neuter' gender markers for *inanimate* nouns and adjectives. But in modern Tibetan, these suffixes are just 'common' (masculine *and* feminine) gender markers for (a) the names of the inside and outside of a human or animal body, or for (b) other basic nouns, or (c) deverbal inanimate nouns, and (d) adjectives.

Ex: 1. /pa/ and /po/: masculine gender (PT)[15] or common gender (MT)[16]

(a) Names of the parts of a human or animal body:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /pa/: | /mḍam-pa/ | 'cheek, jaw' |
| | /mjing-pa/ | 'neck' |
| | /pung-pa/ | 'shoulder' |
| | /lag-pa/ | 'hand, arm' |
| | /ke-pa/ | 'waist' |
| | /kang-pa/ | 'foot, leg' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /po/: | /t'e-po/ | 'thumb' |
| | /w̄ang-po/ | 'organs (of sense)' |
| | /s̲ug-po/ | 'body' |
| | /p'ung-po/ | 'corpse' (body) |

(b) Other basic inanimate nouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /pa/: | /lung-pa/ | 'country, county' |
| | /k'ang-pa/ | 'house, building' |
| | /p'ö̆r-pa/ | 'bowl' |
| | /kü-pa/ | 'thread, string' |
| | /hlag-pa/ | 'wind' |
| | /ṯim-pa/ | 'clouds' |
| /po/: | /lung-po/ | 'air, wind' |
| | /ṯ'og-po/[17] | 'deep ravine' |

(c) Deverbal inanimate nouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /pa/: | /k̲y̲'om-pa/ | 'clothes' (/k̲y̲'ön/ 'to wear'+ GM) |
| | /täm-pa/ | 'doctrine' (/tän/ 'showed'+ GM) |
| | /jim-pa/ | 'gift,alms' (/jin/ 'to give'+ GM) |
| | /kyug-pa/ | 'vomit' (/kyug/ 'to vomit'+ GM) |
| /po/: | /gyä:-po/ | 'king' (/gya:/ 'to conquer'+ GM) |

(d) Adjectives:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /pa/: | /sö-pa/ | 'fresh' |
| | /sar-pa/ | 'new' (/sa:-pa/) |
| | /n̄ȳing-pa/ | 'old' (not age) |
| | /tsö̆g-pa/ | 'dirty' |
| /po/: | /yag-po/ | 'good' (/yag-go/) |
| | /dug-po/ | 'bad' (/dug-ch'a?/) |
| | /mgyö̆g-po/ | 'quick,fast' (/mgyö̆g-go/) |
| | /mgö̆r-po/ | 'slow' (/mgö̆:-po/) |
| | /kar-po/ | 'white' (ka:-po) |
| | /nag-po) | 'black' (/nag-go/) |

Ex: 2. /ma/ and /mo/: feminine gender (PT) or common gender (MT)

(a) Names of the parts of a human or animal body:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ma/: | /ö̆g-ma/ | 'chin' (ö̆:-ma/) |
| | /nu-ma/ | 'breast,bosom,udder' |
| | /tsib-ma/ | 'rib' (/tsig-ma?/) |
| | /mjug-ma/ | 'tail' (/s̲h̲u̲g̲-gu/) |
| | /n̄g̅a-ma/ | 'tail' (with long hair) |
| | /ch'il-ma/ | 'spittle' (/ch'i-ma?/) |
| /mo/: | /sem-mo/ | 'nail' (/sen-mo/ or /sor-mo/) |
| | /mdzub-mo/ | 'finger' (/mdzug-gu/) |
| | /bar-mo/ | 'claw, talon' (/bar-ra/) |
| | /ṯ'u-mo/ | 'elbow' (/ṯ'u-du-ru-mu/) |
| | /pü:-mo/ | 'knee' (/pi:-mo/) |

(b) Other basic inanimate nouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ma/: | /dung-ma/ | 'beam,timber' |
| | /t'ur-ma/ | 'spoon' (/t'u-ma:/) |
| | /k'ö̆g-ma/ | 'vessel' (/k'ö̆:-ma/) |
| | /ch'ag-ma/ | 'broom' (/ch'a:-ma/) |
| | /jag-ma/ | 'spade' (/ja:-ma/) |
| | /ch'e-ma/ | 'sand' (c̲h̲'em-na/) |
| /mo/: | /ch'u-mo/ | 'river' (/ch'u-wo/ or /ch'u/) |
| | /ṯ'og-mo/[18] | 'deep ravine' (ṯ'o:-mo/or /ṯ'og-p/) |

(c) Deverbal inanimate nouns:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | /ma/: | /kur-ma/ | 'gift,present' (/kur/ 'to send'+ GM) |
| | | /kül-ma/ | 'admonition' (/ku:/ 'to admonish'+ GM) |
| | /mo/: | /tä:-mo/ | 'show,sight' (/tä?/ 'to look'+ GM) |
| | | /gä:-mo/ | 'laugh' (/gä?/ 'to laugh'+ GM) |
| (d) Adjectives: | | | |
| | /ma/: | /mdze:-ma/ | 'beautiful' (for female) |
| | | /ȳo-ma/ | 'deceitful,cunning' (for female) |
| | /mo/: | /t̡'ang-mo/ | 'cold' (/t̡'ang-ngu/) |
| | | /k̄yur-mo/ | 'sour' (/k̄yu:-mo/) |
| | | /n̄ḡar-mo/ | 'sweet' (/n̄ḡa:-mo/) |
| | | /sab-mo / | 'deep' |

Ex: 3. /wa/ and /wo/: neuter gender (PT)or common gender (MT):

(a) Names of the parts of a human or animal body:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | /wa/: | /t̡ä:-wa/ | 'forehead' (/pä:-kɒ?) |
| | | /n̄a-wa/ | 'ear' (/am-chɒ?/) |
| | | /ba-wa/ | 'goiter, wen' |
| | | /t̡'e-wa/ | 'throat' (/mig-pa/) |
| | | /l̿o-wa/ | 'lung' (/lɒ:/) |
| | | /me-wa/ | 'mole, wart'(/m̄äh̄/)[19] |
| | /wo/: | /chi-wo/ | 'top of the head' (/chi-tsu?/) |
| | | /mgo-wo/ | 'head' (/mgo/) |
| (b) Other basic inanimate nouns: | | | |
| | /wa/: | /ka-wa/ | 'pillar' (/ka:/) |
| | | /k'a-wa/ | 'snow' (k̲'ang?/) |
| | | /t̲'u-wa/ | 'smoke' (̄/t̲'uɒ:/) |
| | | /b̄u-wa/ | 'foam,froth,bubbles' (/buɒ:/) |
| | | /t'o-wa/ | 'hammer' (/t'ó:/) |
| | /wo/: | /ri-wo/ | 'mountain' (/ri/) |
| | | /ch'u-wo/ | 'river' (/ch'u-mo/ or /ch'u/) |
| (c) Deverbal inanimate nouns: | | | |
| | /wa/: | /k'or-wa/ | 'world (/k'or/ 'in turn, to cycle'+ GM) |
| | | /ch̲'a-wa/ | 'work,task' (/ch̲'a/ 'to do'+ GM) |
| | | /ta-wa/ | 'theory,view' (/ta/ 'to look'+ GM) |
| | | /ts'or-wa/ | 'feeling' (/ts'or/ 'to feel'+ GM) |
| | | /mbül-wa/ | 'present,gift' (/mbü:/ 'to offer+ GM) |
| | | /tung-wa/ | 'drinking utensils' (/tung/ 'to drink + GM) |
| | /wo/: | /kye:-wo/ | 'human being' (/kye:/ 'to be born'+ GM) |
| (d) Adjectives: | | | |
| | /wa/: | /ch'e*-wa/ | 'bigger' (/ch'e/ 'big'+ GM) |
| | | /ch'ung*-wạ/ | 'smaller' (/ch'ung/ 'small'+ GM) |
| | | Adjectives become comparative after adding the suffix /wa/. * indicates stress in pronunciation. | |
| | /wo/: | /tso-wo/ | 'chief'+ GM |
| | | /pa-wo/ | 'brave'+ GM |

### III. Examples of Gender Markers (Prefixes /p'o/, /mo/ and /p'a/, /ma/)

*A. Gender Markers on animate and inanimate nouns:*

1. The prefixes /p'o/ and /mo/:

The prefix /p'o/ signifies 'man' or 'males' or 'masculine'; and /mo/ signifies 'woman' or 'female' or 'feminine':

| Ex: | Common: | Masculine: | Feminine: |
|---|---|---|---|
| | /hrang-hrang/ | /p'o-hrang/[20] | /mo-hrang/ |
| | 'bachelor' | 'bachelor man' | 'bachelor woman' |
| | /ch'ä:-k'o?/ | /p'o-ch'ä?/ | /mo-ch'ä?/ |
| | 'dress' | 'man's costume' | 'woman's garment' |
| | /kä?/ | /p'o-kä?/ | /mo-kä?/ |
| | 'voice,sound' | 'man's voice, low pitch sound' | 'woman's voice, high pitch sound' |
| | /ts'än/ | /p'o-ts'än/ | /mo-ts'än/ |
| | 'sign,mark,name' | 'masculine gender' | 'feminine gender' |
| | /shi-mi/ | /p'o-shim/[21] | /mo-shim/ |
| | 'cat' | 'male cat' | 'female cat' |
| | /Īȯ?/ | /p'o-Īȯ?/ | /mo-Īȯ?/ |
| | 'electricity, lightning' | 'positive-electricity' | 'negative-electricity' |

2. The prefixes /p'a/ and /ma/:

The prefix /p'a/ signifies 'father' and /ma/ signifies 'mother':

| Common: | Masculine: | Feminine: |
|---|---|---|
| /gän-gȯ/ | /p'a-gän/[22] | /ma-gän/ |
| 'old age' | 'old father' | 'old mother' |
| /gyü:-pa/ | /p'a-gyü?/ | /ma-gyü?/ |
| 'lineage' | 'father's lineage' | 'mother's lineage' |
| /mi-rig/ | /p'a-rig/ | /ma-rig/ |
| 'race,nationality' | 'father's race' | 'mother's race' |
| /ming/ | /p'a-ming/ | /ma-ming/ |
| 'name' | 'father's name' | 'mother's name' |
| /ky'im-ts'ang/ | /p'a-ky'im/ | /ma-ky'im/ |
| 'home, family' | 'father's home' | 'mother's home' |
| /shi:-ka/ | /p'a-shi/ | /ma-shi?/ |
| 'farm of an agriculturist' | 'a farm which belongs to a father' | 'a farm which belongs to a mother' |

**Phonological Environments of Suffix Gender Markers**

a. /wo/ can be used only after a vowel:

/V/* ⟵ /wo/

b. /wa/ can be used after the consonants /ng/, /ra/, and /la/ or after a vowel:

/ng/
/r/
/l/ ⟵ /wa/
/V/

c. /pa/, /po/ and /ma/, /mo/ can be used after the consonants /b/, /d/, /g/; /m/, /n/, /ng/; /r/, /l/, /s/ or after a vowel:

[/b/ /d/ /g/ /m/ /n/ /ng/ /r/ /l/ /s/ /V/] ⟵ [/pa/ /po/ /ma/ /mo/]

---

*/V/ =vowel

(Resonants) (Obstruents)

| Consonants | BILABIAL | DENTAL | RETROFLEX | PALATAL | PALATO-VELAR | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STOP: | p p'<br>b p̲' mb | t t'<br>d t̲' md | ţ ţ'<br>ḑ ţ̲' mḑ | | ky ky'<br>gy ky̲' mgy | k k'<br>g k̲' mg | ?<br> |
| FRICATIVE: | | s<br>s̲ | | sh*<br>s̲h̲ | | | h<br>h̲ |
| AFFRICATE: | | ts ts'<br>dz t̲s̲' mdz | | ch* ch'<br>j* c̲h̲' mj | | | |
| NASAL: | m̄ hm<br>m | n̄ hn<br>n | | n̄ȳ hny<br>ny* | | n̄ḡ hng<br>ng* | |
| LIQUID: | | l̄ hl<br>l | | r̄ hr<br>r | | | |
| GLIDE: | w̄ hw<br>w | | | ȳ hy<br>y | | | |

| Vowels | Short vowels | | | Long vowels | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
| HIGH: | i ü* | | u | i: ü: | | u: |
| UPPER MID: | e ö* | å* | o | e: ö: | | o: |
| LOWER MID: | ä* | | o̊* | ä: | | o̊: |
| LOW: | | a | | | a: | |

| | Diphthongs | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | FRONT | CENTRAL | HIGH |
| HIGH: | iu:<br>io:<br>iä: | | uo̊: |
| MID: | eu:<br>eo:<br>eä: | åu: | oo̊: |
| LOW: | | ao: | |

Note: An apostrophe (') is used to indicate aspiration.
A comma (,) under a consonant is used to indicate retroflexion.
A 'y' after a consonant is used to indicate palatalization.
An 'm' before a consonant is used to indicate prenasalization.
An 'h' before a consonant is used to indicate preaspiration.

A line (-) under an aspirated obstruent consonant is used to indicate a pitch in the (CV) syllable level that is pronounced 'lower' than the normal English pitch, and a line above an unaspirated reasonant consonant is used to indicate a pitch in the (CV) syllable level that is pronounced 'higher' than the normal English pitch.

| Consonants: | *sh=š | *ch=č | *j=ǰ | *ny=ñ | *ng=ŋ | Vowels: | *ü=$y^1$ | *ö=ø | *å=ə | *o̊=ɔ | *ä=æ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Phonetic Chart for Tibetan Consonant and Vowel Sounds

## Notes

1. My original intention for this paper was to write a complete description of Tibetan word structure - that is, a Tibetan morphology. However, there was a time limitation, and there are a great number of different forms of words. Therefore, at this time I will deal only with the Gender Marker (suffixes on nouns and adjectives: པ་ /pa/, པོ་ /po/, མ་ /ma/, མོ་ /mo/, བ་ /wa/, བོ་ /wo/; and prefixes on nouns: ཕོ་ /p'o/, མོ་ /mo/, ཕ་ /p'a/, མ་ /ma/).

   Other parts of speech or affixes are: (I) personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns (or demonstrative adjectives); (II) basic nouns, deverbal nouns, and adjectives; (III) verbs, adverbs, and auxiliaries; and (IV) plural markers, noun markers, adjective markers, and other affixes. I will finish this work before Christmas 1979. This paper is therefore only a small part of my work on Tibetan morphology.
2. (GM) = gender marker
3,4. See II.A.7 below, /k'am-pa/ for common gender.
5. Most compound words combine the first syllables of two words and delete the second or other syllables if the basic words have two or more syllables. But some words are combined with the second syllable, as in the examples /ts'a-wo/ 'nephew' (II.A.5), and /p'a-rig/ 'father's race' (III.A.2).
6,7. /chen/ and /chung/ are special terms used only for 'brother' and 'sister' but not for others. The word /gam*-pa/ 'elder, older' and 'shom*-pa/ 'younger' are used for others (common gender). *indicates stress in pronunciation for comparative adjective.
8. See II.A.7 below, /wo/ for common gender.
9. See note 5 above.
10,11. When a gender marker is suffixed to an adjective, the result is an adjective, even though, on the surface, the result appears to be a noun. All translators render the Tibetan word /pa-wo/ into English as 'hero'.
12. See II.A.5 above, /wo/ for 'masculine' gender.
13. See II.A.1.above, /pa/ for 'masculine' gender.
14. See II.A.2.above, /kh'am-pa/ for 'masculine' gender.
15. (PT) = Proto-Tibetan.
16. (MT) = Modern Tibetan.
17. The pronunciation is the same as for 'friend' (ṭ'og-po/, but the spelling is different. Never pronounce this /ṭog-go/.
18. Pronounced the same as 'female friend', but spelled differently.
19. /ṅ/ is the symbol for partial nazalization. /ng/, /n/, or even /m/ is pronounced with partial nazalization when it occurs at the end of the final syllable as in /yang-yaṅ/, 'again and again'; /tän-täṅ/ 'sure'; or /ch'am-ch'aṅ/, 'stroll'.
20. See note 5 above.
21. A syllable in some compound words is actually an abbreviation of an entire two syllable word, as in the word /shi-mi/ which becomes /shim/ in /p'o-shim/.
22. See note 5 above.

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# CHANGE AND DIFFERENTIATION IN TIBETAN SEX ROLES: THE NEW ADULT GENERATION IN INDIA

Margaret Nowak

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, by beginning with a definition of two key terms - 'sex roles' and 'differentiation' - it will attempt to describe and comment on one aspect of the contemporary situation of young Tibetan refugees, using the particular perspective of sociocultural anthropology. Secondly, and as background for the primary discussion, this paper will also consider certain implications of the wider problem of culture change, relating the specific topic of changing sex roles to the more general issues of modernization and refugee adaptation.[1]

In the context of this paper, then, the first term - 'sex roles' - will be used to refer to normative expectations regarding gender-appropriate appearance, activities, and self-definitions for male and female members of Tibetan refugee society. As for the second term, here somewhat more explication seems necessary, for the notion of 'differentiation' is more specific and less emotionally charged than that of 'change' in this context, and it is important for the sake of the present argument that the former word be clearly distinguished from the latter. All of us attending this conference are well aware that Tibetan culture is in the process of rapid, if not irreversible change at this very time. Without ignoring or ceasing to empathize with the disorientation and human suffering that this involves, however, it should still be possible for concerned admirers of traditional Tibetan culture to try to see in this change not only cause for regret, but also whatever patterns can be identified therein as well. For this purpose, the selective focus of specific terminology can often prove helpful, and it is for this reason, and decidedly not for the mere sake of using social science jargon, that the word 'differentiation' will be used in this paper.

This concept, originally borrowed from biological and evolutionary theory, refers in general to the characteristic mode of development that occurs when a simple or unitary form becomes more specialized and complex. When this idea is applied to social situations such as the Tibetan case, or in fact, that of any traditional society in the process of becoming modernized, the pattern of this differentiation can be noted by identifying and comparing the number of options available at various stages of the society's development. Although some qualification is always called for when traditional and modern ways of life are contrasted as 'simple' and 'complex' respectively, the main point here should be evident: at the pre-modern stage, the extent of an individual's personal choice would have to be considered extremely limited by today's standards, for traditional lifeways demand that the group's key values be collectively shared and integrated throughout the entire society. In the modern context, however, life styles are much more a matter of individual choosing, for here social consensus and homogeneity increasingly give way to the pluralism that marks this more complex and specialized mode of existence. In brief, and without moral or philosophical comment, for those living in the situation of greater complexity, the increased differentiation means more options.

With these qualifications in mind, then, let us now consider the implications of this specific kind of change with respect to sex roles in contemporary Tibetan refugee society. The supporting data regarding this topic have been selected in accordance with the definition of sex roles proposed earlier in this paper; in addition, an important contingency of my fieldwork should also be acknowledged at this point. Except for a brief visit to one of the agricultural settlements in Karnataka State, my experience and direct

observations were largely limited to the transitional if not modern situations of Tibetan students from primary to university levels; thus any comments made here about 'traditional' Tibetan culture are of necessity based on participant observation of deliberately maintained practices, interaction with less acculturated Tibetan refugees such as manual labourers and old people, and secondhand descriptions of 'life in Tibet'. For this reason, then, most of the discussion that follows will concentrate on manifestations of sex roles in the more modern context: the gender-appropriate appearance, activities, and self-definitions of those Tibetans who are now educated young adults.

Normative expectations concerning the first of these categories - appearance - impinge not only on sex roles, but also on the more general issue of what constitutes a properly 'Tibetan' presentation of self. To be sure, few if any young people would hold that the *phyu-pa* be worn exclusively nowadays, but on the other hand, there does exist a community-wide awareness that the constant wearing of Western-style clothing - particularly modern fashions - has a symbolic value that directly threatens the refugee ideal of 'preserving Tibetan culture'. Males and females differ in their attempts to come to terms with this problem, and if any one pattern can be identified with respect to the underlying character of this difference, it is that of unequal differentiation of options according to sex.

For the younger school-age children at Tibetan residential and day schools, everyday uniforms are equally modern: shirt and trousers for boys; skirt and blouse for girls, with jackets for both if the climate warrants this. For special occasions such as school or religious ceremonies, however, both sexes then wear school issue *phyu-pa* instead of Western clothes; thus at this age level, males and females start out, officially at least, with equal opportunities to appear either 'modern' or 'traditional'. But informally - that is, outside of the hours for school or official functions - when practicality takes precedence over uniformity as the major consideration for clothing style, *all* boys wear Western-style work or play clothes, whereas many of the girls, even five and six-year olds, at least occasionally wear Tibetan dress for these activities. By adolescence the picture is further complicated by the role of media messages (popular magazines in particular) and peer group opinion regarding 'stylishness', not only with respect to clothing, but also in the matter of shoes, hair length, jewelry, and use of cosmetics as well.

In all of this, it should be emphasised that the issue here is not merely one of simple dichotomy between males' and females' likelihood or possibility of appearing 'Tibetan' or 'Western'. More than that, the problem of options in this case involves the socially important balancing acts that must be managed between two counterpoised pressures: affirming native traditions while visibly belonging to and participating in the modern world. By the time they are adolescents and young adults, both sexes have experienced the displeasure of some of their elders regarding hair that is deemed too long or too short, bell-bottoms that are too wide, slacks that are unladylike, make-up and accessories that look too much like that of movie stars ... and both sexes are keenly aware that *zab-sprod spras* - 'dressing up in one's Sunday best' - could mean two entirely different self-presentations, depending on whether the occasion were,for example, a Tibetan wedding or a college social.

Yet this common experience of being caught in the middle of two worlds does hit men and women differently with respect to gender-appropriate appearance, for not all of the balancing acts that are possible here for contemporary males are equally possible for their female counterparts. When a Tibetan woman decides to wear a *phyu-pa* rather than a sweater and slacks, for example, her commitment to her chosen ensemble for the day is total, so to speak, even if the material for the traditional dress might now be polyester instead of

wool. Unless she completely changes her costume - *phyu-pa*, Tibetan blouse, apron and corresponding accessories - she is unable to effect a simple transition from traditional to modern style dress, even if the social situation itself should change suddenly. For men, however, this flexibility of options does indeed exist. Given their gender-appropriate style of wearing the *phyu-pa* over a shirt and trousers (the latter could be anything from second-hand Levi's to vintage bazaar specials), men are thus able to outfit themselves for both possibilities at once: they can appear suitably 'traditional' for those formal events which demand native dress, yet at the same time, and with a minimum of fuss, they can also be ready to doff the *phyu-pa* and 'go modern', in a manner reminiscent of new college graduates flinging off caps and gowns after the ceremonies are over.

Additional descriptions regarding this particular kind of sex role differentiation could of course be presented here as well, but even these brief remarks on gender-appropriate appearance for young Tibetans should be sufficient to illustrate this general point: despite the fact that both sexes have to concern themselves with the same problem - changing socio-cultural expectations regarding 'proper' appearance - options and ways of manipulating these options are not equal for males and females in this cultural context.

The second category of expectations related to sex roles - gender-appropriate activities- could potentially refer to any number of behaviour patterns, interests, and learned aptitudes; thus a paper of this limited scope can only attempt to select a few of these instances, using them to illustrate the more general themes and patterns involved. Since the major contextual focus of my fieldwork concerned education, with observations made primarily at a Tibetan residential school and secondarily among Tibetan college and university students, the following discussion will draw its material from this sphere of activity. Other important institutions such as politics, economics, and religion will at most receive only passing mention here.

In connection with the large problem of culture change for a refugee society, the issue of formal education in the new country of residence is of course an extremely significant one. For the Tibetans who now live in India, for example, the modern curriculum now taught to the younger generation represents only one aspect of the profound and far-reaching changes brought about by the establishment of a school system for their benefit. In addition to the content presented through this educational process - one noticeably and deliberately influenced by scientific rationalism, which is perceived by policy-makers to be the prevailing intellectual philosophy of the modern world - the form and manner of this activity are likewise affecting these people's transition from traditional to contemporary lifestyles.[2]

In this context, the specific problem of sex role differentiation is being influenced by two social facts in particular: (1) educational opportunities are now open to a much wider cross-section of Tibetan society than ever before at all educational levels; and (2) with respect to Tibetan society now living in India, all of these changes are taking place within a social setting that is marked by very definite (and different, from the Tibetan point of view) sex role expectations of its own.

The implications of these two facts are very much interrelated. First, for refugees who have lost their land - and with it, much of the tangible basis for demonstrating ascribed status - the past two decades of exile have meant far greater emphasis on status that is achieved instead. Given this situation, the general availability of formal education for both sexes has had the effect of making the ideal end of this schooling - a college degree - a primary criterion for being considered as one of the 'new elite'. Not only

is a college degree widely believed to guarantee its holder's chances for economic and social success (particularly in the form of white-collar jobs), but in addition, it often serves as a key factor to be considered when selecting a marriage partner. Particularly for those students who have parents or older *spun* (siblings/cousins) to arrange, approve, or otherwise comment on a suitable marriage choice, the possibility of obtaining higher education represents more than just a formal opportunity to prepare for a career; it can entail new and potentially advantageous interpersonal relationships as well.

For the vast majority of Tibetan refugees who are not aristocrats (as defined by traditional criteria: i.e. *sger-pa* - enfeoffed with an inheritable patrimonial estate), the new status that can be achieved by getting a degree and associating with other college students is thus doubly worth striving for: it is available and 'modern', and at the same time it can be manipulated according to the time-honoured principle of maximizing social connections. 'Going to college', then, is a multi-purpose event, especially for young Tibetan women, for it is they - much more than the young men - who tend to associate this total experience with personal goals of marrying 'up', making 'better friends', or otherwise improving their standing in society. For the young men, on the other hand, status-consciousness is much less a focus of attention in this respect; in fact, it is perhaps not too surprising that many of them, who are under less social pressure to marry a 'good provider', should comment often and negatively on what they perceive as a shallow, characteristically 'feminine' pre-occupation with wealth, style, and appearance. The following statement, which I heard several times in various forms, is typical, if poignant in its implications for both sexes: 'Most Tibetan girls are becoming such bourgeois types. When we're with them, we can't talk to them about the ideas that *really* matter to us...'.

As for the second social fact influencing the current development of Tibetan expectations concerning gender-appropriate activities - the social guidelines of the host country - here too, the surrounding issue is that of sociocultural change in general, and here as well, the observable effect of this change with respect to male/female relations seems to be an increasing separation, or lessening of communication, between the sexes. While it is true that children of both sexes at Tibetan residential schools attend classes together, participate in work brigades together, and otherwise interact in mixed-sex groups, with minimal structural restrictions keeping them apart, it is also true that these students are growing up in India, where segregation by sex occurs pervasively throughout almost all aspects of society.

To be sure, twenty years' experience in this country has hardly served to transform Tibetan male/female patterns of interaction completely into Indian ones, even in the case of the Tibetan youth who had been born there. Men and women still share domestic and economic tasks with little regard for division of labour by sex, and the hilariously scatological tales of Uncle Tompa are still enjoyed publicly and without embarrassment by children and adults of all ages. At the same time, though, not all traditional Tibetan attitudes towards sex and sex roles can persist unchanged, for it would be naively unfair, for example, to allow Tibetan adolescents to believe that a pregnant, unmarried girl in this new country of residence would find the same climate of acceptance she could generally expect in traditional Tibet.

As in the previously described case, where the increased opportunity for higher education is influencing current re-definitions of 'elite' status, this second kind of change - here, involving notions of 'propriety' - is most evident among those Tibetans who are consciously and obviously striving to be upwardly mobile. For them in particular, the behaviour patterns of middle-class Indians provide the models to be emulated, even if the resulting style

of interaction might only be used in essentially non-Tibetan social situations. With respect to sex roles, examples of this can be seen most clearly among college students: the studied shyness of coeds when interacting with young men in public places; the manipulating of a Hindi kinship term (*bhai* -- brother) to disclaim or prevent the possibility of any supposed, implied, or attempted sexual relationship; the newly learned unease of many young women when they have to walk or travel unescorted. All of these behaviour patterns are being shaped by social guidelines and expectations that are characteristically Indian, and it is safe to say that Tibetans in other countries, Europe and North America included, are also changing or modifying the style of cross-sex interaction in accordance with the norms and practices that are accepted there.

In summing up all of these considerations of gender-appropriate activities, no easy generalizations can be made about either sex having more or better options than the other in this respect. While males and females alike are in many ways freer to explore and participate in the new opportunities and life-styles of a more modern social setting, the growing concern for status and propriety as defined by this setting can actually have the effect of restricting rather than expanding the limits of acceptable behaviour. Having moved from Tibet to India, and from a traditional to a more contemporary society, Tibetan men and women are both faced with greater complexity, and in this neutral sense, a greater possibility of options regarding their present and future lifestyles. Once they begin regularly choosing in favour of modern values, however, these people's chances of returning to the more integrated, simple, and less differentiated ways of the past seem negligible.

A brief look at the final aspect of sex roles to be examined in this paper - gender-appropriate self-definitions - may serve to complement the ideas discussed so far, for in comparison with the issues of appearance and activities, the problem of personal identity demands that much greater attention be paid to the subjective and self-reported thoughts and feelings of the people concerned. In the case of my own fieldwork, some significant data of this sort came from an unplanned and quite incidental experience: during the school's winter vacation I spent approximately two weeks helping tenth-grade students prepare for their upcoming English exam, and one of the essays they were supposed to review, as it turned out, was Phyllis McGinley's 'I wish I were a Man'. Since much of my work with these students involved practice with writing skills, the set-up was perfect: I asked for a short composition in which they would express their own ideas on this matter, and the next day I received nineteen personal statements giving the writers' perceptions about their own and the opposite sex.

As might be expected in this social context, eighteen of these compositions strongly re-echoed the point made in the original essay: as seen by men and women alike, the male sex is the privileged one. One girl, however, did express more positive views regarding her own sex, introducing her thoughts with the comment that 'in Tibet, women are highly respected by family members', and specifying the gratification that comes from receiving love from husband and children, the potential closeness of mother-daughter relationships, and the enjoyment of femine beauty in further support of her contention that 'women are luckier than men'. Despite this one exceptional conclusion, though, the other responses given by both sexes constantly and consistently emphasized what these students saw as men's greater options: to go out alone and without fear; to face problems more independently; to wear clothes that do not limit one's physical freedom (repeatedly cited by boys and girls alike here was the example of the currently fashionable high-heeled shoes for women, which makes brisk walking difficult and running impossible); to work at a greater variety of (modern) jobs; and in general, to make more choices. As for the boys in

particular, even their unanimous affirmation of their male identity did not prevent them from expressing some self-doubts of their own: anticipation of greater social pressures - e.g. family responsibilities, and fear of getting involved in such 'male' anti-social activities as fighting, drinking, and avenging insults.

When asked to comment on these perceptions, slightly older Tibetans - specifically, the more reflective and critical-minded young adults - expressed a rather negative view: such evaluations of what it means to be male or female reflect the regrettable lack of self-confidence that presently characterize these young and unsure Tibetan adolescents in general. While such a problem might be expected for this age group, especially when the social situation itself is in such a state of flux, those young Tibetans who do not see modernization as an unmitigated blessing are most quick to point out the contrast between past and present styles of gender-appropriate self-definition as they see it.

According to their descriptions, traditional sex roles were clearly defined and socially recognized, and this fact provided ways and means for either sex to redress any grievances that one might occasionally have had against the other. Furthermore, for married couples in traditional Tibetan society, it was individual competence more than sexual identity which determined who did or controlled what in the family, and the corresponding attribute of being *spyang-po* ('clever') could thus be a part of women's as well as men's self-definition. By comparison, the present-day proliferation of unfamiliar new options - and with this, new criteria of excellence - appears to be adversely affecting many young Tibetans in this one way at least: according to their own self-reports, it is very difficult nowadays for young men and women alike to feel sure of themselves. For this new generation, who now anticipate potential judgement by society at both ends of the modern/traditional continuum, self-confidence and self-esteem do not come easily, and their attempts to formulate and live by a consistent and positive gender-appropriate self-definition are likewise marked by uncertainty.

In concluding this paper, then, it is this last, most subjective aspect of sex roles which may be seen to impinge on, if not include the other two, for human beings not only 'have' or 'lack' options; in addition, they react to this fact, defining and re-defining themselves in the process. For certain groups of people, however, e.g. those who are engulfed by sudden culture change - this task is an especially difficult one, and their struggle in this respect is not always helped by the promise or even reality of 'more and better' options. Seen in this light, then, the issue of changing sex roles represents but one aspect of socio-cultural change in general, and any easy conclusions about a general pattern of 'more' or 'better' opportunities for either sex would seem premature at best.

At the beginning of this paper, the term 'differentiation' was introduced, partly in order to provide a conceptual tool for examining the data at hand with more objectivity. To some degree, this goal has been accomplished, particularly in connection with the considerations of gender-appropriate appearance and activities. But these two categories of experience are neither separate from nor unrelated to the third: self-definition. It is here, in fact, that we encounter the real subjects of this paper: young adults who perceive themselves as Tibetan without a country, caught between a traditional past they tend to idealize and a modern future they cannot ignore.

## Notes

1. Field research for this paper was carried out in northern India, 1976-1977, and supported by a junior fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies. The author also wishes to thank Dawa Norbu, Political Science Department, University of California at Berkeley,who listened critically to these ideas in embryonic form and responded with provocative suggestions and comments of his own, thus making this paper in many ways a real product of Tibetan-Western dialogue.
2. For a more detailed discussion of these problems, see Margaret Nowak, 'Liminal "self", ambiguous "power": the genesis of the "rangzen" metaphor among Tibetan youth in India', Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington, Seattle, 1978.

# PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE UDDĀNAS IN THE VINAYA OF THE MŪLASARVĀSTIVĀDIN

**Jampa Losang Panglung**

The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin (MSV), the complete version of which is preserved only in the Tibetan translation,[1] differs from the Vinayas of the other schools on account of its great number of narratives and birth-stories which serve to illustrate the rules and regulations for the Saṅgha. The stories included in the MSV assume importance when discussing the question of its age and compilation. The discussion of these problems is sometimes made difficult by the fact that an outline of the overall contents of the MSV has not so far been made available.[2] In order to contribute to a better knowledge of the contents of the MSV I recently completed an analysis of all the narratives, legends, birth-stories, etc., contained in the MSV.[3] In the course of this study I noted that so far little attention has been paid to the Uddānas,[4] the verses which subdivide the contents of the MSV. Since the Uddānas are structural elements of the MSV, in my view they may be an essential factor for the discussion of its contents and its compilation.

I will therefore try to demonstrate the importance of the Uddānas with regard to the contents of the MSV. Firstly an example will be given to illustrate the principle of the Uddāna, then some instances will be used to show what kind of differences lie between the Uddāna and its context, and finally it will be shown by way of example to what extent conclusions are limited by the keyword-like structure of the Uddānas.

The Uddāna (Tib: sdom) in the MSV is a verse composed of keywords which are arranged according to the context which follows it. As the Uddāna is put ahead of the context, it serves as an index. Furthermore it has a control function which makes it possible to check the order of the context. All the Uddānas of a section of the MSV are again summarised in such a way that each Uddāna is covered by one keyword. These keywords are arranged according to the proper sequence of the Uddānas and thus form another Uddāna, which is called Piṇḍoddāna (Tib: bsdus-pa'i-sdom *or* spyi'i-sdom). Thus the Piṇḍoddāna enables us to check the Uddānas. There is also another type of Uddāna to be met with in the MSV, the so-called Antaroddāna (Tib: bar-sdom), which is inserted between the Uddānas. The question of the Antaroddāna is a crucial one as no reference is made to it either in the Piṇḍoddāna or in the Uddāna and, unlike the Piṇḍoddāna and the Uddāna, it may even summarise the preceding context.[5]

There are no fixed rules as regards the choice of keywords which are used in the Uddāna. It can be noted in particular that the names of those places mentioned in the story told in the context have been chosen. The Uddāna also uses as keywords the names of persons and animals, as well as certain activities which are essential to the story.[6] This is not the case with the Vinayavibhaṅga where the keywords of the Uddānas, in accordance with the contents, merely refer to monastic rules. The number of keywords in a Uddāna varies considerably. For a better understanding the following example of a Piṇḍoddāna and the corresponding Uddānas is given.

After the usual introductory formula the MSV starts with the following Piṇḍoddāna which summarizes the Uddānas and the contents of the Pravrajyāvastu: Vol. 41/1,1,8[7].

sha ri'i bu[1] dang mu stegs can [2]/ dge tshul gnyis[3] dang bya rog skrod[4]/
dgra bcom bsad[5] dang lag rdum [6]gyi/ sde tshan yang dag bsdus pa yin/

As this Piṇḍoddāna consists of six keywords there should be six Uddānas in the context, each of them beginning with the keyword mentioned in the Piṇḍoddāna. An investigation of the context supports the above statement. The following

Uddānas are found in the Pravrajyāvastu:

1. sha ri'i bu dang rab 'byung dang/... (Vol. 41/3,1,8)
2. mu stegs can dang nyi shu dang/... (Vol. 41/31,1,5)
3. dge tshul gnyis dang bran dang ni/... (Vol. 41/31,4,2)
4. bya rog skrod dang sun phyung dang/... (Vol. 41/36,1,2)
5. dgra bcom bsad dang dge 'dun dbyen/... (Vol. 41/52,2,6)
6. lag rdum dag dang rkang rdum dang/... (Vol. 41/53,2,2)

The Piṇḍoddāna is followed immediately by the first Uddāna and in accordance with the principle of the Uddāna the first Uddāna is followed by the story of Śāriputra in the context. The other stories follow in the same order in which the keywords are listed in the Uddānas. This means that the individual accounts in the context are arranged with respect to the Uddāna in the same way as the Uddānas are to the Piṇḍoddāna.

An Uddāna which refers by its keywords only to Jātakas and which therefore makes identification in the context easier is particularly suited to illustrate this principle. In the Bhaiṣajyavastu 37 Jātakas which celebrate the merits acquired by the Buddha are told in succession. This is quite unusual. The first Uddāna which refers to them reads:

Vol. 41/183,3,6[8]

nga las nu[1] dang legs mthong che[2] / dus dpog[3] ku sha[4] gdol pa [5]dang/ lha chen po[6] dang mu khyud rgyal[7] / me long gdong[8] dang nor bzangs[9] dang/ thams cad sgrol[10] dang dum byed do[11]//

This Uddāna mentions the eleven Jātakas which appear in the same order of succession in the context, i.e. 1. Māndhātā: the king who makes it rain jewels and who rules together with Indra; 2. Mahāsudarśana: the Cakravartin-King; 3. Velāma: the Brahman minister who makes generous donations; 4. Kuśa: the ugly prince who defeats the enemies of his father and his father-in-law; 5. Mātaṅga king Triśaṅku: the royal Ṛṣi who puts an end to a drought by means of pronouncing a Ṛta; 6. Mahādeva: the king who at the sight of his first grey hair becomes an ascetic; 7. Nimi: the king who becomes an ascetic; 8. Ādarśamukha: having passed several tests the youngest of five princes is elected king and passes wise judgements; 9. Sudhana: the prince who marries the Kiṇṇarī princess captured by a hunter; 10. Viśvantara: the prince who generously gives away everything; 11. The householder who puts an end to a famine due to his merits acquired by supporting the Pratyekabuddhas.

These examples have been given to demonstrate the way in which the Uddānas should summarize the context of the MSV. However, when we check the context of the MSV with the help of the Uddānas, we notice that the correspondence which we expect between the context of the MSV and the Uddānas is very rarely found. Since the cases of non-correspondence are so frequent in the MSV as to constitute a decisive factor for textual criticism I would like to show some of these differences by the following examples.

*1. Differences existing between the Piṇḍoddāna and the Uddāna.*

The following Piṇḍoddāna which consists of 13 keywords is adduced from the Saṅghabhedavastu.[9]

Vol. 42/12,3,4

mang pos bskur[1] dang lha g.yos[2] dang/ ba gam[3] rnyings[4] dang bzangs po[5] dang/ 'khor[6] dang kauḍni[7] rdzu 'phrul[8] dang/ kau shi ka[9] zos[10] ngang pa[11]dang/ mnar med[12]lhag 'gyur[13]phyi ma'o//

However, the context mentions only six out of the 13 Uddānas referred to in the Piṇḍoddāna, i.e. 1. Mahāsammata (Vol. 42/12,3,5) 7. Kauṇḍinya (Vol. 42/70,1,6) 8. Ṛddhi (Vol. 42/88,3,3) 9. Kauśika (Vol. 42/95,2,3) 11. ngang pa[10] (Vol. 42/117,4,8) 13. glags[11] (Vol. 42/123,1,5).

2. *Differences between the Uddāna and the stories told in the context: there is one case where the stories differ from the Uddāna.*

Vol. 41/208,2,4.

sprin shugs[1] dpang po[2] sbrul[3] mgo gnyis[4] / de bzhin chu sreg[5] ne tsho[6] dang/ stag mo[7] ru sbal[8] sde bzangs[9] dang/ ded dpon[10] tshogs su bsdus pa yin/

In the context we find the following stories: 1. Balāhakāśva: the mythical horse which rescues merchants who had been driven to an island inhabited by Rākṣasīs; 2. The Ṛṣi who appears as witness when an argument between two farmers is settled before the king; 3. Siṃhakuñjara: the lion and the elephant who give their lives to rescue some merchants from a poisonous snake; 4. The bird which has two heads, one of which is just, the other unjust; 5. The leader of a covey of partridges who reproaches a partridge for having eaten the brood of the others; 6. The parrot which criticises a king; 7. The king of Videha who succeeds in restraining the king of Benares from making war against him; 8. Kacchapa: the turtle which rescues merchants in distress; 9. Susena: the younger brother who is elected minister instead of his elder brother who is unpopular and therefore has been banished; 10. The wise caravan leader who leads the merchants safely across the desert whereas the fool caravan leader dies in the desert together with his people.

The seventh keyword of the Uddāna refers to a tigress whereas at this point in the context a story about the king of Videha is told. The keyword 'tigress' reminds us of the well known Jātaka of the hungry tigress which, however, is not included in the MSV.

3. *The Order in which the stories appear in the context does not correspond to that provided in the Uddāna.*

Vol. 42/117,4,8[12]

ngang pa[1] gad rgyangs[2] dbyung ba[3] dang/ ri dvags[4] rul[5] dang spre'u[6] dang ni/ glang po che[7] dang byi la[8] dang/ ba lang[9] zla ba[10] rdo ba[11] dang/ glang chen[12] wa[13] dang bram ze'o[14]/

This Uddāna comprises 14 keywords corresponding to 13 Jātakas and one narrative referring to an incident in the life of the Buddha: they appear in the context in the following disorder: 1. Haṃsa: the king of geese whose wife stays with him when he is caught in a snare; 2. Aṭṭa: the loyal minister who is the only person to remain with his king; 3. The lion which falls into a dried-up well and is rescued by a jackal; 4. The devoted gazelle who remains with her husband, the king of gazelles who is caught in a snare; 5. The arrogant jackal who is killed by an elephant with excrements; 7. The wise king of the monkeys who was to be used as medicine for the elephants, but manages to avoid being killed;[14] 6. The wise king of the monkeys who prevents his herd from eating poisonous fruit; 11. Devadatta has the Buddha attacked with a slingshot; 8. The hypocritical tomcat who is exposed by the king of mice; 9. The docile and reluctant draught-ox; 10. The monkeys who want to rescue the moon whose reflected image they see in the water; 14. The Brahman who sows the seed of discord; 13. The jackal falls into a paint-pot and pretends to be the king of beasts; 12. The disloyal elephant cow who abandons her husband by availing herself of a trick.

4. *The number of stories told in the context is greater than that indicated in the Uddāna.*

Among the above mentioned 37 Jātakas told on the occasion when king Prasenajit's inquiries about the merits acquired by the Buddha, there are three Uddānas comprising 31 Jātakas. The remaining 6 Jātakas are supernumerary. One of the Uddānas is referred to as Antaroddāna,[15] the other two as Uddānas.[16]

This raises two problems: 1) Is the Uddāna for the supernumerary Jātakas missing or are these Jātakas told in addition to the others? The latter possibility is probably more convincing since some of these Jātakas are repetitions[17] of previous stories. 2) Should the three Uddānas be considered rather as Antaroddānas since they are not referred to in the Piṇḍoddāna?[18]

Having given a few examples to show the differences which exist in the MSV between the Uddānas, which should keep the context in a certain sequence, and the context itself, I would now like to show how important the keywords chosen for the Uddāna can be for textual criticism. An Uddāna from the Saṅghabhedavastu,[19] which comprises a number of Jātakas dealing with Devadatta's ingratitude can be taken as an example. The last keyword is 'Jujjuka'. It comes as a surprise to find that at the corresponding point in the context the well known and popular Viśvantara-Jātaka[20] is told. Summed up, this Jātaka tells the story of prince Viśvantara, a very generous man who gives away the royal elephant to his enemies, leaves his country and goes into the solitude of a forest with his wife and his two children. On his way, Viśvantara gives away his carriage and horses to Brahmans who ask for them. A Brahman comes to visit Viśvantara in his solitude and asks to be given his children as slaves. Viśvantara does so. Finally Indra asks Viśvantara for his wife and returns her to him, thus preventing the king from giving her away too.

This is the version of the Viśvantara-Jātaka told in the Bhaiṣajyavastu among the 37 Jātakas already mentioned.[21] There Viśvantara is identical with the Buddha. I refer to this version of the Jātaka as Viśvantara I in order to distinguish it from the other Viśvantara-Jātakas included in the MSV.[22]

The Viśvantara-Jātaka I is repeated in the Saṅghabhedavastu[22] under the keyword 'Jujjuka', and at the end there is an addition which identifies the Brahman Jujjuka, who obtains a great sum of money for Viśvantara's children, with Devadatta. It is noteworthy that the name 'Jujjuka' is not already mentioned in the story when the Brahman asks Viśvantara to be given his children, but the Brahman is referred to as 'Jujjuka' only in the addition. This version of the Viśvantara-Jātaka included in the Saṅghabhedavastu is here referred to as Viśvantara-Jātaka III.

In the MSV there is yet another version of the Viśvantara-Jātaka which is told directly after the Viśvantara-Jātaka I in the Bhaiṣajyavastu, which will be referred to here as Viśvantara II.

Whereas versions I and III - with the exception of the addition - are practically identical, Viśvantara II differs noticeably from the other two versions. This applies in particular to the episode where the Brahman asks Viśvantara to be given his children. In version II the Brahman is carefully introduced in the story under the name Jujjuka, reference being made to his parents, his birth and marriage, etc. Nonetheless, both Viśvantara II and I refer only to the merits acquired by the Buddha.

As regards the Uddāna which mentions Jujjuka as one of its keywords, it would be more appropriate to apply version II of the Jātaka which tells the Jujjuka episode at some length in the Saṅghabhedavastu. In this case however it would be necessary to identify Jujjuka with Devadatta in an addition to version II. It is not necessary to speak hypothetically of such a version because such a fourth version of the Viśvantara-Jātaka - which must be considered to belong to the Saṅghabhedavastu - does in fact exist. This version referred to as Viśvantara IV has come down to us in Sanskrit and is included in Lokesh Chandra's facsimile edition of the Gilgit Manuscripts. Viśvantara IV has been published[23] recently in Berlin by Kabita Das Gupta under the title 'Viśvantarāvadāna'. K. Das Gupta has compared the Viśvatarāvadāna with the Pāli-Jātaka and the elaborate versions of Aryaśūra and Kṣemendra as well as with the Viśvantara-Jātaka III of the Saṅghabhedavastu. She noted that the

Jujjuka episode does not exist in the Tibetan, i.e. Viśvantara III. A careful comparison of the four Viśvantara versions leads to the following conclusions:
Viśvantara IV is identical with Viśvantara III + the verbatim (as far as this may be said of a translation) addition of the Jujjuka episode of Viśvantara-Jātaka II.[24]

There are obviously four versions of the Viśvantara-Jātaka of the MSV which can be traced back to versions I and III.

This case is unique in the MSV, and it is also unusual that given the one keyword in the Uddāna there should be two versions of a story told in the context. The example of the keyword 'Jujjuka', indicates the problems which arise as a result of the keyword-like structure of the Uddānas. In the case of the keyword 'Jujjuka' there is at least an indication that an identification of Jujjuka with Devadatta is intended, but it is not clear which version of the Viśvantara-Jātaka should follow. From the keyword 'Rājagṛha' for example it merely follows that reference is made to a story which occurs in that particular place. There is no indication,however, as to the type of the story or the number of episodes included in the story.

Summing up, it can be said that the differences between the Uddānas and the context clearly indicate that the MSV as it has come down to us has undergone considerable changes. These must have taken place at a time previous to its Tibetan translation (8th-9th century) since as far as the Sanskrit manuscript is preserved it proves to be identical with the Tibetan.[25] Moreover, it should also be taken into consideration that these differences issue from the time of the compilation of the MSV, the date of which is still under discussion. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Uddānas remained untouched; due to the fact that the MSV is a canonical text in the course of time they were never changed[26] to remove the inconsistencies we have observed, the existence of which must have been noted by the Buddhists themselves.

Accordingly those passages of the MSV which all points of evidence suggest to be interpolations should be confirmed as such by variances between the Uddānas and their contexts. Indeed, for instance,the so-called 'Journey of the Buddha to the North-West', which is supposed to be an interpolation[27] cannot be traced in the Uddānas. It may be recalled here that the problem of the Antaroddāna is yet to be solved.

Furthermore, those cases in which a disorder in the sequence of narratives and the corresponding Uddāna is observed (see example 3 above) are likely to have resulted from a copyist's error, due to the loose-leaf nature of Indian books, and may have slipped in at a time previous to the present compilation of the MSV. The question of whether those Uddānas referred to in the Piṇḍoddāna which cannot be traced in the context (see example 1 above) are simply missing, for whatever reason, or whether the corresponding passages themselves have not been translated still needs thorough investigation.[28]

Finally it should be emphasised that the keyword-like structure of the Uddānas can be a source for error and the keyword itself must be treated with caution to avoid premature conclusions. As it has been shown,[29] two versions of one Jātaka can be covered by a single keyword, the second version representing in this case the older, less elaborate but coherent narrative. The choice of keyword itself can lead one to mistakes.

To conclude it may be said that the Uddānas themselves provide important points of textual criticism, for which comparative textual analysis however remains essential.

## Notes

1. Quotations are given from the edition by D.T. Suzuki: *The Tibetan Tripitaka,* Peking Edition, Vols. 41-45, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957-58, in the order of Volume, page, folio and line.
2. There are available a great number of earlier studies, inter-alia: A Csoma de Körös: 'Analysis of the Dulva', in *Asiatic Researches XX,* 1836, p. 41-93; A. Schiefner: *Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çakyamuni's des Begründers des Buddhatums*, St. Petersbourg, 1851; and translations of Jātakas in *Mélanges Asiatiques* T.VII, p.673-760, 773-795; T.VIII, p.89-188, 281;333, 449-534, 1873-76 and 1876-81 were rendered into English by W.R.S. Ralston: *Tibetan tales derived from Indian sources,* London, 1882; S. Levi: *Les Jātakas,* Annales du Musée Guimet XIX, 1906 and a great number of contributions especially in *JA* 1907-32; E.Waldschmidt: *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha*, Abh. d. Göttinger Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. K. 3, 29/30, 1944-48; Das Māhaparinirvāṇasūtra, Abh. d. Dt. Akad. d.Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1949, 1 für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1950, 2 and 3, Berlin, 1950-51; W.W. Rockhill: *The Life of Buddha*, London, 1884.
3. Jampa L. Panglung: 'Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung', München, 1979 (Dissertation).
4. See E. Waldschmidt: *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende,* op.cit., p.28-30.
5. See Vol. 42/39,2,4 and R. Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Serie Orientale Roma* XLIX, I+II, 1977/78, pt. I, p.113.
6. For instance 'dbyung-ba' (Vol. 42/117,4,8) which means 'rescuing' a lion which has fallen into a dried-up well.
7. For the Sanskrit version of the Uddāna see N.Dutt: *Gilgit manuscripts* in *The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* LXXI (E) Vol.LLL, 4 pts. 1943-50, s. pt.4, p.3.
8. This Uddāna is not preserved in Sanskrit.
9. See Gnoli, op.cit., pt.I, p.1.
10. The Sanskrit version is corrupt; see Gnoli, op.cit., pt.II, p.214.
11. The Sanskrit and the Tibetan version seem to be corrupt; see Gnoli, op. cit., pt.II, p.214; 'vīciḥ', tib. 'glags dang mthong ba nyid dang ni...'
12. Gnoli (op.cit., pt.II, p.192, footnote) identified only 12 stories .....
13. Peking-Edition reads 'sa', sDe-dge Vol. nga 242a2 'wa'.
14. This identification is uncertain.
15. See Vol. 41/183, 3,6.
16. See Vol. 41/208,2,4 and 41/211,5,6.
17. For instance the story of Mūkapaṅgu, Aranemi and Mahāgovinda.
18. The Uddāna Vol. 41/211,5,6 ends with tib.'sogs' which seems to be contradictory to the principle of the Uddāna.
19. Vol. 42/95,2,3, Gnoli, op.cit., pt.II,p.95.
20. See L.Alsdorf: 'Bemerkungen zum Vessantara-Jātaka, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens,* 1957, p.1-71.
21. Vol. 41/202,5,3.
22. Vol. 42/100,4,3.
23. Kabita Das Gupta: 'Viśvantarāvadāna. Eine Buddhistische Legende', Berlin 1978 (Dissertation).
24. It is not possible to give the comparative textual analysis here. It will be published elsewhere.

25. An investigation of the Uddānas in relation to the context of the fragmentary Chinese translation would be very helpful too.
26. Any change of a canonical text can, in my view, only have taken place on the occasion of a council. See E. Lamotte: *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien,* Louvain, 1967 (reprint), p.648; E. Frauwallner: 'Die buddhistischen Konzile', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 102, 1952, pp.240-80.
27. E. Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Serie Orientale Roma* VIII, 1956, p.32.
28. There is one Uddāna missing in the Sanskrit manuscript which is preserved in Tibetan, no.8.
29. Viśvantara I + II in the Bhaiṣajyavastu.

# THE MONGOL CENSUS IN TIBET

**Luciano Petech**

It is a known fact that the whole of the financial and military administration of the Mongol rulers of China was based on a systematic survey of the population of their dominions. A first census was taken in 1235 and a second in 1258, both being limited to North China as the South was still independent under the national Sung dynasty. These early surveys were followed between 1261 and 1275 by annual calculations, apparently not based upon actual field work; the only one registered in the Yüan History as a real census is that of 1270. After the conquest of the South in 1276-79 the Mongol government waited till 1290 before it carried out a general census of the whole of China; it was repeated (probably re-calculated) in the following year, and completed in 1292 by a survey of the agricultural population only. The 1290 census was practically the last. A set of figures given in 1330 refers only to the number of tax-paying families registered with the Ministry of Finance, and it was probably not based on an actual survey.[1]

Census, tribute, militia and mail service were the four supporting pillars of Mongol rule in all the outer dependencies of the empire; this fundamental principle was valid in Tibet as well. The various sections of the Tibetan-speaking area came under Mongol sway at different times. North-Eastern Tibet (Amdo; called T'u-fan in the official usage of the Yüan terminology) passed under Mongol influence during the fifties of the 13th century and these regions received a separate administration.[2] The date of the formal setting-up of Mongol rule in Central Tibet (dBus-gTsang; Chin. Wu-ssu-tsang) is 1267-68, when the mail routes with their stages (*jam*) were organized and a census was taken. Both measures were carried out by imperial officials sent out from China, with the collaboration of the administrative staff of the Sa-skya abbot, whom the emperor Qubilai had chosen as his collaborator and instrument for the new organization of Tibet.[3]

The main source on the 1268 census is the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang*, written in 1434 by the monk Śrībhūtibhadra.[4] It supplies a fairly detailed account of the Sa-skya-Mongol partnership, partly drawn from local information but for an even larger portion based indirectly on a Chinese source, as twice stated in the text. This is the *Ta Yüan t'ung-chih*, an account of Mongol administration in China compiled in 1323; it is no longer extant, except for a section which was recovered and published half a century ago. This blend of authoritative local and Chinese information is the feature that makes the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang* so particularly interesting.

The section dealing with the Mongol dominance in Tibet was translated long ago by S.Ch.Das;[5] the contents were re-arranged in a partly different order and, as usual with him, it is sometimes difficult to recognise the Tibetan and Mongol names in their anglicized garb.

Several later texts drew their treatment of this subject from the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang*. They are: the Sa-skya-pa chronicle called *'Dzam-gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs*; the Chronicle of Tibet by the Fifth Dalai-Lama; the Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai-Lama; and Klong-rdol Bla-ma's account of the benefactors of the Buddhist religion.[6] These secondary sources were utilized by Professor G. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1948, 13-14, and this remains to this day the only Western study of the census in Tibet, since the special article promised by Madame Macdonald[7] has never appeared, as far as I am aware.

The statistical skeleton upon which the census was built is described as

follows. The basic unit is the *hor-dud*, literally 'Mongol smoke', meaning a homestead with its fire-place, built on Mongol principles. The elements necessary to form a *hor-dud* are: 'a house (*khang-sa*) with at least six pillars supporting the roof; a strip of land sufficient for sowing twelve bushels (*khal*) of Mongol seed (*hor-son*); husband, wife and children with male and female attendants, six in all; three ploughing bullocks; two goats and four sheep. Clearly this basic unit refers to a middle-peasant family tilling government soil or its own land. It covers the agricultural element of the population and leaves out the other component of Tibetan population, the nomads.

The *hor-dud* serves as the foundation layer for the pyramid of the larger units. Fifty *hor-dud* form one *rta-mgo* (horse-head). Two *rta-mgo* form a *brgya-skor*, a group of one hundred families. What follows is the usual decimal structure of the Mongol army and people. Ten *brgya-skor* form a *stong-skor* (chiliarchy). Ten *stong-skor* form a *khri-skor* (myriarchy). The *khri-skor* in Mongol times and even later was the equivalent of a district; it was supposed to contain 4000 temple serfs and 6000 serfs of the noble families, but the figures were purely theoretical. On a higher level, ten *khri-skor* formed a *klu*, which is the Chinese term *lu*, circuit; and ten *klu* normally formed a *zhing*, the Chinese *sheng*, province. Tibet actually contained only three *chol-kha* (Mongol *cölge* corresponding to the Chinese *lu*): dBus, gTsang an mNga'-ris sKor-gsum; thus it was too small to form a regular *sheng*. However, out of respect for the religious character of the country, the emperor Qubilai decreed that Tibet was to be considered as one *sheng*.[8]

The census of 1268 was carried out by two imperial officials called A-kon and Ming-gling: their names seem to be unknown to the Chinese texts. They personally carried out the survey of gTsang, from mNga'-ris to the Zha-lu district. In dBus, from Zha-lu to 'Bri-gung, the work was entrusted to a Tibetan, Su-thu A-skyid, who incidentally was an ancestor of the Fifth Dalai Lama on the maternal side.[9]

The figures of the census are given in some detail,[10] but we cannot deal with them here. Suffice it to say that the total sums were 15,690 *hor-dud* for mNga'-ris and gTsang and 20,763 for dBus, giving a grand total of 36,453 *hor-dud* for Central and Western Tibet to which 750 *hor-dud* in Yar-'brog (probably Northern Tibet) must be added. The *rGya-Bod yig-tshang* remarks that these figures were taken from the paper-roll registers compiled by Shākya-bzang-po, who was *dpon-chen*, i.e. temporal administrator of Sa-skya, from 1244 to 1275. Working out these results, they go to show that the population of Central and Western Tibet amounted to c.223,000 souls; as said above, the nomads are not included. The figure seems very low, but we have to remember that China proper under Mongol domination contained only c.fifty million people, and thus the proportion is acceptable.

The results of the 1268 census were copied, not without some mistakes, in later texts.[11] But the original list is always the same; the comparatively few variants found in the later texts cannot be taken to refer to a second census, as it has been supposed.[12]

Having completed the basic census (*rtsa-ba'i dud-chen rtsis-pa*), the two officials proceeded to assign to each myriarchy the upkeep of the postal stages, of which there were twenty-seven. This meant reserving a certain number of *hor-dud* for the duty of supplying horses, yaks, drivers, caretakers, etc.; in exchange for this service the families concerned were exempted from any other form of taxation. Practically each stage came to form the centre of a postal district.[13] The mail service was efficient, at least in the beginning, but the burden on the Tibetan authorities and peasants was such that most of the mail servants preferred to abscond and turn to a life of vagrancy. In 1281 the imperial official Sang-ko, who led an expedition to Tibet after the

death of 'Phags-pa, had to make use of the Mongol garrisons to get the mail stages in working order again.[14]

It is usually believed that there was a second census in 1287, but the sources hardly justify this assertion. The *rGya-Bod yig-tshang* informs us that 'in the Earth-Dragon 1268 the imperial envoys A-kon and Ming-gling carried out the basic census of people and land (*rtsa-ba'i dud-grangs rtsis-pa*). Twenty years later, in the Fire-Hog year 1287, Ho-shu *[and]* U-nu-khan *[these]* two, sent by the *khrims-ra chen-po* (perhaps the Grand Secretariat, *chung-shu sheng*). working in collaboration with the *dpon-chen* gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug, carried out a revision (*phye-gsal*) of the country'.[15] Then follows the list of the *hor-dud* in each *khri-skor* according to the registers of Shākya-bzang-po as related above; actually the text mentions the revision of 1287 merely in order to emphasise the correctness and trustworthiness of the figures in the basic census.

The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai-Lama follows a somewhat different version of the same text. Ho-shu and U-nu-khan are telescoped together into one person: Do-shu A-nu-gan, which seems preferable. This looks more like a title than a name; but I am unable to identify the original. The Autobiography gives him as companions Ar-mgon and Su-thu A-skyid, i.e. the same two officials of 1268, and the three together are said to have carried out a counting of the population dividing it by the number of the *hor-dud (mi brtsis dud grangs su bcad)*.[16] Possibly the 5th Dalai-Lama misunderstood (at least in part) the manuscript of the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang* he was following.

We can reach a better understanding of the revision of 1287 by placing it in the frame of the general policy of the Mongol government of the time. During those years Sang-ko, who had become the all-powerful favourite and minister of the emperor, ordered widespread revisions (*li-suan*) in various provinces. For instance, in the 10th month of 1288 he sent twelve officials of the Central Control Boards (*sheng-yuan t'ai-kuan*) to carry out a financial revision in the six provinces of Chiang-huai, Chiang-hsi, Fu-chien, Szechwan, Kan-su and An-hsi.[17] It stands to reason that the proceedings of 1287 in Tibet were but another instance of this policy. We may suppose that these local inspections were meant as preparations for the grand census of 1290; but this is only hypothetical.

A secondary result of the revision was that the *hsuan wei shih* gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug (*hsuan-wei shih* was the chief imperial official in Tibet; practically identical with the *dpon-chen*) was ordered to provide for the needs of the famished families of the postal and military services in the territory under his jurisdiction; as a reward, Sang-ko sanctioned a grant of 2500 silver taels (10th month of 1288).[18]

Much later there was another inspection. Our sole source for this is the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang*; the passage is translated here word for word: 'Although in the middle royal generation *[after Gengis Khan]* the revision of ecclesiastical and secular dependants and the land survey and census were carried out in some fashion, when the Mongol emperor Tho-gon The-mur ascended the throne in 1333 he sent the man called Tho-zhu A-nu-gan and Ges-chag-tha'i Phing-chang'.[19]

The name Tho-zhu A-nu-gan is clearly identical with Ho-shu U-nu-khan, to whom the revision of 1287 is attributed; and this tends to support our suspicion that it is a title and not a personal name. As to Ges-chag tha'i Phing-chang, this raises at once the problem of his identification with *p'ing-ch'ang* Kimčaqtai (Chin-ch'a-t'ai in Chinese), whose career can be recovered in main outlines from scattered mentions in the basic annals (*pên-chi*) of the History of the Yüan dynasty. On January 10th, 1323, he was appointed head of the Office of Buddhism and Tibet (*hsüan-cheng yüan-shih*).[20] During the short civil war of 1328 which resulted in the restoration of the Qaishan branch of the imperial family, he stayed at the summer capital Shang-tu, then in the hands of the faction which opposed the restoration. He hatched a conspiracy against

its leader Daula Shah; the plot was discovered and its members were put to death. Kimčaqtai alone escaped, because at the time he was away on miliary duty. After the end of the war, on November 19th, 1328, he was appointed vice-chancellor (*p'ing-ch'ang cheng-li* of the Grand Secretariat (*chung-shu sheng*).[21] In February 1329 he received (concurrently?) the presidency of the Supreme Military Council (*ch'u-mi yüan*).[22] But already in March 1330 he was subjected to an enquiry by the censorate[23]. Some months later he was dismissed and his property was confiscated; but almost immediately the emperor pardoned him and appointed him provincial *p'ing-ch'ang* of Szechwan. On August 12th, 1331, he was again denounced by a censor for having falsely accused another official and thus caused his ruin, the event going back to 1323-1324; he was also charged charged with doubtful attitude during the civil war and with inefficiency in handling the revolt raging on the Yünnan-Szechwan border. As a result, he was dismissed and banished with his family to Kuang-tung; however, his property was not confiscated.[24] After this he vanishes from the basic annals. However, the tables (*piao*) of the officials of the central government list again, for the year 1333 only, a Kimčaqtai as *p'ing-ch'ang cheng-li*, although there is no mention anywhere of a second rehabilitation. In 1336 Gab-chag-ste Phing-chang, belonging to the family of the king of the Yu-gur (i.e. of the *idiqut* of Uighuristan), accompanied the 3rd Karma-pa hierarch Rang-byung-rdo-rje to mTshurphu, from where the latter was to proceed to China.[26] From the Chinese angle, the identity of the Kimčaqtai of 1323-1331 with the one of 1333 may not be wholly beyond doubt. But in any case Ges-chag-tha'i and Gab-chag-ste are one and the same person; in 1334 or 1335 the emperor had sent him to Tibet, apparently on an inspection tour.

After the mention of Ges-chag-tha'i there is a break in the logical sequence of the text of the *rGya-Bod yig-tshang*, and what follows deals with a different subject: 'During the second term of office of the dBus-gTsang *dpon-chen* gZhon-dbang, in the matter of the counting of the population and the census together with the *hor-dud*, the following *[rules]* were observed';[27] then follow the definitions of *hor-dud, rta-mgo* and the higher units, as told above. The first term of office of gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug was about 1288 (see above); the second was after the victorious campaign against the 'Bri-gung sect and monastery in 1290. But we know that the revision took place in 1287; and thus 'second term' must be an error for 'first term', unless we accept the improbable supposition that the revision of 1287 was registered only after 1290. In any case, there is no relation with the preceeding sentences and there may be a gap in the text. It is a pity that no textual comparison is possible, as this passage was not copied in later sources, as far as I know.

Turning again to the inspection of c.1335, we must introduce at this point the mention in the Chronicle of the 5th Dalai-Lama of a revision (*phye-gsal*) carried out by Si-tu Dar-ma-rgyal-mtshan, apparently a Tibetan monk sent by the emperor; the context shows that this took place at some date after 1329.[28] No further information on this man is forthcoming, nor is it possible to see any connection with Kimčaqtai. We might suppose that the journey to Tibet of both personages was connected with the tabulation of the tax-paying families of the empire compiled in 1330, as said above; but this is mere speculation.

Anyhow, it is clear that, while Qubilai maintained a firm grip on Tibet through his census and the subsequent revision, his weak successors tried only once, in 1334 or 1335, to regain a real control over the Tibetan administration, which was slipping fast out of their hands. Only ten years later Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan of Phag-mo-gru was wresting first dBus and then gTsang from the hands of the Sa-skya-pa; and the last Yüan emperor Toghan Temür had to recognize officially the new situation, which implied the *de facto* independence of Tibet.

Summing up the results of our enquiry, we may conclude that there was only one Mongol census in Tibet consisting of an actual survey of the land and of the population, and this was carried out in 1268. Its results were revised and checked in 1287 and again in about 1335, both times in possible connection with similar efforts in China proper; but they were never replaced by a fresh survey.

## Notes

1. *Yüan-shih* (Po-na-pen edition), 58.1b. Cf. H.Franke, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft,* Leipzig, 1949, 128-129.
2. *Yuan-shih*, 87.9b-12a,14a. See also Han Ju-lin, 'Yüan-chao chung-yang cheng-fu shih tsen-yang kuan-li Hsi-tsang ti-fang ti', in *Li-shih yen-chiu,* 1959, 7, 51-56.
3. See my paper 'Tibetan relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', to be published in the Proceedings of the Conference on Multi-state Relations in East Asia in the 10th-13th centuries, held at Issaquah on July 9-14, 1978.
4. Full title: *rGya Bod kyi yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo*. On its author and date see A. Macdonald, 'Préambule à la lecture d'un *rGya Bod yig-cang',* in *J.As*. 1963, 83-159. The text is known through a single manuscript (*dbu-med*) in the Densapa library, Gantok; I utilized a microfilm, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Professor K. Enoki, Tokyo. The University of Washington, Seattle, owns a beautiful *dbu-can* manuscript, said to have been obtained in the thirties of this century from the late Dr. Joseph Rock. As it agrees word for word with the Densapa ms., I suppose it is a copy of the latter, made at Gangtok for Dr. Rock. The work is here cited under the abbreviation *GBYT*, and the pagination refers to the Densapa ms.
5. S.Ch.Das, 'Tibet under the Tartar emperors of China in the 13th century', in *JASB*, 1905, Extra Number, 94-102.
6. On these texts see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (*TPS*), Rome, 1949, 145-147, 149-150, 154, 165-166.
7. A.Macdonald 'Préambule etc.,' 57.
8. *GBYT*, 130a-b. A more correct text is found in the *Sa-skya-pa'i gdung-rabs,* 65-66a.
9. *GBYT*, 143b, 145b; Autobiography of the 5th Dalai-Lama, 20b-21a. Cf. A.Macdonald, loc.cit.
10. *GBYT*, 144a-145b.
11. Chronicle of the 5th Dalai-Lama, 20b-21a; Klong-rdol Bla-ma, *gsung-'bum*, 'A, 5a-b (translated in *TPS*, 251-252).
12. A.Macdonald, 'Préambule etc.,' 56-57.
13. The details of the organization are given in *GBYT*, 133a, 146a-b.
14. *GBYT*, 141a.
15. *GBYT*, 143b.
16. Autobiography of the 5th Dalai-Lama, 21a.
17. *Yuan-shih*, 15.11a, 205.20a.
18. *Yuan-shih*, 15.11a.
19. *Bod dBus gTsang du: thog mar Hor Jing gir rgyal pos: rGya nag rgyal sa lon nas : rgyal khams byin po mnan : bu rnams la sa bkos byas pa'i dus*

*dang : gzhan yang rgyal po na rims kyi bar ma : lha sde mi sde phye gsal dang : sa rtsi : dud 'grang lugs ci rigs su byung 'dug na ang /'dir Hor rgyal po Tho gon The mur rgyal sar phebs nas :Tho zhu A nu gan bya ba dang : Ges chag tha'i Phing chang mngags nas.* *GBYT*, 130a.

20. *Yüan-shih*, 28.9a.
21. *Yüan-shih*, 32.17a. On the civil war see J.W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians: aspects of political change in late Yüan China*, New York, 1973, 31-52.
22. *Yüan-shih*, 33.1b.
23. *Yüan-shih*, 34.5a.
24. *Yüan-shih*, 35.19a-b. For Kimčaqtai's tenure as *p'ing-ch'ang* see *Yuan-shih*, 112.26b-28a.
25. *Yuan-shih*, 113.1a.
26. *sGrub brgyud Karma Kaṃ tshang brgyud rin po che'i rnam par thar ba rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu sel gyi phreng ba*, 111b 112a.
27. *dBus gTsang dpon chen gZhon dbang skyar ma'i dus : mi rtsis : dud grangs : Hor dus (sic) bcas pa na 'di btang snang ngo;* *GBYT*, 130a.
28. Chronicle of the 5th Dalai-Lama, 76b (translated in *TPS*, 636).

# SOURCES OF VARIATION IN TIBETAN CANONS OF ICONOMETRY

**Kathleen W. Peterson**

Iconometry is one of the more fundamental and characteristic aspects of Tibetan art. Its rules of figural proportions define the skeletal-like understructure on which the images of the Tibetan pantheon are built. The organization of these rules of proportions into canons of iconometric measure benefit the artist by providing authoritative models of construction. They also benefit those of us who admire Tibetan art by providing concise and formulaic statements of Tibetan conceptions of proportion, symmetry and space.

In theory, Tibet's formulae of proportions have been systematized into fixed and inviolable canons that permit neither variant interpretation nor change. Adherence to these fixed canons is thought to guarantee the continuity of tradition and accurate depiction of iconic forms by successive generations of artists. In actual practice, however, this is not always the case. It is apparent from some of the Tibetan commercial literature and from observations made by several researchers who have studied with Tibetan craftsmen that inconsistencies do occur in Tibetan canons of iconometry.[1] Further, it appears there is authoritative, textual sanction for some of these variant readings.

A comparison of several of the primary and secondary sources on which Tibetan iconometric theory is founded reveals that many of the differences that have been noticed in the work of contemporary craftsmen are the result of alternative canons of measure. Some of these alternatives are derived from differences in the original sources and others are the result of permissible variation in their interpretation by practicing craftsmen. Both cases, however, lead to the conclusion that the Tibetan iconometric tradition does possess a certain degree of flexibility and is not restricted to a single canon of measures. In this paper I would like to introduce the topic of iconometric canon in Tibetan art with a brief description of the operational principles on which it is based. This I propose to follow by a general discussion of four major sources of Tibetan iconometric theory whose variant measures point to the existence of alternative canons of measure.

Tibet's theory of proportions is based upon an iconometric tradition that developed in India and was first recorded in the *purāṇas* of the Gupta period and *śilpa-śāstras* of the medieval era. As one of the principal topics in the arts, a branch of the five auxillary sciences (*rig-gnas lnga*), iconometry (*chag-tshad*) has been commented upon by Tibetan authors of all periods. Widely renowned scholars such as Rje Tsong-kha-pa, Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, Ye-shes dPal-'byor Sum-pa mKan-po and 'Ju Mi-pham rGya-mtsho, to mention just a few, wrote iconometric treatises that made significant contributions to Tibet's developing artistic heritage.

The primary purpose of these iconometric handbooks was to outline canons of measure that would enable an artist to depict the ideals of perfect beauty. These ideals, though modelled in the image of man himself, describe a figure which is inherently more perfect than ordinary mortal form. In the proportions of buddha, bodhisattva, yi-dam and goddess figures this perfection is portrayed by a uniform balance and overall symmetry between individual parts to the whole. The height, from uṣṇīsa to pedestal is equal to the breadth, finger-tip to finger-tip, the dimensions of the upper body are commensurate with those of the lower body and individual measures of face, hand and foot, for example, are in equal and harmonious relation to one another.

The canons of measure which the handbooks describe, serve as theoretical

models that guide the artist in making structural line-drawings (*thig-rtsa*) of the individual images. These *thig-rtsa* outline the basic proportions on which the image will be built by joining various parts of the figure's anatomy with a series of inter-connected lines. They also allow for the depiction of movement and depth by employing a system of diagonals and adjusting the horizontal measures in relation to the vertical axis. In the dynamic postures of wrathful yi dam, dakiṇis and protective figures the vertical mid-line of the deity's torso is placed in a deliberate diagonal to the vertical axis of the *thig rtsa*. In a figure such as Vajrapāṇi for example, the asymmetrically larger proportions of the image's upper-body on the right half of the central axis and the diagonal shift of the body's mid-line toward the upper right cause Vajrapāṇi to lean to the right in the direction of the vajra in his upraised hand. Similarly, the foreshortened dimensions of the calf of the outstretched left leg indicates that Vajrapāṇi's leg extends somewhat behind the rest of the body in the *pratyālidha* pose that he customarily assumes.

The manner in which these ideal proportions are translated into the individual measures of cast images and thankas is part of a system of fixed ratios. These ratios express the harmonious interrelation of each anatomical part to the whole by using measures which are of a relative rather than absolute value. The basic unit or module of measure is identified by several anthropometric terms which include face (*zhal, gdong*), palm (*mthil*) and span (*mtho*) measure. This measure comprises 12 or 12½ smaller units which are termed finger (*sor*) measures and these, in turn, are further divided into quarters and eighths (*rkang* and *nas* respectively). The real values of these measures in a given work, are obtained by two operations of simple division.[2] The finished height of the image, uṣṇīsa to pedestal, is first divided into a predetermined number of large units of measure. One of these large units is then divided by 12 or 12½, which defines the values of the smaller measures. The large measure, referred to in the commentaries, as well as this paper, as a 'large unit' (*cha chen*), is also used to hieratically differentiate the various classes of Buddhist deities from one another.

Most canons of Tibetan iconometry divide the deities of the Buddhist pantheon into eight major categories (*thig-chen brgyad*).[3] These categories preserve the hieratic distinction between images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, dharma-pāla and others by assigning a separate and unique set of measures to each. The largest measures of the eight categories are reserved for buddha figures, such as Sakyamūni and the Jinas of the five buddha families, who measure 125 *sor* in ten large units of 12 *sor* each. The semi-wrathful (*zhi ma khro*) yi dam, such as Hevajra, Kālacakra and Saṃvara who comprise the second category, also measure 125 *sor* but are divided into 12 separate parts. Bodhisattvas, the third category, have exactly the same measures as buddha figures with the important difference that their large units of measure (*cha chen*) equal 12 and not 12½, arriving at a total of 120 *sor*. The last five categories, which are successively reduced in total number *sor* and large units of measure, include goddesses and consorts of the Jina in nine large measures, 108 *sor*, wrathful yi dam and guardian figures, such as Vajrakīlaya and Yama in eight large measures, 96 *sor*, human depictions of śrāvakas, pratyeka-buddhas and arhats in seven large measures, 84 *sor*, major protective figures, such as mGon po and the loka-pāla in six large units, 72 *sor* and minor protective figures of nagas, Rahu and others in five large units, 60 *sor*. These canons of the *thig chen brgyad* are derived from a small number of canonical texts on which the Tibetan commentators relied. A review of three of these primary sources indicates that some of the differences among them are responsible for variations that occur in Tibet's later commentaries and iconometric practices.

The Tibetan commentaries agree that Tibet's theory of proportions is largely based on three texts from the Buddhist canon: the *Kālacakra* and *Saṃvara* tantras from the tantra (rgyud) section of the *bKa'-'gyur* and the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* from the *bStan-'gyur*.[4] By comparing the relevant passages of these works in reference to the buddha figure, summarized in Table I, it is apparent that their numerical descriptions do not tally and that there are important differences between them. A modern commentary confirms what is obvious from contemporary artistic practice but is rarely mentioned in the older Tibetan sources; two of these three sources have been interpreted as alternative canons of measure in Tibetan art.

The iconometric passage of the first work, the *Kālacakra-tantra* is included in the jnana, or fifth and final chapter of the tantra.[5] The passage is short, totalling approximately two folia, and is confined to iconometric descriptions of the buddha figure and stupas. One of the more significant aspects of the tantra's canon of measures is not the measures themselves but the manner in which they are described. The tantra's somewhat ambiguous method of numerical description may well have been responsible for some of the varying interpretations made by later commentators.

The tantra used a symbolic terminology, rather than actual numbers, to describe the dimensions of the various measures. In this system it is intended that the reader will understand the numerical values of the measures by making the proper association between the symbolic terms and the numbers they represent. This was a common literary device in the iconometric literature of India which was used to eliminate the dry and prosaic repetition of numbers by replacing them with equivalent phrases of greater euphony. A frequently used example from the tantra is the term used to represent the number 12. In the tantra there is a repeated use of a 'sun finger' measure (*nyi ma'i sor*). The reader is expected to interpret this measure as 12 by associating the sun, with its various aspects throughout the solar year, the 12 *adityas*, with the number 12. Though some of these terms are readily apparent,others are not and as the tantra does not define the numerical values of these symbolic terms we can speculate that this was a source of some confusion to the later commentators. Similarly, while the tantra itself does not define an exact total for the combined *sor* measures, saying only that the buddha figure measures a few more than 120 *sor* (*nyi shu 'ga zhig lhag pai brgya phrag gang zhig*), the commentaries consistently interpret the buddha figure of the *Kālacakra* system as measuring 125 *sor*.[6]

The commentaries tell us that the hieratic distinction between buddha and bodhisattva images, according to the *Kālacakra* canon, is accomplished by adjusting the value of the large module of measure (*cha chen*) rather than changing the proportions themselves.[7] Though the tantra itself says nothing on this matter the commentaries report that each large measure (*cha chen*) on buddha images is allotted an additional ½ *sor* i.e., 12½ *sor* to the 12 *sor* unit of all other classes of deities. This additional ½ *sor* per large measure on images of buddhas is the point of greatest departure from the iconometric canons of the other two texts and is the element of greatest variability in the iconometric practices of contemporary craftsmen.

The second authoritative source of Tibetan iconometric canon is located in the 30th chapter of the *Maha-saṃvarodaya* tantra or *sDom 'byung*, as it is abbreviated in the Tibetan sources.[8] Its scope is considerably wider than the *Kālacakra* in that it outlines the measures of several classes of deities. The chapter begins by describing the canon of proportions of what are termed 'divine images' (*lha yi gzugs rnams*) and follows with iconometric descriptions of semi-wrathful yi dam, wrathful yi dam and protective figures and goddesses. The notable aspect to this series of descriptions is that while

the tantra does not identify the buddha figure by any of the customary epithets, Padma-dkar-po and several other commentators interpret the first set of measures, those of 'divine images', as indicating those of the buddha. A summary of these measures reveals that they are quite different from those of the *Kālacakra* system. The height of the buddha, uṣṇisa to pedestal is 120 and 125 *sor* and the large measure, termed face measure (*zhal-tshad*) is defined as consisting of 12 and not 12½ *sor*. There is no provision, according to the *Saṃvara* canon, for the additional ½ *sor* per large measure on images of the buddha.

The Tibetan commentaries have interpreted the differences between the *Kālacakra* and *Saṃvara* canons in a number of ways. One author notes that the preceding interpretation of the *Saṃvara* canon is actually in error and that the 120 *sor* measure is intended for yi dam and not buddha figures. The commentary on the *Saṃvara-tantra*, he claims, outlines the measures for buddha images exactly as the *Kālacakra* does. Other commentaries reconcile the differences by the exigencies of media, sculpture versus painting. They assign the 125 *sor* figure of the *Kālacakra* canon for images in relief and the 120 *sor* figure of the *Saṃvara* canon for those which are painted.[9] Others still prefer to overlook the differences.[10] Whether derived from error or not sGa-stod gNas-bzang-ba dGe-'dun, a contemporary artist-author from Khams, points out that the 120 *sor* buddha of the *Saṃvara* canon has been interpreted by Tibetan artists as an alternative to the 125 *sor* figure of the *Kālacakra* system.[11] This establishes that the Tibetan tradition sanctions at least two separate canons of measure for buddha images and helps account for some of the variations that have been noticed in the measures of modern craftsmen.

The possibility of alternative canons of measure, derived from differences in the original literary sources, is suggested once again in the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*.[12] This work, although located in the *bStan 'gyur*, is abbreviated in the Tibetan sources as the *Shari-bu'i mdo* or *Shari bus kyis zhus pa* and professes to be a sutra taught in reply to Sariputra's questions about depictions of the buddha image. It is one of four iconometric texts in the *bStan 'gyur* but it is the only one consistently mentioned in the Tibetan sources. A comparison of several of the measures in the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* canon reveals that it again differs from those of the previously mentioned tantric sources.

The *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* describes the measures of the buddha figure with clear and unambiguous numbers, without the symbolic terminology or terse phrasing that typify the *Kālacakra* and *Saṃvara* tantras. Like the *Saṃvara* canon, this system is defined as having ten large units of measure comprising 120 *sor*. Though the totals agree, the 120 *sor* buddha of the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* is differently proportioned to the 120 *sor* buddha of the *Saṃvara* canon. The vertical and horizontal axis of the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* figure equal one another but the proportions of the vertical measures are altered by the added length of the lower leg and the omission of the usual hip measure. The horizontal measures of both the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* and *Saṃvara* buddhas neglect the additional measures for wrist and elbow that are included in the *Kālacakra* canon.

In summarizing the different canons from these three sources, we see that two describe a buddha figure of 120 *sor* while the third describes this figure as measuring five *sor* more. The ambiguous nature of the *Kālacakra* description presents the possibility that different commentators interpreted the individual measures and cumulative total of this canon in different ways. This possibility aside, however, the direct acknowledgement by one source of the 120 *sor* buddha of the *Saṃvara* system as a separate and alternative canon, establishes that at least two different canons of iconometric measure are

sanctioned in Tibetan artistic practice. Similarly, the commentaries' frequent mention of the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* as an important source of Tibetan iconometric theory and its clear definition of yet another 120 *sor* buddha figure suggests the possibility of a third. These variations in the literary sources and differences in the work of contemporary craftsmen are reinforced by what one influential commentator of the 17th century reports of the interpretation of these canons in artistic practice.

sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, renowned regent to the 5th Dalai Lama and prolific author, includes an iconometric passage in his *Vaidurya rgya shel* that was referred to by many of Tibet's later commentators.[13] Like most authors, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho acknowledges the previously mentioned canonical sources as the authoritative basis of his discussion of iconometry. What is particularly significant about his work is that its canons of measure for the buddha figure are not fixed and vary according to the media in which they are depicted (Table 11).[14] He strays from the measures described in all of the canonical sources and tailors his dimensions to the needs of craftsmen. He outlines separate dimensions for painted (*bris*) and relief (*'bur*) works on almost every measure and in so doing makes accommodation for the additional depth of three dimensional form. The subtlest variations include differences in eighths of *sor* on the arm width, for example, and the largest include an additional 1/2 *sor* per large measure for all images in relief. This differs from the original *Kālacakra* canon which adds this 1/2 *sor* to large measures of buddha images whether painted or in relief. It also conflicts with the simple equation mentioned by some of the commentaries, that the 125 *sor* canon of the *Kālacakra* system is applied to images in relief and the 120 *sor* system of the *Saṃvara* canon is used for painted depictions. Neither of the sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's canons of measure correspond to the iconometric descriptions of the two tantras.

sDe-srid Sang-rgyas rgya-mtsho's alternate measures corroborate what is equally apparent from the differences in the original literary sources; that Tibetan iconometry is not based upon or confined to a single or immutable canon of measures. His two sets of measures introduce the view that Tibet's canons of measures are subject to variable interpretation according to the media in which they are depicted as well as the differing literary sources on which they are based. These alternative canons and permissible variations in their interpretation account for many of the differences that occur in artistic practice and suggest that Tibet's canons of iconometry are more variable than previously thought.[15]

STRUCTURAL LINE DRAWINGS OF VAJRAPANI

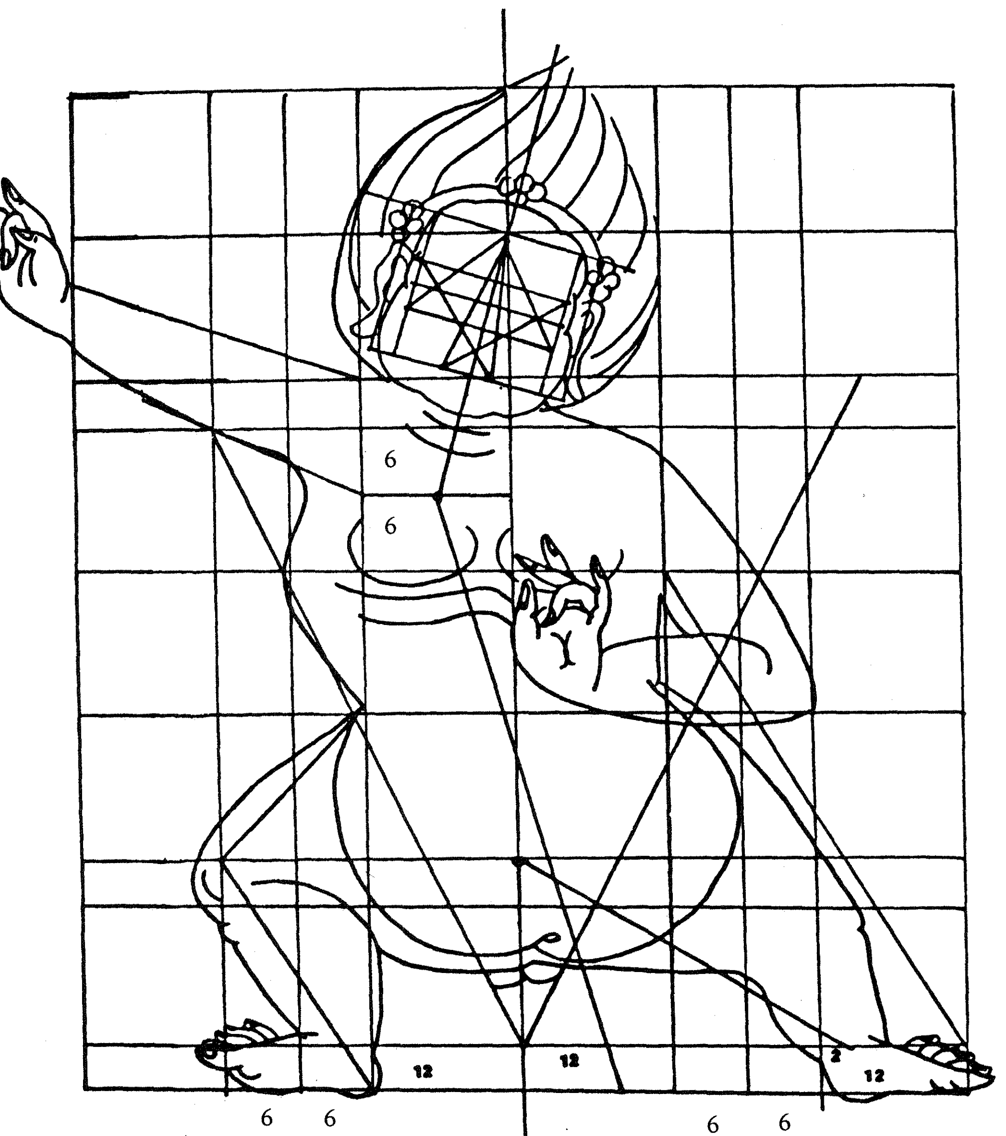
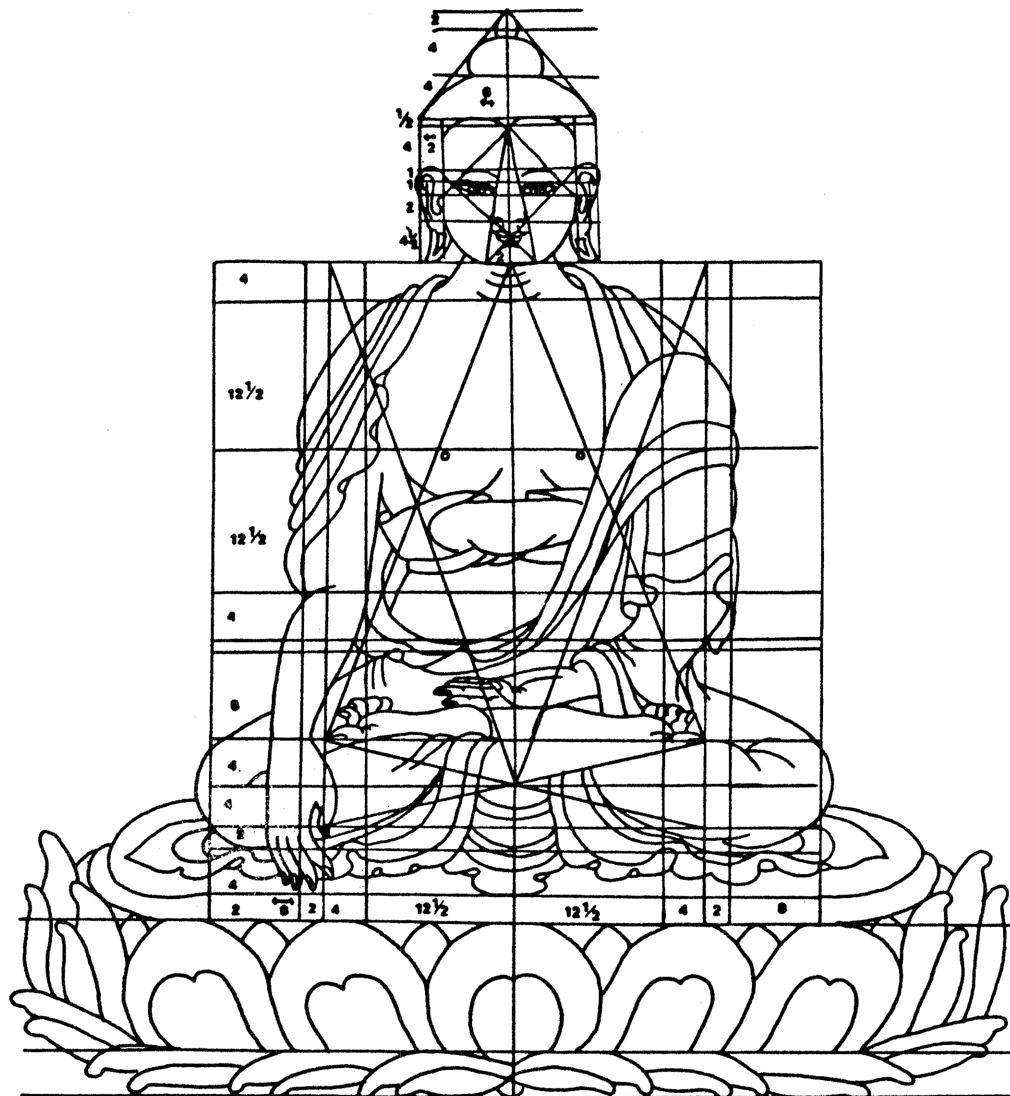



Plate A.

# ALTERNATIVE CANONS OF MEASURE FOR SEATED BUDDHA FIGURE

## Kalacakra Measures




## Samvara Measures

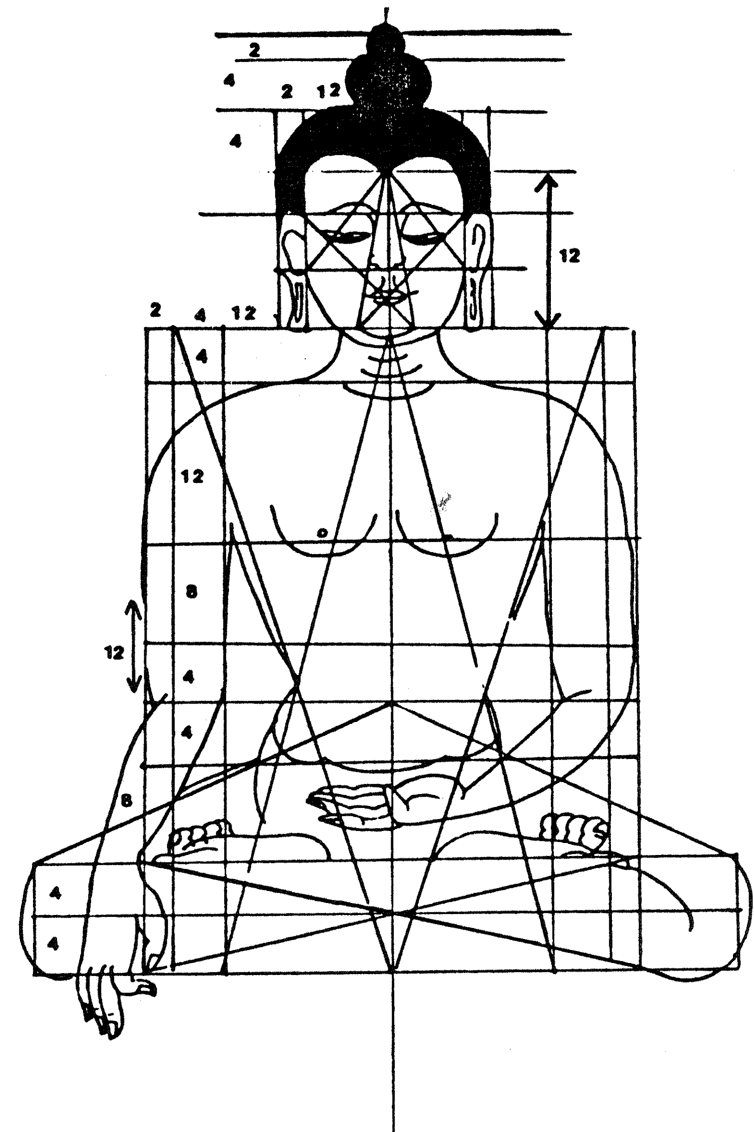



Plate B

TABLE I
Proportions of Buddha Figure from Canonical Sources

| | STANDING | | SEATED |
|---|---|---|---|
| VERTICAL | KĀLACAKRA | PRATIMĀ-LAKṢAṆA | SAṂVARA |
| UṢṆĪSA | | 4 | |
| CRANIUM | 12½ | 4 | 4 |
| HAIRLINE-ŪRṆĀ | | 12½ | |
| ŪRṆĀ-TIP OF NOSE | 12½ | | 4 |
| CHIN | | 2 | 4 |
| NECK | | | 4 |
| BREAST | 12½ | 12½ | 12 |
| NAVEL | 12½ | 12½ | 12 |
| GENITALS | 12½ | 12½ | 12 |
| | (62½) | (60) | |
| HIP | 4 | | 4 |
| HIP-EDGE OF PEDESTAL | | | 4 |
| | | | 60 |
| THIGH | 25 | 25 | |
| KNEE | 4 | 4 | |
| CALF | 25 | 25 | |
| ANKLE | | 3 | |
| FOOT | 4½ | 3 | |
| | (125) | (120) | |
| HORIZONTAL | | | |
| AXIS-INSIDE ARM | 12½ | 12 | 12 |
| UPPER ARM | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| FOREARM | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| HAND | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| WRIST | 1 | | |
| ELBOW | 1 | | |
| | (62½) | (60) | (60) |

TABLE II
Proportions of Buddha Figure from sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho

| VERTICAL | RELIEF | PAINTED |
|---|---|---|
| UṢṆĪSA | 4½ | 3½ |
| CRANIUM | 4 | 4 |
| HAIRLINE-ŪRṆĀ | 5 | 5 |
| ŪRṆĀ-TIP OF NOSE | 4 | 4 |
| CHIN | 3½ | 3½ |
| NECK | 4½ | 4 |
| BREAST | 12½ | 12 |
| NAVEL | 12½ | 12 |
| GENITALS | 12½ | 12 |
| HIP | 4 | 4 |
| THIGH | 25 | 24 |
| KNEE | 4 | 4 |
| CALF | 25 | 24 |
| FOOT | 4½ | 4 |
| | 125 | 120 |

| HORIZONTAL | | |
|---|---|---|
| AXIS-INSIDE ARM | 12½ | 12 |
| UPPER ARM | 20⅞ | 20 |
| FORE RM | 16¾ | 16 |
| HAND | 12½ | 12 |
| WRIST | 1 | 1 |
| ELBOW | 1 | 1 |
| | 64⅝ | 62½ |

## Notes

1. One of the first studies to have given this problem serious consideration is K.M. Gerasimova's, 'Compositional Structure in Tibetan Iconography', *The Tibet Journal*, Vol.iii, no.1, Spring 1978, pp.40-42.
2. This technical method of fixing the measures' values is the one most frequently mentioned in the literary accounts of Tibetan iconometric practice. Other procedures, such as correlating the units of measure to the artist or patron, though common in artistic practice, are rarely mentioned in the literary sources.
3. Some commentaries do divide the pantheon into eleven separate categories but eight is the more usual number. Complete descriptions of the *thig-chen brgyad* are obtained from T. Tsepal Taikhang (ed.), *The Vaidurya Gya Sel of Sde-srid Sangs Rgyas Rgya Mtsho*, New Delhi, 1971, Vol.II, fols. 646-677 and 'Jam mgon Mi pham rgya mtsho, *Sku gzugs kyi thig rtsa rab gsal nyi ma,* in *The Collected Writings of 'Jam mgon 'ju Mi pham rgya mtsho,* Sonam Topgay Kazi (ed.), Delhi, 1975, Vol.68, fols.1-70.
4. Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture,* New Delhi, 1970, fol.573. Sum pa mkhan po, *Sku gsung thugs rten gyi thig rtsa mchan 'grel chen: me tog 'phreng mdzes, Collected Works of Sumpa Mkhan po*, Lokesh Chandra (ed.), New Delhi, 1975, fol.371. *Sde srid Sang rgyas rgya mtsho*, fols. 645-46, *Mi pham rgya mtsho*, fol.2.
5. *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo*, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, Vol. ka, fols. 131a-133a, Peking ed. Also, Bodong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *Dus kyi 'khor lo las gsungs pa'i sku gzugs la sogs pa'i tshad bshad pa. Collected Works*, New Delhi: Tibet House, 1969, Vol.1 cha., fols. 343-355.
6. Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, New Delhi, 1965, Part I (ka), fol. 272-275.
7. *Mi pham rgya mtsho*, fol.2.
8. *dPal bde mchog 'byung ba she bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud, Vol.ga, p.219, fols. 177b-178b, Peking ed. Aslo Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *ibid. Sdom pa 'byung pa'i rgyud las gsungs pa,* fols. 355-375.
9. Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-shen, *Gtsug lag khang chos' byung bkra shis sgo mangs rten dang rten pa ji ltar bskrun pa las brtams pai gleng ba bdud rtsi rlabs phreng, Collected Works,* New Delhi, 1974, Vol.7, fol.152.
10. Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Bris sku'i rnam bshad mthong ba don ldan, Collected Works (Gsung 'bum) of Kun mkhyen Padma Dkar Po,* Darjeeling, 1973, Vol. 7, fols. 309-312.
11. sGa-stod gNas-bzang-ba dGe-'dun, *Sku gzugs kyi thig rtsa dam pa gong ma rnams kyi man ngag mngon du phyung ba blo dman 'jug dbe 'dzam bu'i chu gser*, Paro, 1978, fols. 18-19.
12. *Sangs rgyas gzugs brnyan gyi mtshan nyid mtho bcu pa shing nya gro dha ltar che zheng gab pa*, Bstan 'gyur, Vol.142, pp.228-229, fols.5-7, Peking ed.
13. *Kongtrul,* op.cit.
14. *Vaidurya Gya Sel,* fols. 647-655.
15. I would like to thank Janice and David Jackson (Seattle, Washington) and H.R. Downs Jr. (Oakland, California), for access to their collections of *thig rtsa*. Special thanks, too, go to David Peterson and Janice Jackson for technical assistance on the illustrations.

# THE CONSTRUCTION OF LADAKHI HOUSES IN THE INDUS VALLEY

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This paper is part of a survey entitled 'Ladakhi houses in the Indus Valley,' a dissertation submitted for a master's degree at the Sorbonne. Field trips to Ladakh were made in August 1976 and July-August 1977. As far as we know, there is no previous study of the topic discussed in this article.

Time does not permit us to undertake a detailed description of the building materials of which there are three kinds: stone, earth (mainly in the form of dried brick) and wood.

Building a house usually takes two to three months and often starts in June. The period during which building can take place is comparatively short because winter begins in October.

*The Walls* (Plate 1)

Many houses are built on the foundations of older ones which have fallen into ruin. When new foundations need to be made, it is not necessary to excavate the whole construction area and make a floor since in Ladakh animals live on the ground floor, and the ground is simply made level. Thus, the foundations are dug in trenches to a depth of 1m. to 1.5m; they are made of roughly shaped quarry stones whose joints are in imperfect cohesion as earth mortar is merely inserted between them. The courses are laid parallel to each other but the stones are of uneven size.

The house is not built on any base and the walls rise directly from the ground, but in most cases the first course is made up of large stones which are pointed with earth mortar and between which small flat stones are placed. It preserves the same outline as the foundations. The courses of the walls comprising the ground floor vary in number between four or five and a dozen. Stone is widely used for this purpose because it has to support the weight of the higher tiers. Unburnt brick has a tendency to crumble under the weight of a tall wall. This may explain why many houses in Ladakh used to be constructed with inclined walls, similar to what civil-engineers term a batter.

The width of the base compensated for the fragility of the materials. Nowadays, as the houses are no longer so high, brick is also used on the ground floor and the batter is disappearing. A horizontal wooden clamp usually forms the top of the ground floor; it is visible from the outside and is found on every storey. It serves as a lintel for the openings ventilating each floor and it supports the ends of the joists which make up a part of the floor-ceilings of each storey. From the first floor the wall is usually built in unburnt bricks. It is much easier to use brick than stone because everyone can make their own, whereas stone requires the services of a stone mason. The bricks are placed in stretchers and headers, and are then joined with the same earth mortar used for the stones. The wall is made up of two thicknesses of stretchers and one of headers but the alternation of stretchers and headers is not regular. The corners are obtained by means of toothing. A stretcher brick is placed at an angle of $90^{o}$ to a header brick, and for the next row the bricks are laid inversely to insure the solidity of the corner and the walls. The angle of the next row is therefore made by a header brick. The walls are laid in this manner up to the roof. There is no need for external scaffolding because the storeys are constructed one after the other, and the builders work from the inside of the house. Ladders are used for spreading the roughcast on the entire exterior of the house. When the bricklayer makes the walls he

leaves empty spaces for the windows and doors. When he has laid three or four courses he puts the frames in the empty spaces and then he finishes the wall. Quite often there remains a gap between the wall and the frame, and it can be filled in with mortar.

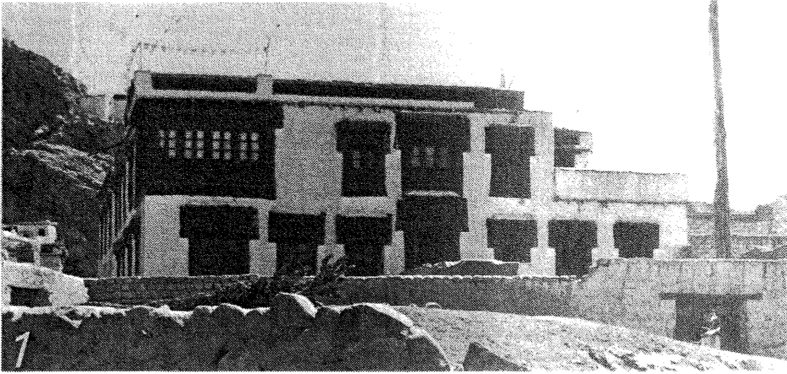
It is rare to find walls made entirely of stone in Ladakh. They are made of irregular courses of quarry stones filled in with mortar. Gaps are filled in with small pebbles. One might call it a gigantic irregular structure. As with the brick walls, the clamps are placed in the structure and support the ends of the beams.

As we saw above, the walls of the older houses are built with a batter. It seems that this batter was also widely used when houses and castles were built on rock and could not have foundations. The lack of foundations was compensated for in the width of the base of the walls which guaranteed stability for the building. We were never able to observe the building of this kind of wall as it seems to have been abandoned. Consequently we were unable to discover the technique used for them. This method of construction is slow and uneconomical as it requires a great deal of time and materials. But it certainly gives this sober and austere architecture an unrivalled elegance, as it conveys a sense of height and lightness which present methods no longer achieve.

*The Floors and Ceilings* (Plate 2)

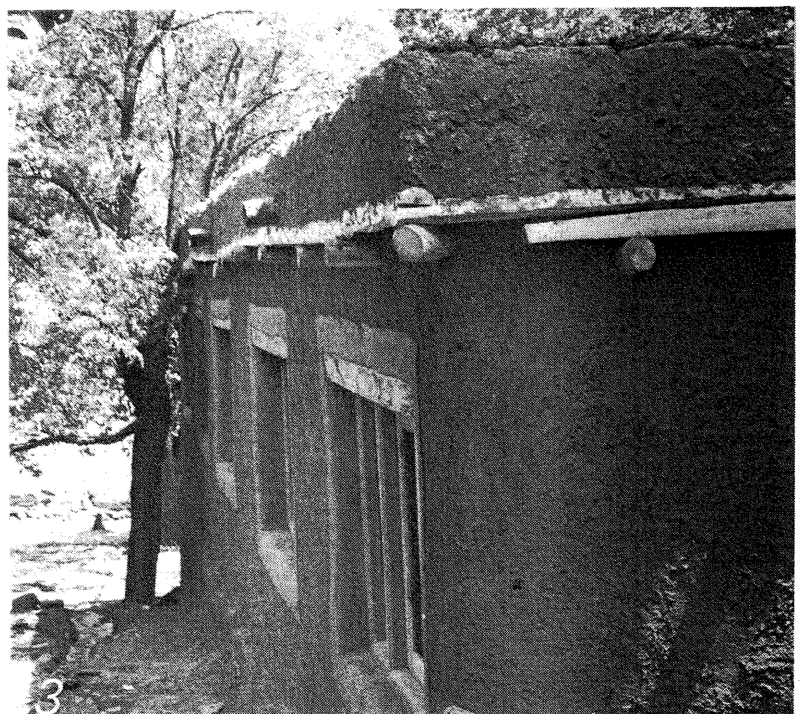
These are one and the same and are made of wood, grass and earth. The ceiling is simply the underside of the floor, and as in the Middle Ages, its structure is not concealed by any other materials. With the exception of the kitchen, the rooms are of modest dimensions, and there are no more than two or three master-beams in each room. The ends of the beams are built into the height of the wall between the bricks and the joists going through the walls rest on these beams. Their ends are placed on the wooden clamp already mentioned. Nevertheless, the ends of the joists can simply rest on the bricks of the bonding, like the ends of the master-beams. When they extend to the outside, the joists can be as much as 1m. long. They are not cut until the building is completed, or else they are used for making a balcony. The master-beams and the joists are made of poplar. A lathing made of little willow sticks is placed on the joists quite carefully; it can be fairly loose or very dense, and the sticks are arranged to form a pattern. A fairly thick layer of grass brought in large nets is then placed on this lathing. After this a compact layer of sifted earth mixed with water is spread over it. Finally the earth is packed down with a piece of wood and left to dry. This is the commonest method used for making floor-ceilings in Ladakh.

A more sophisticated method is used in Tibet but is fairly rare in Ladakh: the floor is scattered with tiny stones and water is then thrown over it; the stones are carefully crushed into the floor; the operation is repeated several times. Once the floor is dry it can be washed easily. But this is a slow method and needs to be meticulously carried out if it is to be done properly. The ceiling on the top floor also comprises the terraced roofing and it is made in the same way as the other storeys; however, the layer of earth is very thick and may be as much as 50cm. One can also put a whole course of bricks over the whole layer of earth and give it a coating. The roofing usually extends some 20cm. out from the wall; in this case it is supported by joists protruding from the walls with narrow boards on them. The same system is used for constructing balconies: the joists protrude from the wall as we saw above and then a lathing made of earth and grass is placed on them. The balustrade is made of bricks.










Ladakh house construction:

1. The outside walls.
2. The floor-ceiling.
3. The windows & doors.

*The Windows and Doors* (Plate 3)

The general system for fitting openings is the same for both doors and windows. The frame is not engaged in the walls but is simply placed on the floor or raised by a course of bricks. The horizontal crosspieces extend on either side into the structure and are wedged in between two bricks. Like the vertical jambs, the crosspieces are visible and they are assembled by bolting. All wooden fixtures are made in this way because nails were unknown until recently. The upper horizontal crosspiece is supported by a piece of wood which serves as a lintel, and in most cases also supports a wooden 'false lintel', which is the only decorative element in this austere architecture. These items are assembled and sculpted at the carpenter's shop and are brought ready-made to the building site. They consist of a wooden fixture which repeats the same system: four beam ends are bolted to a piece of wood which supports another longer piece; above this one there is another which supports beam ends like the first; finally the whole fixture is crowned by a piece of wood which is longer than all the others. We have described the simplest system as this one can be repeated. Brick headers are placed on the last piece of wood because they hold the whole wooden fixture in place. There is thus a play of thrusts extending from the top of its various elements. The space between the wall and the wooden elements is filled with mortar. Decorations may be chiselled in the horizontal pieces of wood: simple lattice-work or hollowed out motifs with stalactites. The pieces of wood which do not support beam ends are sculpted with tiny multifoil arches of Moghul influence, but there are also foliated arches which have a certain similarity to Indian arches having a *makara* tail.

There are practically never any windows on the ground floor and with each storey the windows became wider and more numerous. The reception room on the top floor benefits from the largest opening. Nowadays the tendency towards bigger windows has largely been created by the appearance on the market of glass at reasonable prices. Traditionally, windows are rather small which guarantees good protection against cold and heat. They may be mullioned in which case the lower part is closed up by two fixed wooden slats; they may also be simply divided into two by a vertical wooden rod. The windows in the reception room are divided into several parts by wooden uprights. They often form an angle of the house after the Tibetan style which is quite widespread in the Indus valley. As with the smaller windows, the lower part is sealed up with wooden panels. Oiled paper or wooden lathing is used to close them like the 'moucharabieh' which allows one to see without being seen and is probably of Muslim influence. The small windows are closed either by means of oiled paper or with wooden slats placed in position from the inside; if they are really small they are left open. Nowadays the traditional conception of windows has been revolutionised by the introduction of glass which makes it possible to have large windows, and by importing the hinge system which allows windows to be opened and shut easily. Some houses have windows framed with broad black bands in the Tibetan style. These bands create a very effective contrast with the white of the walls, and they become narrower towards the top of the windows, as if in response to the slope of the walls. The black substance is obtained from soot deposited on the kitchen ceiling since chimneys do not exist. The soot is scraped off with a stick into a bowl; then it is mixed with water and blended with ash; the resulting paste is applied with a brush or a cloth pad. Obviously this mixture is very water soluble but it rarely rains in Ladakh. The application is renewed every two years.

Like the windows doors are made of willow. They are always solid, there are no double doors, and they always open inwards. The simplest version consists of a horizontal bar with transverse bars holding the vertical boards in

position. However, one does come across others: a combination of vertical and transverse bars which delimit the panel diagonally, or a wooden frame onto which vertical boards are fixed. Doors used to be hung with the bearing socket and pivot pin system. The bearing socket was a stone hollowed out for the purpose. Today hinges have been adopted and many houses have been equipped with them for years. There is only one entrance door into the house. Padlocks were made in the Chinese pattern; they came in a variety of different sizes and could be anything up to 25cm. long.

*The External Facing.*

The roughcast is a simple mixture of earth and water and is usually spread on by hand. Often if a second layer is applied, a thin layer of ochrous earth found between Lahul and Ladakh is used. People generally content themselves with this second layer and the earthen colour of the houses harmonises perfectly with the landscape. But quite a number of houses follow the Tibetan custom and are white-washed with a coating of calcium carbonate. Limestone is not burnt to obtain quick lime as it is the case in the West. It is simply crushed and then mixed with water. Bits of cloth are wound round a stick and dipped in the lime and then the walls are whitewashed. This is done two or three times a year, especially in spring.

*The Interior Facing.*

In the same way, the interior walls are covered with roughcast which is spread on by hand and smoothed over with a board. They may be white-washed, and the reception room and the family chapel (*mchod-khang*) may be painted and decorated with auspicious motifs

*The Pillars.*

The ceiling beams in the larger rooms are supported by one or two pillars made of poplar, either round or square. The shaft does not have a base and its upper part is decorated with mouldings in the form of a stylised lotus band or petals. The capital opens out into lateral projections on either side of the shaft and it may be decorated. The capital is extended by the coping support and even though it is a separate piece of wood the decoration is also continued. The pillar can be painted with a variety of motifs.

*The Staircase.*

The traditional staircase was a lader hollowed out of a tree trunk which could be easily pulled up. In the Leh (Sle) valley the ladder has become rare but elsewhere in remoter places it is still in current use. In the Leh valley we now find ladders with rungs and staircases with steps and risers, like the ones known in the West.

*The Latrines.*

Most houses in Ladakh have latrines situated on the first floor. While the house is being built, a hole is made in the floor of a small room and the floor is covered with a thick layer of sand which is replaced each week. The sand is thrown onto the excrement and this prevents smells and also speeds up the drying process. It replaces the water used in the monsoon countries. It is an extremely ingenious system for a country where water is in short supply during the summer and frozen in the winter. The excrement falls into a room on the ground floor which can only be opened from the outside. Stones block the entrance and they are removed for emptying out the room at least twice a year, in spring and when summer is over. The manure is spread on the fields.

**Vocabulary**

The following list is presented in Tibetan alphabetical order. In cases where there is no immediate English equivalent to the Ladakhi word, a periphrasis is given instead. Where possible, spellings have been reconstructed and items located in dictionaries. A question mark indicates a doubtful reading.

*ka(-ba):* pillar
*ka-lag:* mortar
*ka-gzhu:* capital
*ku-lig:* padlock
*dkar-rtsi:* lime
*dkar-rtsi btang-ba:* to whitewash
*rked-shing(?):* clamp
*skar-khung:* 'sky-hole' (often the same as *dud-khung*)
*skas-ka:* ladder
*khang-pa:* house
*khang-pa rtsig-pa byed-pa:* to build a house
*gyang:* rammed earth
*gyang-shing:* forms for the rammed earth
*dgag-shing:* wood between decorative joist ends
*sge'u-khung:* window
*sgo:* door
*sgrig-ka:* bolting
*tu-kul(?):* joist ends with simple decoration over windows
*them-skas:* staircase
*thog:* roof
*thog-kar:* small lantern roof which protects the smokehole during bad weather
*thog-gyang:* roof balustrade
*da-ber:* wooden slat closing lower part of window
*dud-khung:* smoke hole (often the same as *skar-khung*)
*dral-bcad:* or rather *gral-phyam*: lathing
*dral-gdung(?):* joist
*gdung-khebs:* beam above pillar capital
*rdo:* stone
*rdo-skas:* outside staircase in stone
*rdo-leb:* flat stone
*nag-tshu:* black painted surround to windows
*spang-leb:* board
*phag-sna:* decorative joist ends shaped like a pig's nose
*phe-ku-lig:* key
*phyi-sgo:* front door
*bag-shing:* brick mould
*sbed-ma, padma, span-bad:* brick bearing or brushwood above windows
*dbyar-pa:* poplar
*ma-gdung:* master beam
*ma-them:* wooden crosspiece beneath frame
*mag-ldan(?):* foundations
*mar-ka-la-ga:* ochrous render found between Lahul and Ladakh
*rtsig-pa:* wall
*rtsig-dpon:* bricklayer
*tshar-leb:* flat stone set on balustrade of the roof as protection against rain
*zhal-ba:* coating
*zhal-ba btang-ba:* to coat a wall
*ya-them:* lintel above a door or window; also wooden crosspiece above frame

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| *ya-thog:* | ceiling |
| *g.yag-tsa:* | grass placed on lathing |
| *rab-gsal:* | window opening onto balcony; balcony |
| *ru-bzhi:* | frame |
| *shal:* | window-pane |
| *shing:* | wood |
| *shing-mkhan:* | carpenter |
| *shing bcad-pa:* | to cut wood |
| *shing-rtsag(?):* | decorative lintel above door or window made of several pieces of wood |
| *sa:* | earth |
| *sa-bag, bag-pa(?):* | brick |
| *sa-zhal:* | earthen floor |
| *gsang-spyod:* | latrine |
| *lha-bris-pa:* | painter |
| *ar-ka:* | floor made of small stones |

*Dimensions.*

Rooms can be up to 7 metres long and 5 metres wide, which is a considerable size. By contrast, ceilings are low and are usually between 2.5 and 3 metres above the floor. Doors are between 80 centimetres and one metre wide, and are 1.8 metre high. Pillars are on average 50 centimetres in diameter, as are the beams of the floor-ceilings. Joists are much smaller, between 30 and 40 centimetres in diameter and placed at 60 centimetre intervals. In most cases the beams, joists and lathing are made of wood which has been stripped of bark.

In conclusion it can be said that Ladakhi houses are characterised by their simple construction methods which nevertheless make the most of the possibilities afforded by the building materials. It is to be hoped that detailed work on the habitats of the different regions of Tibetan culture will be undertaken to isolate their characteristic features and common factors.

## SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ARISING FROM A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE EARLY *GTER-STON*

**Ramon Prats**

The *gTer ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar* of Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas is the most valuable source for a biographical study of Buddhist *gter-ston* now available.[1] It is made up of more than two hundred *rnam-thar*, most of them very short, the first forty-eight corresponding to the *gter-ma* revealers foretold in the *Padma thang yig*.[2]

Some insights can be gained from a comparative analytical survey of these forty-eight hagiographies, which cover a period of over seven hundred years from Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma in the latter half of the 10th century to O-rgyan gTer-bdag-gling-pa in the first years of the 18th century.[3]

The *gter-ma* tradition was not a Buddhist novelty. According to a Bon-po work, the *bStan rtsis* of Nyi-ma-bstan-'dzin,[4] the first treasures to be rediscovered were some Bon-po texts brought to light by three Nepalese ācārya in 913 which were said to have been hidden during the reign of Grim-gum-btsan-po.[5]

Nevertheless, leaving aside that kind of statement, in concealing sacred items to preserve them the religious movements of the 8th and 9th centuries only employed a device already used in Tibet, although probably with a less futuristic and prophetic purpose. In fact in his *Minor Buddhist Texts* (Part II) Professor Tucci, quoting some Tibetan sources, mentions the hiding of some Buddhist texts which a certain master of Ch'an or Dhyāna (*shan-shi*, from the Chinese *ch'an shih*), who was an intimate of Khri-srong-lde-btsan, had brought from China prior to the advent of Sāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava in Tibet. Those texts which had been buried in mChims-phu were recovered shortly thereafter.[6]

Although *gter-ston* have appeared in all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism,[7] *gter-ma* literature remains a distinctive feature of the rNying-ma-pa and Bon-po traditions between which there existed, at least in this regard, an interaction or collaboration that seems to have been particularly intense in the first period of the later spread (*phyi-dar*) of Buddhism. It is as if there was a tacit agreement to oppose the growth of the new orthodox Buddhist schools in Tibet.[8]

It is no wonder, then, to find some of the early *gter-ma* revealers common to both the rNying-ma-pa and Bon-po traditions. From a survey of the hagiographies in question we find that nine of the forty-eight *gter-ston* rediscovered treasures of both religious systems.[9] Moreover, other *gter-ston* who are considered to have revealed only Buddhist *gter-ma* belonged to Bon-po families. It is worth noting that seven among those nine rediscoverers lived during the 11th or the 12th centuries, when the connection between rNying-ma-pa and Bon-po seems to have been at its apex.[10]

Turning to the single prophecies (*lung-bstan*) drawn from the *Padma thang yig* of O-rgyan-gling-pa[11] which introduce each of these hagiographies, we see they are largely focused on the political events that took place in the 13th and 14th centuries: first the Mongol supremacy in Tibet favoured by the Sa-skya-pa school and later the growing rivalry between that school and the bKa'-brgyud-pa in general, and the Phag-mo-gru-pa sect in particular.

The chief difficulty encountered in the translation of these prophecies derives from their meaning which is intentionally ambiguous if not completely obscure. An almost total omission of case particles for reasons of metre contribute to this. In particular the use of equivocal terms and allusions (*tshig-zur*) must be interpreted in order to grasp the second meaning of the

prophecies, their hermetic message.

In this regard there are three words offering a particular interest and whose translation in the context in which they appear can raise doubts. These words are: *phag* (usually 'pig'), *'bri* (*'bri-mo*: cow-yak; *'bri-ba*: to write, or to lessen), and *sa* (earth, territory, country). In the forty-eight prophecies their meaning is as follows:

*Phag* : appears four times, in three of which it stands for Phag-mo-gru-pa, and in one for 'pig'.

*'Bri* : appears only once, standing for 'Bri-gung-pa.

*Sa* : appears fifteen times (leaving aside the cases in which it forms part of compound names, such as *rgyal-sa, lHa-sa*,etc.,). Five times it stands for its primary meaning; seven times it most probably stands for Sa-skya-pa; and three times its meaning is doubtful to me.

A careful study of these prophecies - which form a corpus with those of the *bKa' thang sde lnga*[12] - discloses, behind their hints and allusions, a certain dislike for the Sa-skya-pa who are made to appear more as real allies of the Mongols than as their subjects or officials, and hence as a yoke for the Tibetan people.[13]

We know that O-rgyan-gling-pa (b. 1323) stood high in the favour of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364/1374), the head of the Phag-mo-gru-pa. O-rgyan-gling-pa's hagiography gives the cause for the interruption of the propitious causes (*rten-'brel*) that led him to the recovery of the finds: he was disgraced by the Ta'i Si-tu. The *gter-ston*, having fled towards the Dvags-po region, died not long after. The reason for his rupture with the Ta'i Si-tu, says the *rnam-thar*, is to be found in some prophecies whose allusions Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan did not like.[14] What those prophecies were and where among O-rgyan-gling-pa's works they are to be found is not indicated; but the statement encourages us to assume that the *gter-ma* previously elaborated by the *gter-ston* did have the *nihil obstat* of the powerful Ta'i Si-tu.[15]

We cannot speak of a simple edition of the writings traditionally attributed to Padmasambhava and to his closest disciples. It is accepted that these epic religious poems may be considered rather as largely original compositions, as adaptations of several fragments recovered as *gter-ma*. The colophons of these same works remind us that the original texts were paper-scrolls (*shog-dril*), often very short. In reality the rediscoverers who transcribed the scrolls or, in some cases, translated them into Tibetan from other languages (such as Sanskrit, the Uḍḍiyāna language, or the ḍākini's script, as the tradition has it) also gave their own interpretations to the troves they had recovered.[16] Such interpretations could have been conditioned by the personal situation of the *gter-ston*, as the case of O-rgyan-gling-pa shows.

This is the reason why it is very likely that the definitive editions of pseudo-historical *gter-ma*, as they have been handed down to us, are less a reflection of the epoch in which the original manuscripts were written than that of the period in which they were brought to light and drawn up. This probably holds true not only for the events of the periods subsequent to the concealment of the texts, but also for those events contemporary or previous to it.

A major problem concerning these hagiographies is the dating of each rediscoverer. These *rnam-thar* follow the corresponding order of the prophecies in the *Padma thang yig*, which are still not arranged in chronological sequence, as noted by Kong-sprul himself after the first two *rnam-thar*.[17]

Since the complete cyclic name of the rediscoverers' birth-year is seldom indicated, it is necessary to deduce the period in which they lived from a

series of clues: (1) the identification of the historical events covertly referred to in some of the prophecies; (2) the biographical information supplied by the *rnam-thar*; and (3) the chronological list appended to the end of all the hagiographies,[18] where the *gter-ston* are classified according to the sexagenary cycle (*rab-byung*) in which they appeared, with the additional indication of some of their well-known contemporaries.

Yet it often happens that the data so gathered are incompatible or in disagreement with other sources. A comparison of the three types of evidence shows that the chronological list cannot always be relied on, as several of the rediscoverers must be put into different cycles, either earlier or later.

A simple example of this confusion is found in the *rnam-thar* of Ra-mo-shel-sman, a tantric physician (*sngags-sman*) and revealer of important medical works including the *rDo rje bdud rtsi*. The third verse of the introductory prophecy concerning the advent of this *gter-ston*[19] refers to the peculiar politico-religious relationship known as *yon-mchod* established in about 1254 between the Mongol empire of Qubilai Qan and, representing the Tibetan nation, the Sa-skya-pa school personified by 'Phags-pa. The basis of this relationship had been laid some years earlier by the feudal prince Godan and the Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) after their meeting in 1247.[20] On the basis of this event the *gter-ston* should have appeared around the middle or during the latter half of the 13th century. However, in the chronological classification of the rediscoverers Ra-mo-shel-sman is situated in the 2nd *rab-byung* (1087-1146).[21] Thus, even if we put his birth towards the end of that cycle there is still a gap of about a century between the two dates. Discrepancies like this are not scarce.

To conclude it can be pointed out that the more recent the *gter-ma* revealers are, the clearer the prophecies usually become, and correspondingly the richer the hagiographies are in data. Birth-dates are also more frequently given, and among *gter-ston* there are to be found more Buddhist monks and fewer tantric adepts (*sngags-pa, sngags-'chang,* etc.), in contrast to the earlier periods.

## Notes

1. *Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai ḍū rya'i phreng ba (gTer rnam* henceforth), written by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899) in 1886. Vol. *ka* of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. The folio numbers given here correspond to the mTshur-phu edition.
2. Ten of these hagiographies have been translated in Eva M.Dargyay's *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*, Delhi, 1977. I am completing a research on these and the remaining *rnam-thar*, using the same and other Tibetan sources.
3. Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma, reputed to be the earliest of the Buddhist *gter-ston*, was born during the first half of Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po's life (958-1055) (*gTer rnam*, fol. 36r,6). O-rgyan gTer-bdag-gling-pa, disciple-teacher of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682), is the latest of that group of rediscoverers, having died in 1714 (*gTer rnam*), fol. 63v,3).

4. *Sangs rgyas kyi bstan rtsis mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba*, of Nyi-ma-bstan-'dzin (b.1813), translated by Per Kvaerne in 'A Chronological Table of the Bon po. The bsTan rcis of Ñi ma bstan 'jin' (Tibetan text, translation and transliteration), in *Acta Orientalia*, XXXIII (1971), pp.205-282.
5. Kvaerne, *op.cit.*, pp.227 (46), 228 (59). See also Samten G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, London, 1972, pp. 118 ff.; Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vol., Roma, 1949, p. 727; Per Kvaerne, 'The Canon of the Tibetan Bonpos. Part one: Introduction', in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XVl, 1 (1974), [pp. 18-56], pp.37-38.
6. Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II, Roma, 1958, pp.10-11, 11 n.1, 24. These Tibetan sources are the *Chos 'byung* of Bu-ston and of dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag, and the 5th Dalai Lama's *Chronicle*.
7. E. Gene Smith, Introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, New Delhi, 1970, pp.10-11.
8. Cf. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.6-7, 10; Kvaerne, 'The Canon....', pp.31,39. Ann-Marie Blondeau, in *Religions Tibétaines, Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes,* LXXXV (1976-77) [pp.89-96], pp.91-96.
9. These rediscoverers are: Grub-thob dNgos-grub (bZhod-ston dNgos-grub for the Bon-po), Ku-sa-sman-pa (Khu-tsha-zla-'od), A-ya Bon-po-lha-'bum (Guru rNon-rtse), Khyung-po-dpal-dge, Ra-shar-chen-po, dPon-gsas-khyung-thog (Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem), Rakshi-ston-pa, g.Yag-phyar-sngon-mo, and O-rgyan rDo-rje-gling-pa (Bon-zhig g.Yung-drung-gling-pa). To these one more *gter-ston* can be added, the Buddhist monk Gra-pa-mngon-shes (1012-1090) (Smith, *op.cit.*, p.10). Cf. Kvaerne, 'The Canon ....', p.39, nos. 116-118.
10. As for the other two, the *gTer rnam*, fol.228r, 3, puts Rakshi-ston-pa in the 4th *rab-byung* (1207-1266); and rDo-rje-gling-pa was born in 1286 according to the same source (*gTer rnam,* ff. 79v, 5 and 228r, 6), but in 1228 according to the Bon-po (see Karmay, *op.cit.*, p.175 n.6).
11. Kong-sprul does not specify which edition of the *Padma thang yig* he consulted. Unlike the edition translated by G.Ch.Toussaint in *Le dict de Padma*, Paris, 1933, our text lacks the prophecy on rDo-rje-gro-lod (Toussaint, *op.cit.*, p.385) *alias* mNga'-ris Rig-'dzin-chen-po, about whom there seems to be some discrepancies (*gTer rnam,* fol. 95v, 2-3).
12. These prophecies *ab eventu* share identical characteristics with those of the remaining epic religious *gter-ma* of O-rgyan-gling-pa, with which they must indeed be considered as a whole, as has partly been done by A.-M. Blondeau in 'Le lHa-'dre bka'-thaṅ', *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, pp.29-126. One has the impression that these prophecies were distributed at random among the different texts.
13. To quote just one example, the first three verses of the prophecy concerning Rakshi-ston-pa (*gTer rnam*, fol. 57r, 4) run as follows: 'All the people of Tibet, placed under royal dominion, will ruin their own food and clothes in providing for the Sa-skya-pa and the Mongols. The sthavira will become military commanders and functionaries of the Mongols'. (*rgyal po'i mnga' tshud bod kyi mi rnans kun/ rang gi lto gos bsran nas sa hor gso/ gnas brtan dmag dpon hor las byed pa 'byung/ ...*). Cf. Toussaint, *op.cit.*, p.382. In the first verse *rgyal-po* stands for Qubilai Qan (1215-1294) who in 1254 granted to 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280) supreme authority over Tibet (Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, New Haven and London, 1967, p.65).
14. *gTer rnam*, fol. 66r, 4-5. Cf. Blondeau, *op.cit.*, p.44.

15. For a chronology of the five parts of the *bKa' thang sde lnga*, some of which were preceded by the discovery of the *Padma thang yig* (1352), see Blondeau, *op.cit.*, p.42; cf.Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp.113-114.
16. Cf. Eva Neumaier, 'Einige Aspekte der gTer-ma-Literatur der rÑiṅ-ma-pa-Schule,' in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplementa I, 3(1969), [pp. 849-862], pp.853-856 ff.; Tucci, *op.cit.*, pp.111-112.
17. *gTer rnam*, fol. 37v, 4-5.
18. *gTer rnam*, fol. 227r, ff.
19. *gTer rnam*, fol. 51r, 4: 'With the Mongols, a new law between donors and priests will come.' (*hor dang yon mchod khrims gsar sbrel ba 'ong*). Cf. Toussaint, *op.cit.*, p.381.
20. Shakabpa, *op.cit.*, pp.63, 67, 71; Tucci, *op.cit.*, p.9 ff.; cf. *supra* note 13.
21. *gTer rnam*, fol. 227v, 5.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENCY IN TIBET

N.G. Rhodes

From the earliest times, most purchases in Tibet were made by means of barter. Only in the urban communities, which grew up around the great monasteries, was there any need for a monetary system for exchange purposes. This paper traces the development of the monetary system which was used in the towns of Central Tibet.

Early accounts of life in Tibet are few, but 'The Life of Milarepa' gives an interesting insight into the use of currency in the second half of the eleventh century. This work records purchases being made with barley grain or gold, both traded by weight.[1] The way in which the gold circulated is not described in detail, but it may have been as raw gold dust tied up in a small bag. This method, using gold panned locally, was described by 19th century European travellers, and was probably a traditional system.[2] Naturally it was very inconvenient for everyday transactions, as the gold had to be weighed and scrutinised for impurities each time it changed hands.

Barley grain, the staple crop of the southern valleys, was always a popular currency item. Indeed, it continued to play an important role in Tibetan financial affairs until the present century, with a proportion of Government revenue and the salaries of officials always expressed in grain.[3]

On one occasion Milarepa was given seven shells as an offering,[4] which may mean that shells, presumably cowrie shells, were regarded as currency. In Bengal at this time, cowrie shells circulated in the absence of any metallic currency, and as there were close trading links between Bengal and Tibet it is to be expected that Tibetan travellers would have carried such shells back to Tibet for use as money. It is therefore likely that the Tibetans were prepared to accept as currency an item with no practical use, and valued by number and not by weight, properties common to coins. Although shells ceased to be used as currency in Tibet many years ago, they are still used extensively as gambling counters. Whether coins circulated in Tibet during the early monarchy is not certain, although coins were widely used in India and Turkhestan at that period and I have heard an unconfirmed report of a hoard of 7th century Nepalese coins that was apparently found in Tibet.[5]

The barter system, based on gold and grain, supplemented occasionally by cowrie shells, probably continued unchanged until the 13th century, when contact between Tibet and China increased during the Yuan Dynasty. During this period in China, gold and silver was stored in government treasuries and used to back the paper money which circulated widely. Although examples of 13th and 14th century Chinese banknotes have been found in the Sakya Monastery,[6] it is doubtful if they ever circulated as currency in Tibet itself.[7] The Mongols did, however, send large donations in silver to the Tibetan monasteries for religious purposes.[8] Silver was not mined in Tibet, and this was probably the first time that it reached the plateau in any quantity. Soon after this, however, silver replaced gold as the basis of the Tibetan currency system, in the form of ingots cast in China and valued by weight.

The most common of these ingots weighed 50 ounces, but smaller ingots down to the weight of one ounce were also used. They were too large for everyday use, and although small change could be obtained by cutting them with a chisel, they were mainly used for large scale transactions and as a store of wealth. A system of weights was developed, using Chinese decimal sub-divisions:[9]

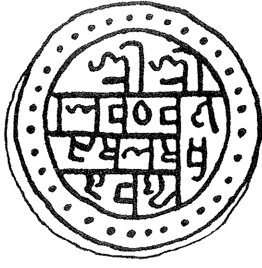
10 Sho = 1 dNgul-srang or Chinese Liang(ounce) = c. 37 grammes.
10 sKar-ma = 1 Sho or Chinese Miscal or Chi'ien.
10 'On = 1 sKar-ma.

In the 16th century when Akbar conquered Northern India, his empire became particularly prosperous and rich in silver thanks to the Portuguese who brought large quantities from the newly discovered mines in Mexico to trade for spices. Akbar used surplus silver to trade with his neighbours, including Tibet, and he even had a Tibetan wife in his harem.

In contrast to the Chinese currency system, where silver circulated as bullion, silver in India traditionally circulated as coin, with the value guaranteed by the issuing authority. Much of the silver flowing up towards the Himalayas in exchange for Tibetan exports such as wool, salt and musk, would have been in the form of coin. Some of this coin remained in the border areas, with local produce being sent on to Tibet. It did not take long before some of the more powerful border states realised the advantages of striking coins of their own, and soon after 1560 A.D. both Nepal and Cooch Behar set up mints. Cooch Behar, in particular, struck large numbers of fine silver coins in the late 16th century (Fig. 1.) and seems to have been the main beneficiary of trans-Himalayan trade at this time.[10] By striking coins of their own, these states were able to ensure that traders could not take silver back to India without a loss, since the local coins were not accepted at face value in Moghul territories. In Tibet, however, where there was no indigenous coinage, all silver coins, whether Moghul, Nepalese or from Cooch Behar, were valued on an equal basis. Moreover, since the Tibetans found the silver coins very convenient as currency in their towns, they quickly acquired a fixed value, roughly equal to their weight in silver, so it was worthwhile for the border states to pay for Tibetan exports with coin, since they were then able to profit from the alloy.

In about 1590, Nepal succeeded in securing extra-territorial rights for traders and artisans from Nepal to reside in Lhasa,[11] and these traders were able to direct much of the bulk trade through Nepal in preference to Cooch Behar which had no local presence, and from then on the power of Cooch Behar waned. At this time Nepal was divided into the three kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, all ruled by Newar kings of the Malla dynasty. It was Kathmandu which was the most powerful of the three around 1600, since it controlled not only the trade route to Tibet, but also the route to India, as the King of Kathmandu, Shiva Simha, also happened to be King of Patan. It was soon after 1560 that Mahendra Malla (1560-74) of Kathmandu first struck silver coins in Nepal.[12] These pieces were purely Nepalese in design, although the name 'tanka' and the weight standard of c.10 grammes were derived from Muslim coins. Later issues show further Muslim influence, with copies of Arabic inscriptions reading either around (Fig.3) or across the flan (Fig. 2). The latter design which was copied directly from a tanka of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah III (1526-3) of Bengal,[13] was particularly popular in Tibet, and it may not have been coincidence that the Nepalese inverted the design, since there is then a marked similarity to Tibetan seal script. Although these rare early Nepalese coins are still to be properly classified, it would seem that very few were issued before the establishment of the Newar trading houses in Lhasa in about 1590.

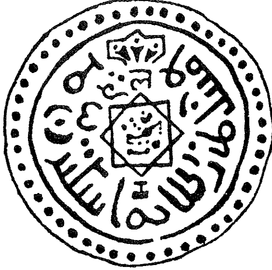
In the 1630's, Nepal's hold over the trans-Himalayan trade was threatened when Ram Shah, King of Gorkha, gained control of the route to Tibet through Kirong.[14] Cooch Behar immediately began to benefit, as shown by an increase in the number of silver coins struck there, and soon after 1648 A.D. the Ahom Kings of Assam also began to strike silver coins. The Assamese were

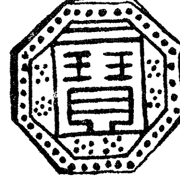
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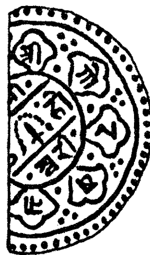

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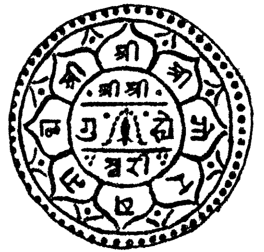
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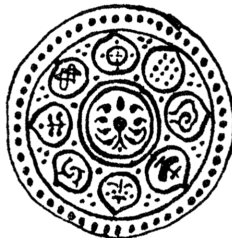
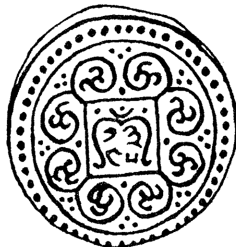
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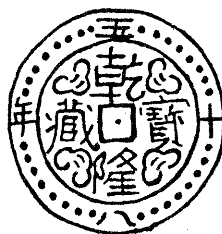
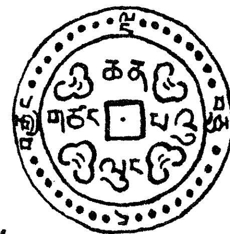
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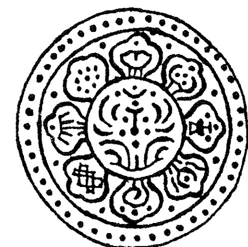
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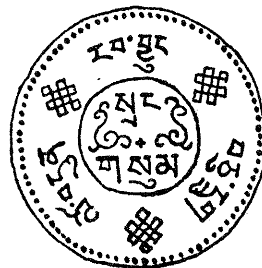
13.

14.




15.

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presumably able to trade through Tawang, and one of the first coins struck had a crude Chinese inscription reading 'Tsang Pao' (Fig.4), which can be translated as 'Tibetan Coin'.[15] This was probably an attempt to get Assamese coins accepted in Tibet, although the use of a Chinse inscription can only be described as strange, and the attempt must have failed quickly, as only one specimen is known today.

During the 1630's the silver content of the Newar coins was reduced, as the supply of silver dried up when Kathmandu lost its trans-Himalayan trade. Shortly before 1640, however, Kathmandu regained control of the trade routes, and again secured a good supply of silver from the south. Because of the debasement, confidence in the old coins was reduced and in about 1640 the Newar Kings decided to withdraw all the early tankas (hence their rarity today) and replace them with fine silver coins, struck to a weight standard of only 5.1/2 grammes. These new coins were called Mohars, or 'Mahendramalli' after the name of the King who first struck silver coins in Nepal.

Shortly before 1650, in response to the threat from the trade routes further east, Kathmandu felt strong enough to demand a monopoly over the trans-Himalayan trade and invaded Tibet. After a decisive victory the Nepalese forced the Tibetans to sign a treaty whereby all trade with India was to be routed through Nepal in preference to other routes. Furthermore, the Nepalese agreed to strike coins for Tibet, with the Tibetans either directly supplying the silver or paying for the coins with gold.[16] This treaty heralded a new era in Tibetan coinage as the Nepalese mohar, called 'Bal-tang' by the Tibetans, was officially confirmed as an acceptable currency unit in Lhasa, a status not accorded to its rivals. The other coins quickly disappeared from Tibet, although Cooch Behar coins continued to circulate widely in Bhutan.

The value of the Nepalese coins relative to Chinese silver bullion varied according to supply and demand, and a second currency system developed:[17]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2½ sKar-ma | = | Kha-gang |
| 4 Kha | = | Sho-gang |
| 1½ Sho | = | Bal-tang (the Nepalese coin), or Tangka |
| 6 2/3 Tangka | = | Tam-srang |

As can be seen, most units of this system represented a certain weight of silver bullion. Originally their value in the two systems were the same, so that 6 2/3 Nepalese coins were equal to a silver srang, but later the silver srang fluctuated in value over a range of at least 5¾ to 7 2/3 tangkas. Confusion was avoided since the Nepalese coins were used only for small purchases, whereas silver bullion was used only for large transactions.

The value of the Nepalese coins rose relative to silver whenever large supplies of Chinese silver ingots reached Tibet. An example of this occured in 1720 when a Chinese army escorting the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa with enough silver to pay for all its needs in Tibet.[18] On such occasions, the Tibetans found it worthwhile to send silver bullion to Nepal for striking into coin, in spite of the danger and expense of the long journey. The Nepalese supplied coin in equal weight to the silver supplied, but made a large profit from the alloy, which became as high as 30% or even 50%. With increased contact with China during the second quarter of the 18th century this became common practice, and as the bullion went to the mint of the king who controlled the Kuti trade route, this became a source of conflict between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. The coins to enter Tibet as a result of these bulk transactions exceeded the numbers which reached there in the course of normal trade, and hence certain coins, particularly those of Jaya Prakash Malla (1735-68) of Kathmandu (Fig.5) and Ranajit Malla (1722-69) of Bhatgaon (Fig.6), are very common indeed. The latter is particularly common, and became known as the 'Nag-tang' or 'Black coin'

because the alloy was so bad that it turned black with use.[19]

Although the Nepalese mohars were sent to Tibet in quantity, the small denominations were never popular there. This may have been because these fractional denominations were based on binary sub-divisions which did not fit happily into the Tibetan currency system. When the Tibetans needed small change they cut the full coins into fractions of $^1/3$, ½ or $^2/3$rds, worth respectively 5, 7½ or 10 sKar-ma (Figs. 10,9 & 8). Some Nepalese issues were particularly suitable for cutting, as they had a reverse design with eight petals; when these were cut leaving 3 petals on one side and 5 on the other, they were divided by weight almost exactly in the ratio 1/3 to 2/3rds, and a line with 4 petals on each side naturally bisected the coin. These pieces were readily accepted for the relevant value merely by counting the petals, and in later years it became normal practice to cut away every bit of silver that was not part of a petal (Fig.11),and the owner got something for nothing, or else the clippings were kept as payment for the cutting. Because of this coins of this type became known as 'Chö-tang' or 'Coins for cutting'. For even smaller change, certain trade articles circulated in the towns at fixed values, and in 1713 the system was well described by Father Domenico da Fano.[20] There were pieces of silk called Mantsi, yellow with coloured dots, which circulated as 1/6th of a tangka, and Areca nuts were valued at 20 to the Mantsi. Both these items circulated without the need for weighing or measuring, although da Fano emphasises that the fixed values only applied in the towns, with relative values in the rural areas determined strictly according to local supply and demand.

Although the Nepalese coins varied from pure silver to only 50% fine, they all circulated at the same value. This situation was accepted by the Tibetans because there was confidence in the currency, and it was realised that the coins could be taken back to Nepal and used to purchase goods there. There was no need to melt them down so the silver content was unimportant. Since the Tibetans were rather conservative in their habits, the coins sent in bulk to Tibet were only of two main types; Kathmandu sent coins of the Chö-tang design, whereas Bhatgaon sent coins with the design reminiscent of seal script. Much more imaginative designs were used by the Newars on coins for local use, usually distinguished by a higher silver content, although these too did circulate freely in Tibet.

This system worked satisfactorily for all concerned, especially the Nepalese, until Prithvi Narayan, King of Gorkha, began to extend his territory after 1750. In 1755 and 1757 he obtained the agreement of Tibet and Kathmandu to circulate his coins alongside Malla coins.[21] These coins were of similar fabric to the Newar coins, but were struck in fine silver. Gradually Prithvi Narayan expanded his territory until in 1768 he conquered the Kathmandu Valley and became King of Nepal. He had a deep-rooted prejudice against debased coinage, and one of his first acts was to demonetise all the old Malla coins and replace them with fine silver coins of his own. He seems to have converted the coins at bullion value, which must have caused the Newar traders great loss. Although Prithvi Narayan was powerful enough to enforce such an edict within Nepal, his jurisdiction did not extend to Tibet, and the Tibetans were justifiably angered when the old Malla coins which they had paid for in good faith with good silver were no longer accepted in Nepal at face value. The dispute which developed severely disrupted trade between the two countries, and as there had been no supplies of new coin since well before 1768 because of the war in Nepal, their value rose relative to bullion.[22]

Prithvi Narayan's successor, Pratap Simha (1775-77) did not have the same scruples over striking debased coins, and in August 1775, he agreed to strike

coins for Tibet, using silver sent by the Tibetan government. Over the next two years, about 1½ million such coins were sent to Tibet,[23] all struck with a debased alloy, only about 60% fine. The reverse design had the traditional petals to facilitate cutting (Fig.7) which distinguished them from the normal coins struck for use within Nepal which were struck in fine silver, and had a different reverse design (Fig.12). The Nepalese made a good profit out of these coins, but did not allow them to circulate at face value within Nepal. The new supply of coin in Tibet caused the value to drop relative to bullion, and whereas in 1774 there were 6 tangkas to the srang, by 1784 the srang was worth about 9 tangkas.[24] Although this new supply satisfied the demand for coins in Tibet, it did not solve the underlying dispute between the two countries. The Nepalese still insisted that the old coins be devalued in accordance with average metal content, which they assessed at 2 old coins for one good new Nepalese coin, whereas the Tibetans continued to regard all coins as equal in value, irrespective of silver content.

While trade through Nepal was disrupted the Tibetans began to pass the trans-Himalayan trade through other routes such as Kashmir, Ladakh, Garhwal and Cooch Behar, and it is noticeable that the silver coinage of these territories increased in scale at this time. Indeed, the coins of Ladakh and Garhwal became common currency in Western Tibet from this time, where they were called 'Jao', apparently derived from a Tibetan word for 'Little Tea', as they were equal in value to a small tea-brick.[25] Naturally Nepal was keen to re-establish its monopoly, and following the precedent of 1650, invaded Tibet in 1788. The following June, after conceding defeat the Tibetans signed a treaty agreeing to route trade through Nepal, and also agreeing to the rate of 12 old coins or 6 new coins to the Srang.[26]

The terms of this treaty could not be forced on the Tibetan population, and all coins continued to circulate at 9 to the Srang, irrespective of silver content. The Nepalese sent a mission to Lhasa in 1789 with a supply of new coin, but although they stayed for about a year, they were unable to coerce the Tibetan population to accept the new coins at 6 to the Srang. By this time, the Tibetan authorities finally realised that they would never again be able to rely on Nepalese coins, and in 1791 they finally set up a mint in Lhasa. The coins struck were identical in fabric, metal content and weight to the old Nepalese coins, and even had the petals to facilitate cutting (Fig.13). Meanwhile, relations between Nepal and Tibet were growing more tense, and in August 1791 the Nepalese invaded Tibet again. After initial setbacks, the Tibetans appealed to the Chinese for help, and by August 1792, a combined Chinese and Tibetan army had driven the Nepalese back to within 20 miles of Kathmandu. Eager for peace on any terms, the Nepalese agreed never again to raise the subject of coinage.

Late in 1792, the Chinese Emperor issued an edict ordering that an Imperial mint be established in Lhasa. Once this was set up the Chinese used their influence in Lhasa to close down the Tibetan government mint. After an unsuccessful attempt at a multi-denomination system, the Chinese decided not to change the basic coinage system, except that they struck coins of fine silver. The new coins were of the same diameter as the old, but as they only weighed 1 Sho (3.7 grammes) they could circulate at 9 to the Srang, and still leave a 10% margin for the expenses of striking (Fig.14). After 1836, the Chinese influence in Lhasa declined, the Imperial mint was shut down, and the Tibetan government continued sporadically to strike new coin. Although the weight and fineness deteriorated, the small supply of new coin ensured that their value remained firm.

From the mid-19th century, trade with India began to expand, and British-

Indian rupees reached Tibet in the course of trade. The rupees gradually became accepted as currency, circulating alongside the tangkas and the silver ingots. Indeed, over the next century, the rupees gradually replaced the ingots as the most popular medium of exchange for large transactions. Intrinsically, about 3.2 rupees were equal to a Srang, and in 1879 about 2½ tangkas were equal to a rupee. By about 1880, the local coinage was in rather short supply, and many forgeries were being struck to satisfy demand, so the Tibetan government began to strike large numbers of Tangkas. These new coins were called 'Gaden-tangkas' because of the inscription on the reverse (Fig.15). They were very debased, and were struck to a lightweight standard of about 4½ grammes, and due to their poor quality, some traders began to impose differential values between the various issues in circulation. This caused much confusion and dissatisfaction, and in 1881 the government issued an edict that all silver coins, however, debased, were to circulate at the same value which was now standardised at 3 Tangkas to the rupee.[27]

In 1904, the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa before the British, and His Holiness only returned in 1909 after spending much time in Mongolia and China. While in China, he must have experienced the new silver and copper coins being struck there, and decided to strike similar coins in Tibet. The new coins were a 'Tam Srang' valued at $6^2/3$ Tangkas, and weighing just over half a 'Ngul Srang'; a 5 Sho to the same standard; and also denominations in copper. The first copper issue had denominations expressed as fractions of a Sho, ¼ and 1/8th, but these were quickly replaced by issue with denominations expressed as 7½, 5 and 2½ sKarma. These new issues barely had time to get established before the second flight of the Dalai Lama, early in 1910, this time to India before the Chinese. The Chinese closed down the Tibetan mint and struck coins of their own with a dragon design and denominations on the Chinese bullion standards, but these were never popular with the Tibetans. When the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet in 1912 he reverted immediately to the old system. Not only were large numbers of Tangkas struck but also the experiment of 1909 was found to be a success, so large numbers of fine silver and copper coins were struck and two new mints were opened to increase production. At the same time, banknotes were issued for the first time.

Between 1918 and 1921 Tsarong Shape struck gold 20 srang coins in his mint near the Norbu Lingka, but because of lack of control over the money supply, the value of the Tibetan currency gradually depreciated from 3 Tangkas to the rupee in 1904 to 3½ in 1909, to 4 in 1920, and then to 5 Tangkas to the rupee in 1923. At this rate, it became worthwhile selling the gold coins in India as bullion, and also it was no longer economic to strike silver. From then until 1928 large numbers of copper coins were struck. A few silver coins were also struck, but these hardly circulated. In addition quantities of forgeries of copper coins were made in Calcutta, and confidence in the local currency sank even further, down to 9 Tangkas to the rupee in 1928, and to 24 Tangkas to the rupee by 1932. In 1928 the striking of coins was virtually suspended, and only a strictly limited number of banknotes was issued in order to control the money supply.

By 1932 the currency was stable enough to permit the mint to re-open, and copper coins were struck to the same weight standard as previously, all the old copper coins remaining legal tender. The old silver coins were revalued according to bullion value, and in 1934 fine new silver coins were issued out of silver supplied tax-free by the British. These coins were valued at 3 Srangs (Fig.16), but although they were the same size and weight as the Indian rupee, they circulated at a discount of about 20% because of the latter's international acceptability. In 1938 a slump in world demand for wool caused

an enormous increase in the demand for rupees in Tibet, and the silver coins were sold as bullion in India. Although the situation stabilised during the World War II period, the lack of metal imports from India meant that no coins were struck in Tibet between 1938 and 1946, and only paper money was issued. In 1946 the issue of silver coins was resumed, but the increase in the world price of silver soon made it necessary to suspend their issue, and they were replaced by very poor quality debased coins, valued at 10 Srang. These coins were struck in large numbers until their issue was suspended in 1951 by the Chinese. Copper coins continued to be struck until 1953, and banknotes were issued in ever increasing numbers until the old Tibetan currency was completely withdrawn after the 1959 uprising.

In the mid-1950's, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Tibetans, the Chinese struck large numbers of fine silver dollars with the old Yuan Shih K'ai design, and circulated these in Tibet. Tibetans employed on projects. such as road-building were paid with these coins, which were also lavished on cooperative aristocrats. After 1959 they were quickly withdrawn, and from then on the only currency in Tibet has been Chinese paper and aluminium.

## Notes

1. *The Life of Milarepa,* trans. by L.P. Lhalungpa, New York, 1977, pp.32, 48, etc.
2. 'The Silver Coinage of Tibet', by A.T. de la Couperie, *Num. Chron.* 1882, p.5.
3. *Tibet, A Political History*, by T.W.D. Shakabpa, Yale, 1967, p.10.
4. Lhalungpa, *op.cit.,* p.133.
5. Information kindly provided by Dr. K. Gabrisch.
6. 'Wen Wu' 1975, No.9, pp.32-34.
7. Marco Polo specifically says that the Tibetans did not accept banknotes.
8. T.W.D. Shakabpa, *op.cit.,* pp. 66-68.
9. *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, by L.Petech, Part IV, pp.235 -237.
10. R.Fitch who visited Bengal in 1585/86, mentions the Trans-Himalayan trade through Cooch Behar. *Hakluyt's Voyages,* Everyman ed., Vol.3, pp.296-297.
11. *A Cultural History of Tibet* by D.L. Snellgrove and H.E. Richardson. London, 1968, p.201.
12. *Nepali Rashtriya Mudra*, by S.M. Joshi, Kathmandu 2019 VS, Pl.9, No.1.
13. 'The Coinage of Nepal', by E.H.C. Walsh, *JRAS* 1908, p.687.
14. *Nepal, Strategy for Survival*, by L.E. Rose, Berkeley, 1971, p.13.
15. 'An Assamese-Tibetan Trade Coin', by N.G. Rhodes, *Spinks Num. Circ*, July/Aug 1975.
16. L.E. Rose, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-14.
17. L. Petech, *op.cit.*, Part IV, pp.235-237.
18. *An Account of Thibet*, by I. Desideri, London, 1937, p.167.
19. 'The Coinage of Tibet', by E.H.C. Walsh, *MASB* Vol.II, No.2, p.13.
20. L. Petech, *op.cit.*, Part III, pp.13-15.
21. L.E. Rose, *op.cit.*, p.26.
22. 'Bogles Embassy to Tibet', by Diskalkar, IHQ IX(1933) pp.420-438, gives the exchange rate in 1774/75 as 6-6.4 Tangkas to the Srang,having dropped from 6.8-7.0.
23. Manuscript by B. Hodgson in the India Office Library.
24. *An Account of an Embassy to ..... Tibet*, by S. Turner, London 1800, p.372.
25. A.H. Francke, *op.cit.*, p.456.
26. L.E. Rose, *op.cit.*, pp.42-47.
27. *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by S.C. Das, London 1904, p.64.

## CASTING TIBETAN BELLS

V. Ronge & N.G. Ronge

The attention given in literature to the function of bells (*gril bu*) as religious paraphernalia is not paralleled by corresponding information on the manufacture of such bells. The information presented here was obtained from Tibetan refugee craftsmen during several journeys to India.[1] Some of these casters (*blugs pa*) were relatives. Two brothers lived in Darjeeling and three of their cousins, also brothers, had settled in Dehra Dun. This family came from sDe dge dGon chen in Khams. Two other casters, also brothers, live today in Darjeeling. Their home town was gLing tshang in Eastern Tibet. All these artisans are still working today according to the traditional methods they used in Tibet.

In Tibet bells as well as statues were made by the sandcasting method which requires the mould to be destroyed after casting so that for each bell a new mould must be made. I shall describe the making of the mould, the casting, cleaning, and polishing of the bell.

The moulds are made of very fine foundry sand; depending on the quality of the sand, the moulds have to be baked over a low burning fire up to three times. The sand is tempered with melted brown sugar or the juice of dried, cooked radishes. The caster builds his moulds in a wooden, box-like frame (*dpe bre*) filled with sand. He uses three main instruments: two metal cylinders, the flask (*blug dpe*) to hold the sand, and a plain, mostly undecorated bell - a blank - without handle (fig.20). The craftsman places the blank bell with the skirt facing downwards in the sandbox and presses this model gently into the sand (fig.3).

The sand around the blank bell is dusted with charcoal powder from a cloth bag (*sol khug*). The opening into which the handle is to be fixed after casting is closed with a mixture of charcoal dust and sand; this is tightly pressed around a tiny cross made of twisted wire (fig.1.) which serves to strengthen this stopper made of sand and charcoal.

The caster then places the larger metal cyclinder, the cope(*ya phor*) (fig. 8a), over the blank bell so that the space between it and the cylinder can be filled with sand (fig.3). The sand is again mixed carefully with both hands before it is gradually sieved into the gap. It is packed firmly around the blank bell with the help of wooden tools (*tshag yog*) (figs.9,11) of various shapes. The uppermost level of sand is pressed down with another wooden, mallet-like instrument (figs.10,12).

The metal cylinder is then turned around (fig.4) and the uneven parts are scraped off with the flat handle of an iron spoon (*dpa' khag*) (fig.17). The caster lifts the cylinder up with his left hand and knocks very gently with a stick against the inside of the blank bell until it falls out of the sandbed. He then covers the inside of the mould (*bye dpe*) again with charcoal dust and scrapes with a flat, knife-like tool (fig.15) over the inside surface of the form.

The blank bell is put back into the mould and both are placed together upside down in the sandbox (fig.4). With a spoon (fig.17) the caster inserts small cavities, 'keyholes', into the surface between the blank and the cylinder (fig.2). He fixes a small stick made of twisted wire (*mang thur*) into the centre of the blank (fig.7) and fills its interior space with sand, which is rammed down with the above mentioned tools.

The second, shorter cylinder, the drag (*ma phor*) (fig.8b), is joined to the cylinder enclosing the blank bell and also filled with sand. This combined mould (fig.8ab) is lifted from the sandbox and, with very gentle movements

the caster tries to loosen and separate the two parts of the mould from each other (fig.6). After lifting the blank bell from the mould the two sandforms, when joined, leave a bell-shaped empty space (fig.7) to be filled with molten bronze. In order to form the ring or eye for the clapper the caster drills two small openings from the centre of the bell mould, which meet to form the ring (figs.6,7).

Before the casting can take place, a sprue opening must be cut into the bottom of the mould. Since the two cylinders are open on either side, the half moon shaped opening can be cut with a knife into the drag (figs.5,7).

During the process of building the moulds, the caster removes the blank bell several times and goes repeatedly over the inside of the forms, filling empty spaces with a mud solution, moistening the sand with a goat hair brush (*chu pir*) and water (fig.13), and cutting back the uneven parts with a simple metal scraper, as well as brushing off loose sand particles.

The blank bell has no ornaments except for the lotus leaves and mantras around the opening into which the handle is fixed. The caster, therefore, uses a set of approximately twenty stamps (*dpar gyab*) (fig.21) to imprint the decorations into the mould which represents the outside ornamentation of the bell but can only be seen after casting.

The mantras (figs.20,23) correspond with the following symbols on the skirt of the bell:

*Taṃ* - wheel *Baṃ* - wheel
*Laṃ* - jewel *Tsuṃ* - vajra
*Maṃ* - lotus *Bhruṃ* - lotus
*Paṃ* - sword *Maṃ* - Utpal flower

The pearl garlands are called *dung 'phreng*, the monster heads *rdzi 'go pa thra* and the jewel hangings *dra ba dra phyed*. While printing with the stamps, which are made of copper, the artisan holds the mould in his left hand and turns it clockwise while the right hand selects the stamps hanging from a string. The moulds are left to dry for twenty-four hours and are baked for three to four hours on a low burning charcoal fire.

Usually five to six bells are cast at the same time. The bronze is brought either as bronze dust or melted from bits and pieces of broken bronze objects. It is convenient to weigh and melt metal for two bells at the same time in a crucible (*blugs phor*) in an open charcoal pit fire which is brought to high heat by a hand-operated mechanical bellows replacing the traditional bellows (*khul mo*) used in Tibet. The bellows is always operated by the strongest member of the team.

Glowing charcoal is heaped up around the crucible and a metal hood covers the fire pit in order to increase the heat still further. While the metal melts and reaches the desired temperature, which can only be recognised by the colour of the molten bronze, the caster ties the two parts of the mould together with string.

When the molten bronze is ready, he seizes the crucible with tongs (*blugs kam*) (fig.18), brushes off some ashes from its surface with an iron rod and pours the liquid metal into the sprue openings. Two minutes later, when the bells are still glowing red, the moulds are opened and destroyed.

After casting, the surface of the bell is cleaned by hand with a very simple flat iron hook (*khug gri*) (fig. 16). This work requires much stamina and again the strongest craftsman in the workshop is given this thankless task. For polishing,an equally simple lathe (*gzhu skrugs*) is used (fig.19). In order to fix the bell straight in the lathe's axle, it is filled with water and the surface of the water used as an adjusting device (fig.22). One person keeps the lathe rotating with a rope wound around the axle and pulled from both

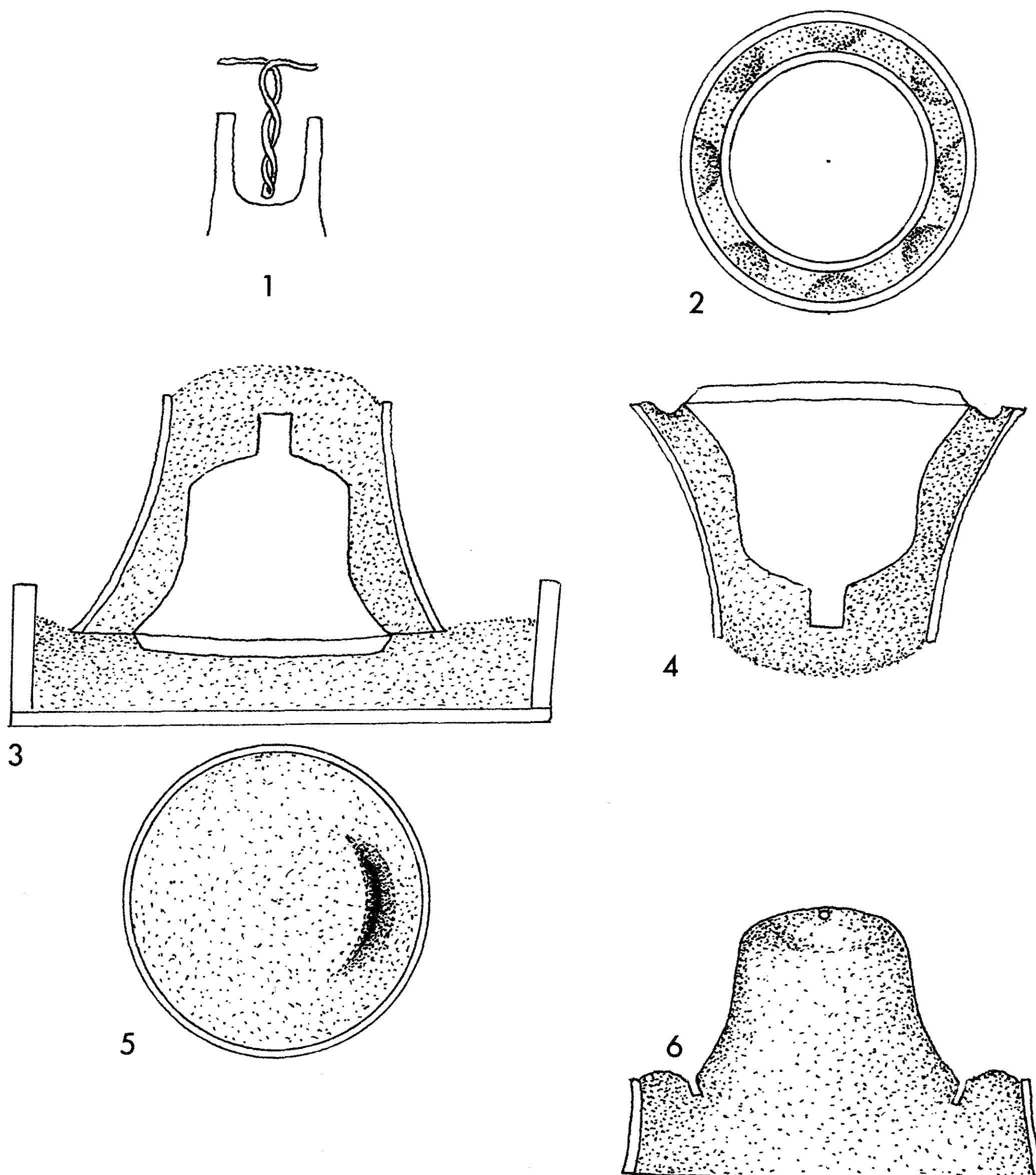
ends, while another one presses various knives (fig.14) and bent iron bars (fig.16) (*bzhar gri*) on the inner and outer surface of the bell's skirt. Finally, rough wet sand is pressed with the help of a piece of leather against the surface in order to make it smooth and evenly shining.

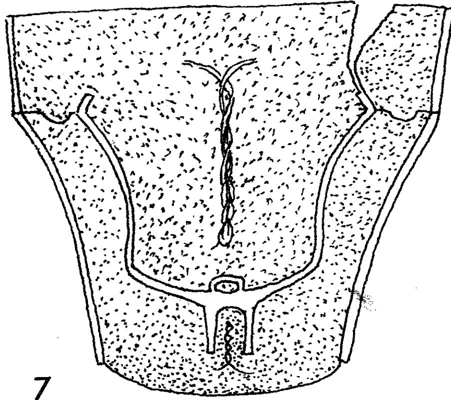
The handle of the bell as well as the vajra (*rdo rje*) are cast in permanent moulds. Since only the head in the handle, together with the centre and left spokes of the half *rdo rje* forming the handle can be cast in one piece, the other two spokes are cast separately and welded later to the handle, that is to the *rdo rje*.

After refining, chiselling, engraving, polishing, etc., usually with normal silversmith's tools, the handle is fixed with a resinous mixture into the top opening (fig.23).

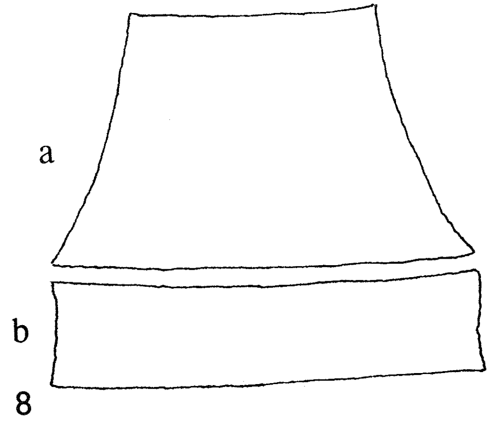
## Note

1. Field trips were made in 1971-1972 and in 1977. They were supported by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, SFB 12.

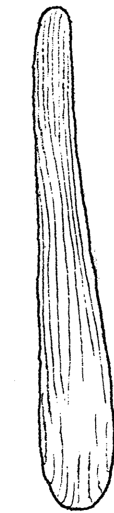




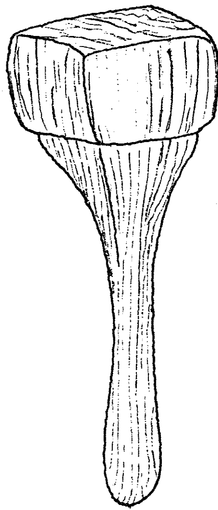
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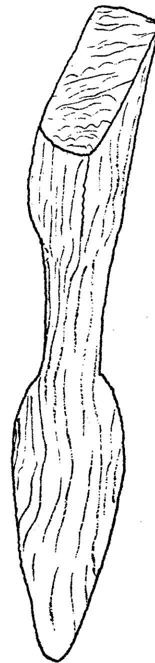
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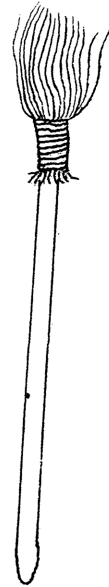
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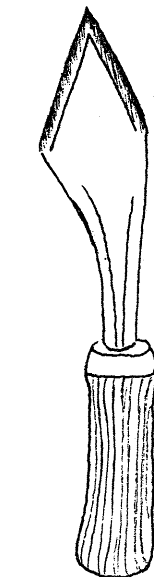
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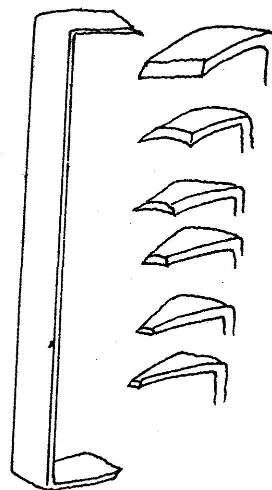
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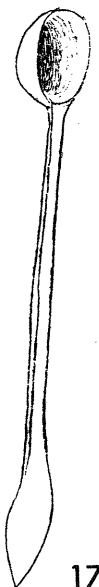
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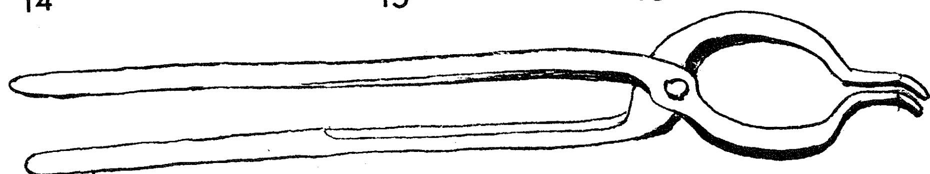
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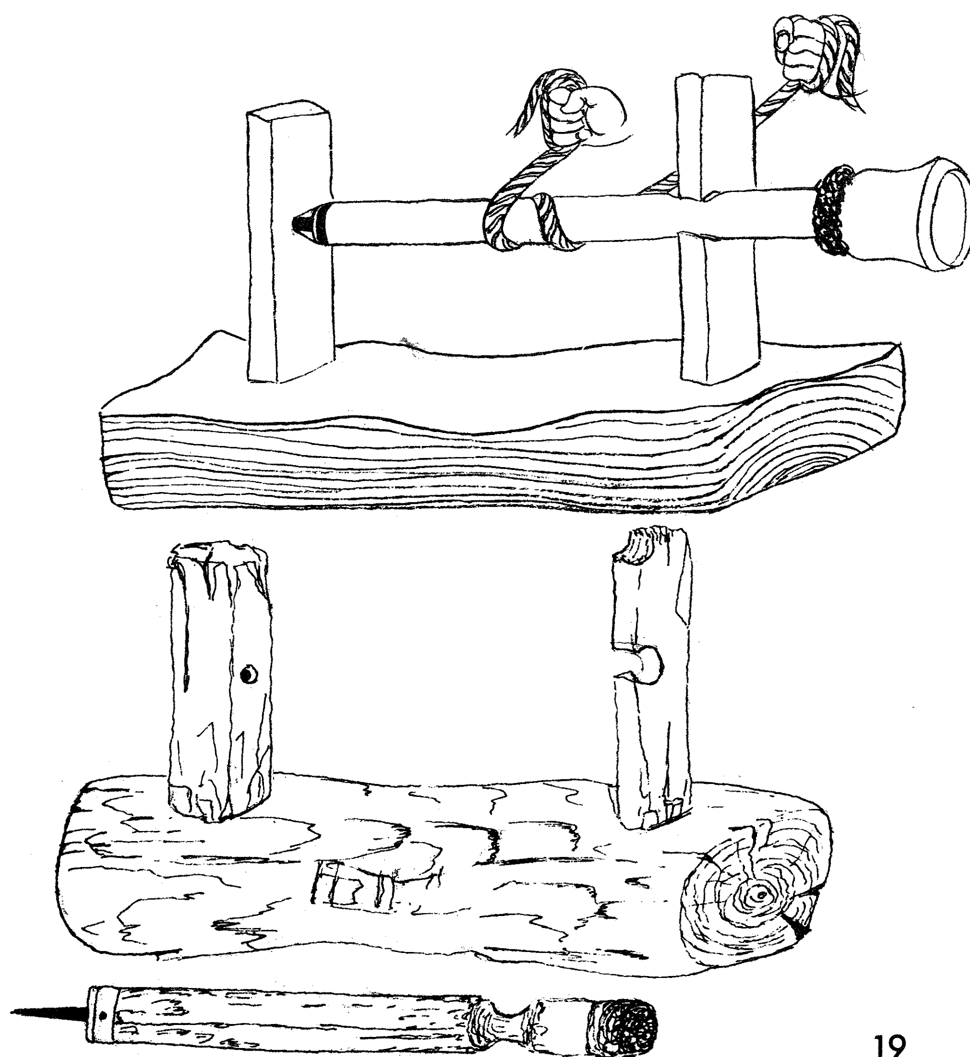


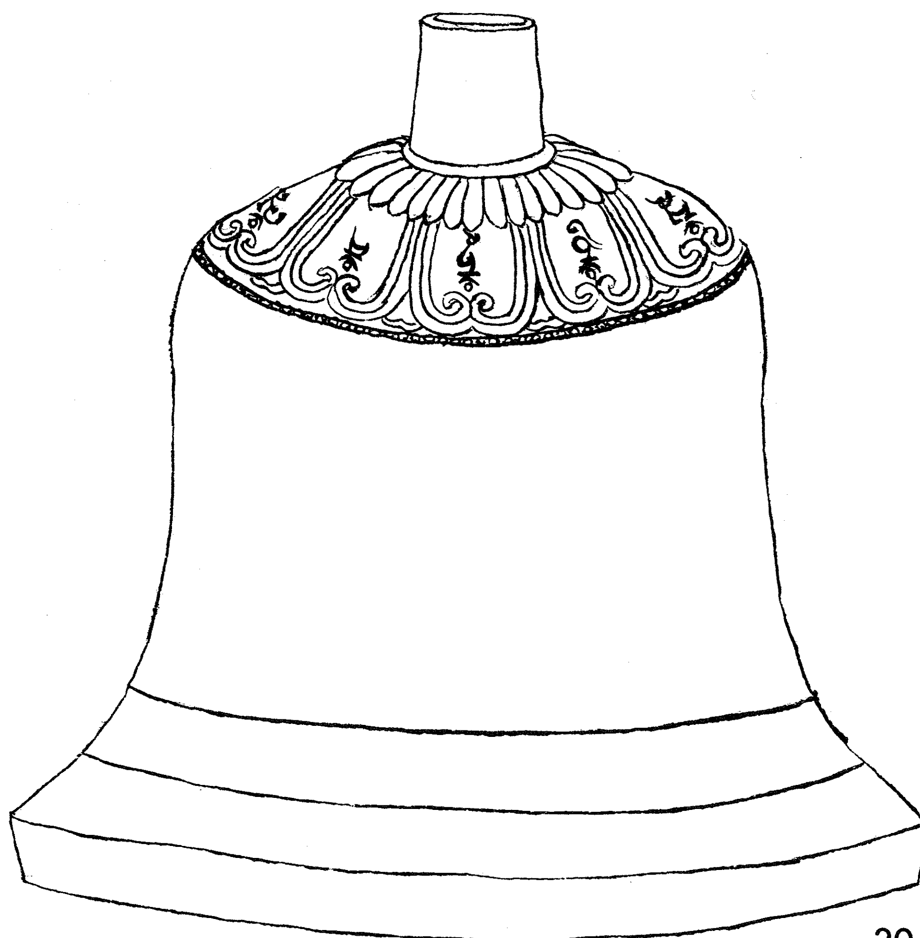
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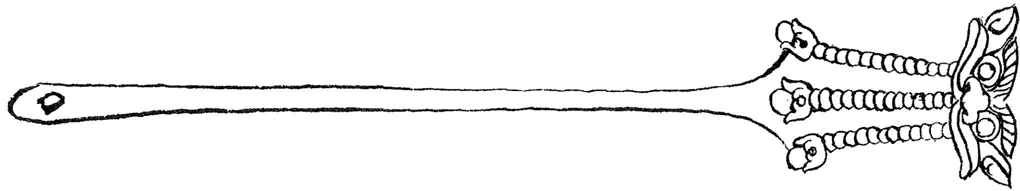
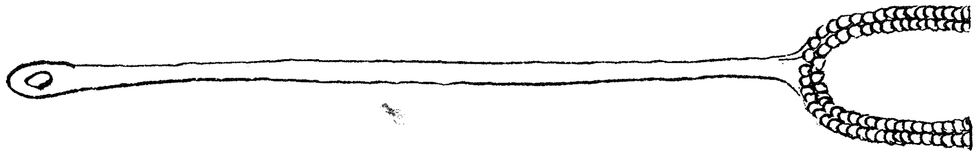


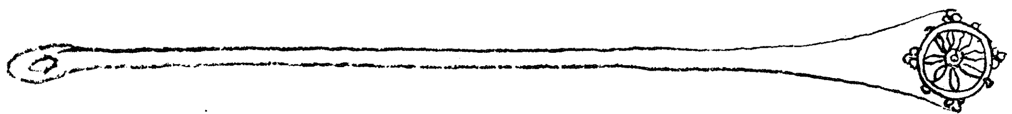
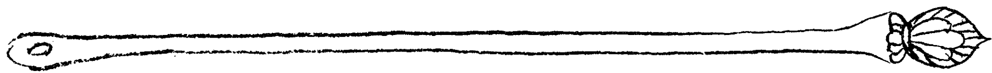
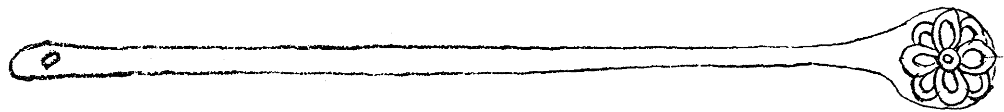
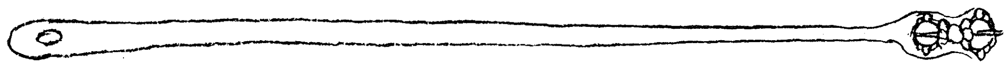
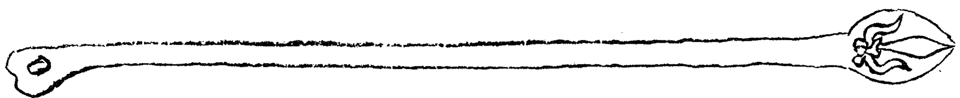
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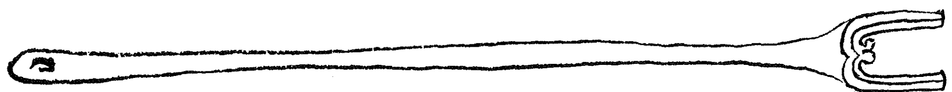
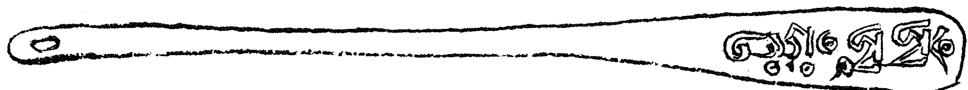



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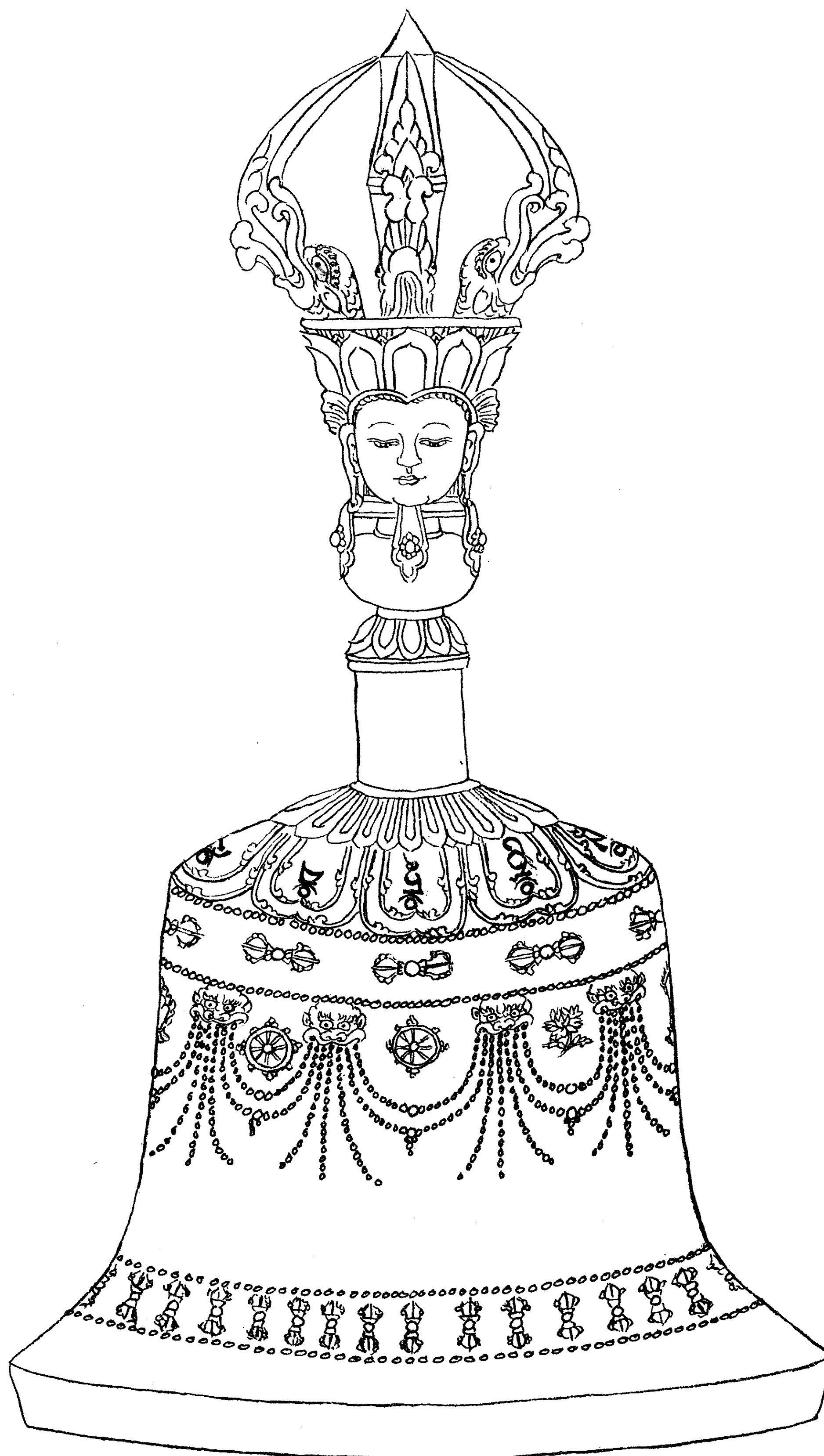

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23

# ON THE RECEPTION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE DBU-MA (MADHYAMAKA) IN TIBET

D. Seyfort Ruegg

## I

Our Tibetan documents show that the dBu ma (Madhyamaka) school of Buddhist philosophy was already well-known in Tibet by the last quarter of the eighth century. This was the time of two very prominent Indian Mādhyamikas who lived and taught in Tibet and represented the synthesizing Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school then very active in India: Śāntarakṣita and his illustrious disciple Kamalaśīla. Kamalaśila is reputed to have taken part in what we may call the Council of Tibet (otherwise known as the Council of bSam yas) which took place toward the close of the eighth century. There distinct currents in Buddhist thought came into confrontation, and the Tibetans began more clearly to define their approach to the theory and practice of Buddhism; in the Tibetan records Kamalaśīla figures as the opponent at the Council of the Ch'an master Hva shang Mahāyāna in crucial debates concerning the theory and practice of the Madhyamaka. According to a number of sources, after this Council the Tibetan King issued an edict ordering that thenceforth Buddhism in Tibet was never to deviate from Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka.

Whatever the historical accuracy of these accounts in our sources may be, it is a fact that the Madhyamaka school prevailed in Tibet, where it has been regarded as the deepest and most exact philosophical expression of the Buddha's meaning.

## II

We are fortunate in possessing some doctrinal treatises going back to about 800 A.D. which help to fill in our knowledge of this early period in the history of Buddhism in Tibet. Perhaps the oldest Tibetan references to the dBu-ma can be traced in two of the most ancient indigenous philosophical works known to us, the *lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa* by dPal brtsegs and the *lTa ba'i khyad par* by Ye shes sde, both of which date from about that time. These treatises mention both Śāntarakṣita's school - referred to as the rNal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma (Yogācāra-Madhyamaka) - and the earlier school of Bhavya (or Bhāvaviveka, sixth century) - referred to as the mDo sde (spyod) pa'i dbu ma (Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka).[2] It is however to be noted that neither of these treatises nor dPal brtsegs' *lTa ba'i rim pa'i man ngag* mention the school of Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti which was to occupy such a prominent place later in the history of Tibetan thought but was evidently not recognised as a distinct doctrinal entity during the early propagation (*snga dar*) of the Dharma in Tibet.

The *Grub mtha'* literature starting with the above-mentioned treatises by dPal brtsegs and Ye ses sde amply testifies to the attention given by Tibetan scholars to the analysis and classification of the forms of Buddhism which they received from India, and especially to the Madhyamaka.

Beginning with the later propagation (*phyi dar*) of the Dharma in Tibet we hear much of Candrakīrti's school, known as the Thal 'gyur ba ('Prāsaṅgika'), as a doctrinal current quite distinct from Śāntarakṣita's school, which continued to be known as the rNal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma (rang rgyud pa) (Yogācāra-[Svātantrika-]Madhyamaka), and Bhāvaviveka's school, which was henceforth known also as the Rang rgyud pa ('Svātantrika') school. The terms *rang rgyud pa =svātantrika* and *thal 'gyur ba =prāsaṅgika* refer in the first place to the two different methods of reasoning and achieving understanding of reality that are characteristic of Bhāvaviveka's and Candrakīrti's schools and consist respectively in the use of independent inferences and a kind of

apagogic reasoning. And they were then employed as designations for the schools having these two masters at their head.

At the beginning of the *phyi dar* also there came into prominence in Tibet the gZhan stong tradition, which is another synthesizing movement harmonizing the Madhyamaka and the Vijñapti philosophy (*rnam par rig pa*). It is opposed to the Rang stong (*svabhāvaśūnya*) theory of the other Madhyamaka schools.

### III

With respect to historical development it seems possible to divide the dBu ma, and indeed much of Tibetan philosophy, into four periods:

I. Preliminary assimilation (mainly in the 8th and 9th centuries): reception and early efforts at interpretation and systematization during the *snga dar* or early propagation of the Dharma;

II. Full assimilation (end of the 10th to the 14th century): continuing philosophical penetration and explanation with further efforts toward systematization during the early part of the *phyi dar* or later propagation of the Dharma;

III. Classical period (mainly the 14th-16th centuries): the high point of philosophical penetration, exegesis and systematic hermeneutics, accompanied by the final constitution of the Tibetan religious schools (*chos lugs*, viz. the rNying ma, bKa' brgyud, Sa skya, dGe lugs or new bKa' gdams, etc.);

IV. Scholastic period (16th century onwards): interpretation (often epigonal) comprising continued exegetical and hermeneutical activity largely within the bounds of the different *chos lugs*, but with certain efforts toward cross-linkages between traditions and greater universalism in the inclusivism or eclecticism of the *ris med* movement (especially during the 19th and early 20th centuries).

Of the above-mentioned four schools of the dBu ma, Bhāvaviveka's branch of the pure Madhyamaka and Śāntarakṣita's synthesizing Yogācāra-Madhyamaka were especially strong in periods I and II; and they continued to be studied in the succeeding two periods when they, however, no longer occupied the same predominant position. Candrakīrti's Thal 'gyur ba branch of the pure Madhyamaka and the synthesizing gZhan stong traditions came to the fore early in period II; and they continued to be strongly represented in the following periods up to the present time.

### IV

In their fidelity to the Indian traditions of the Madhyamaka the dBu ma pas of Tibet did not stop short at mere scholastic elaboration and mechanical schematization of borrowed ideas. Among their contributions to the development of the Madhyamaka we can mention in particular:

(1) the textual exegesis of passages from the scriptures (Sūtra) and, more especially, the canonical commentaries and treatises (Śāstra) found respectively in the bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur;

(2) the composition of commentaries and independent treatises showing wide learning, intellectual acumen and powers of synthesis in which (a) difficult individual points of doctrine are examined with care and penetration and (b) the overall purport of Sūtras and Śāstras is explicated in a systematic synchronic frame by means of a comprehensive hermeneutical method;

(3) the treatment of philosophical praxis deriving from Madhyamaka theory, including in particular guides to meditation and the theoretical and practical realization of reality (for example in the *lTa khrid* and *dMar khrid* literature); and

(4) the sustained attempt to situate the Madhyamaka in the overall frame of Buddhist thought, including not only the Bye brag tu smra ba (Vaibhāṣika), mDo sde pa (Sautrāntika) and Sems tsam pa(Cittamātra or Vijñanavada) schools but also the rDo rje theg pa (Vajrayāna) (in the *Grub mtha'* literature).

In order no doubt better to establish the specificity and identity of Tibetan culture and also of Tibetology as an academic discipline, a tendency has recently appeared among some scholars to discount connections between India and Tibet even in the area of Buddhist thought. Now, when we acknowledge the dependence of much of European philosophy on Plato or Aristotle we certainly do not put in question the original contributions made by West-European philosophers starting in mediaeval times; or when the Arabist notes the links between mediaeval Islamic and Greek philosophy he does not thereby deny all specificity to Islamic philosophy. It is then suggested here that, by the same token, the study of Buddhism in Tibet and indeed of Tibetan civilization as a whole can lose nothing by fully acknowledging their close ties with the Buddhism of India and with Indian civilization. Tibetan studies can indeed only gain by being pursued in coordination with (but certainly not in subordination to) Indian studies. Obviously this procedure will in no way preclude us from recognising also the existence of other very important ties with Central Asia, China and even West Asia.

As for the dBu ma pas, there is no evidence to indicate that they have understood their task to be to set themselves off from their Mādhyamika predecessors in India. On the contrary, they have very clearly striven to penetrate, explain and put into practice the understanding of Buddhism achieved by Nāgārjuna and his disciples up to Abhayākaragupta and Śākya-Paṇḍita; to their interpretations they regularly refer, and also defer in a not uncritical manner. They thus combine close adherence to the traditions and lines of thought established by their predecessors in India with the production of very valuable contributions of their own in the area of textual exegesis and philosophical hermeneutics as well as in the domain of philosophical and meditative theory and practice.

## Notes

1. This paper is the summary of a much more detailed article which was impossible to publish in these proceedings due to its length.
2. dPal brtsegs, *lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa*, fol. 140a-b of the Peking edition of the bsTan 'gyur, Vol. ngo. And Ye shes sde, *lTa ba'i khyad par*, fol. 252b of the Peking edition of the bsTan 'gyur, Vol. tsho; see also Ms. Pelliot tibétain 814, fol. 5a-b.

# THE 5th KARMA-PA AND SOME ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TIBET AND THE EARLY MING

Elliot Sperling

The early years of the Ming dynasty, following its founding in 1368, constituted a period of considerable change in the domestic and foreign affairs of China. Not only did the first emperor, Ming T'ai-tsu[1] have a different perspective on governmental matters from those of his Mongol predecessors of the Yüan dynasty, but in addition the neglect accorded certain affairs of state during the violent and unstable period of dynastic change made it necessary for China's new rulers to place those affairs on fresh foundations once they were firmly in control. Under such circumstances the Ming court was faced with the necessity of establishing its own 'Ming' relationship with Tibet, Yüan governmental policies towards that country having come to an end.

When Ming T'ai-tsu turned his attention to Tibet at the commencement of his reign, his considerations centred around the T'ang experience with Tibet. Thus, one reads in the *Ming-shih* that:

> At the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368-1399), T'ai-tsu took the disorders caused by the Tibetans during the T'ang era as a warning and wanted to control them.[2]

Given the contempt for the Yüan that is often found in early Ming documents, it cannot be considered unusual for the emperor to have looked to the T'ang for a theoretical framework within which to place his future Tibetan policy. The restoration of Chinese rule over both North and South China under the Ming, following over four centuries of non-Chinese rule over the North, was a significant event in China and naturally the court preferred to hark back to the days of Chinese grandeur under the T'ang for its historical models, rather than to the period of the abhorred Yuan.[3]

In 1369, T'ai-tsu began to send missions to Tibet. The first one was specifically aimed at the clerical powers of the country, of whose existence the emperor was very much aware,[4] and the proclamation that it carried has been preserved in the *Ming shih-lu*. In it the emperor stated that:

> .... Formerly, the *hu* people (i.e. the Mongols) usurped authority in China. For over a hundred years caps and sandals were in reversed positions. Of all hearts, which did not give rise to anger? In recent years the *hu* rulers lost hold of the government .... Your Tibetan state is located in the western lands. China is now united, but I am afraid that you have still not heard about this. There-fore this proclamation (is sent).[5]

This first mission is acknowledged by Chinese records to have met with no success. It is only after the dispatch of a second one under Hsü Yün-te, who was authorized to inform all Tibetans with titles and positions granted by the Yüan court that the new Ming government would confirm them in their posts, that the Ming court was able to enter into contacts with various Tibetan authorities.[6] More Chinese envoys were sent out during the first years of Ming rule,[7] and the sphere of Ming contacts in Tibet expanded during T'ai-tsu's reign to include dBus-gTsang (Ch. Wu-ssu-tsang) as well as mDo-Khams (Ch. To-kan).[8] The *Ming shih-lu* and other Chinese sources make note of missions between Nanking and certain Tibetan figures along the frontier, as well as of missions to and from the Phag-mo-gru-pa, the Sa-skya-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa, among others.[9] Like all Chinese dynasties, the Ming too bestowed titles upon foreign rulers and notables who sent friendly embassies to China, accepting their gifts as tribute

and giving gifts and honours in return, all in accordance with the prescribed rules of Chinese statecraft. Of course the Ming court hoped to obtain good will and influence in Tibet by such means.[10]

These activities should not obscure the fact that there were also tensions between Ming and Tibetan forces along their border. As the Ming dynasty pushed its defences into mDo-Khams clashes were inevitable.[11] The main defensive concern of the Ming was naturally the northern border with the Mongols which also bounded on A-mdo. It is not surprising then to see some of the most prominent commanders in the Ming armies involved in border fighting in that region.[12] At times there were rather violent periods along the frontier making it somewhat dangerous for missions travelling between Tibet and China.[13] Nevertheless, missions did get through most of the time, and the fact that hostilities and embassies directed at China were often undertaken at the same time by different parties underscores the limited extent of centralized Tibetan authority of any kind in the frontier regions during this period.[14] Although there was no threat to the Ming from Tibet aimed at overthrowing the new dynasty, or disputing its legitimacy (which was what the Mongol threat meant to the Ming), certain Ming circles still considered the problems along the Sino-Tibetan border worthy of serious consideration and periodically commented along these lines, noting how much hardship the Tibetans had created for the T'ang dynasty.[15]

Another sphere of active Sino-Tibetan intercourse during this period was that of commerce. The trade in tea and horses, well established long before the rise of the Ming,[16] flourished in the first few decades of that dynasty for, in addition to the fact that Tibetan horses (especially those from A-mdo) have always been prized in China, the early Ming state had a distinct need for them for their military operations in the North. So many Chinese found them desirable that Ming attempts to control and monopolize the trade in tea for horses only provoked the development of large-scale smuggling enterprises. The threat of the death penalty for illicit dealings did not discourage Chinese merchants from flooding the Tibetan markets with so much tea that the amount needed to secure a good horse rose considerably during T'ai-tsu's reign.[17]

Tea and horses were not the only goods exchanged by Tibetans and Chinese during the early Ming. At times Tibetans traded horses for salt or silver, and a glance at the records of Tibetan 'tribute' missions in early Ming China reveals exchanges of Chinese textiles and Tibetan religious articles, metal crafted goods, and other items.[18]

The preceeding comments have hopefully demonstrated that the relationship established between Tibet and the early Ming dynasty of China was fairly complex. Interaction between the two countries during this period was carried out within many different spheres and was anything but one-dimensional. Thus, at the same time that the Ming government might have been trying to obtain horses in Khams, it might also have been fighting Tibetan tribes in A-mdo as well as welcoming Tibetan embassies in Nanking.[19] There were many aspects to Sino-Tibetan relations during this period: political, economic, and military as well as others.

Among these other aspects, that of religion has definite bearing upon the subject of the 5th Karma-pa, De-bzhin gShegs-pa, and his relationship to the emperor Ming Ch'eng-tsu[20] and his court. Although the Ming dynasty has often been considered a period of suppression and decline for Buddhism in China, the attitudes of the emperors T'ai-tsu and Ch'eng-tsu were by no means unfavourable to Buddhism. In this respect, a few facts should be borne in mind.

During his youth, T'ai-tsu spent several years as a Buddhist monk, both within a monastery and as a mendicant. These were poor years for him, but he was able to obtain some degree of Buddhist learning. His decision to join in

anti-Yüan activities was the result, in fact, of divinations that he had made in the monastery.[21] Upon taking the throne T'ai-tsu still held a favourable attitude towards Buddhism. In spite of the restrictions that he placed on the clergy, so as to limit their potential political power,[22] T'ai-tsu was still willing to deliver periodic sermons to assemblies of Buddhist monks,[23] as well as to write a preface to one of the commentaries that he had ordered the monk Tsung-lo to compose on three sūtras.[24] Tsung-lo was one of several monks at court, and one of those whom T'ai-tsu trusted most. It is now known that T'ai-tsu dispatched him on a mission to Tibet that lasted from 1378 until 1382 to obtain certain scriptures.[25] T'ai-tsu was well aware of the degree to which Buddhism flourished in Tibet and of the link that this created between Tibet and China (as is shown by several edicts issued by him during his reign[26]) and naturally he often dispatched monks on various missions to Tibet.[27]

In 1382 T'ai-tsu's consort and close confidant, the empress Ma, died. As part of the mourning arrangements T'ai-tsu decided to have Buddhist monks assigned to all of the imperial princes to recite sūtras for her benefit. At this point Tsung-lo chose, for one of these assignments, a learned monk named Yao Kuang-hsiao (also known as Tao-yen) who was eventually appointed to the court of the prince of Yen, the future Ming Ch'eng-tsu.[28] Yao got on very well with the prince and in time became his most trusted adviser. He held enormous influence in many areas of policy, but particularly in that of military strategy. Yao was of great help during the campaigns of 1399-1402 that unseated the prince's nephew, the second Ming emperor, and placed the prince of Yen on the throne. He prepared soldiers and armaments for the rebellion before it broke out and constantly made strategic decisions while it unfolded. His biography in the *Ming-shih* states, in no uncertain terms, that:

> Tao-yen had never faced a battle. Still, when the emperor employed soldiers to obtain China, Tao-yen's power was the greatest. If one speaks of merit, then his was the first.[29]

From the commencement of Ch'eng-tsu's reign in 1402 until his death at 83 in 1418, Yao was consistently in the emperor's favour. Throughout all this time too he remained a Buddhist monk, having never left the saṅgha since his ordination at the age of thirteen. Like Tsung-lo he refused to enter secular life to serve as a lay court official. Nevertheless his influence with the emperor remained undiminished.[30]

One may state then that there was a considerable degree of Buddhist influence at the courts of both Ming T'ai-tsu and Ming Ch'eng-tsu. This influence is a significant factor in evaluating the relationship between Tibet and the early Ming, and especially that between the Ch'eng-tsu and the 5th Karma-pa.

The immediate cause of the visit of the Karma-pa to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu is made quite clear in both Tibetan and Chinese sources. The letter of invitation sent by Ch'eng-tsu to the Karma-pa has been accessible to scholars for quite some time in the two *rnam-thar* of him in the *Chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* and the *Rab-'byams nor-bu zla-ba chu-shel gyi phreng-ba*, as well as in other writings.[31] In this letter the emperor stated:

> Formerly, when I was in the north, having heard of your excellent name, I thought to meet you (just) once.[32]

Although no Chinese copy of the letter exists, Chinese sources agree about Ch'eng-tsu's cognizance of the Karma-pa. The wording of these notices makes it obvious, in fact, that a Chinese copy was available at one time, and that it served as a source for the historians of Ming China. Thus, one reads in the *Ming-shih* that:

> When Ch'eng-tsu was the prince of Yen, he learned of his (i.e. the Karma-pa's) name.[33]

And again:

> The emperor heard that the Wu-ssu-tsang monk, the 'esteemed teacher (Ch. *shang-shih*, for Tib. *bla-ma*)' Ho-li-ma (i.e. Karma [-pa][34]) was skilled in Buddhism and excellent in illusory transformations, and he wanted to meet him (just) once.[35]

It is not surprising that Ch'eng-tsu first heard of the Karma-pa while he was in Yen, the nothernmost area of the Ming state, which was situated around present-day Peking, for it was there that Ch'eng-tsu first came under the influence of Yao Kuang-hsiao. The fame of the Karma-pa lineage may very well have extended to these regions via the Mongols, who had invited Karma-pa hierarchs to the Yüan court. In any event, it would not have been unlikely for the Yao Kuang-hsiao to have acquainted his lord with the reputation of the Karma-pa. One should not forget that at this time Chinese circles regarded Tibetan Buddhism as a fully legitimate form of that religion. The concept of a debased, semi-shamanistic entity called 'Lamaism' was simply not current during the early Ming. Tibetan monks were called *seng*, just like Chinese monks, and the term *bla-ma* was generally translated as *shang-shih* rather than transliterated as if it had no Chinese equivalent. The religion of Tibet is referred to in early Ming sources as Buddhism, without any qualifications.

In reality the Chinese rulers were actually quite concerned with the degeneration of Buddhism in *China*. The government ordered periodic exams for monks to examine how adept they were in Buddhist learning and provided for those who performed poorly to be laicized. In addition, monks were liable to criminal penalties for conduct in contravention of several regulations promulgated during the reigns of T'ai-tsu and Ch'eng-tsu.[36] The numerous monks who had been convicted of crimes and who had obtained amnesties through the intervention of the Karma-pa (as his *rnam-thar* notes) had no doubt violated the stringent statutes regarding the saṅgha of the early Ming.[37]

Yao Kuang-hsiao's introduction into the court of the future emperor was due to the desire of Ming T'ai-tsu to have Buddhist rites performed for the recently deceased empress Ma. Interestingly enough, it was for the salvation of his deceased parents, Ming T'ai-tsu and the very same empress Ma, that Ch'eng-tsu urged the Karma-pa, in the letter of invitation, to hasten to court to perform the necessary ceremonies.[38] The Karma-pa did, in fact, perform various ceremonies on behalf of Ch'eng-tsu's parents while in China. This is noted in both Chinese and Tibetan sources, but the Chinese records especially stress the performance of these rites.[39]

There can be no doubt about the fact that the visit of the 5th Karma-pa to the Chinese court was very well received. The mystical powers of the hierarch, stories of which had previously reached the emperor's ears, made a deep impression at the court, or so it would seem. The miraculous occurrences that are associated with the visit in the Tibetan sources[40] did not escape the notice of various Chinese figures at court, from the emperor down. Chinese sources are quite specific about different miracles that were 'seen by all on successive days.'[41] The emperor was especially pleased, and several members of the court composed and presented poems to the throne, in honour of these events which were regarded as highly auspicious.[42] The emperor and his circle were clearly, to judge from all sources, quite impressed with what they perceived to be the spiritual depth of the Karma-pa, and he was accorded numerous honours beyond those previously granted to Tibetan visitors at the Ming court.[43]

The religious nature of much of the Karma-pa's visit need not obscure other aspects of his meeting with the Ming emperor. It has already been shown that the visit had definite political facets, in that Ch'eng-tsu wanted to establish some sort of alliance with the Karma-pa along the lines of that established between the Yuän rulers and the Sa-skya-pa.[44] The circumstances of the Ming were, however, entirely different from those of the Yüan. Ch'eng-tsu could do no more than propose such an alliance. The Karma-pa could, and did, reject the proposal. Although the emperor entertained notions about a Mongol style relationship with the Karma-pa (he did, after all, bestow upon him the same title, *ta-pao fa-wang*. that had been given to 'Phags-pa bLo-gros rGyal-mtshan[45]) the image of T'ang-Tibetan relations still predominates in records of Ch'eng-tsu's reign, as the period in Sino-Tibetan relations for officials to study and reflect upon.[46] It was, as noted, the last time a united China had to deal with an independent Tibet. Early Ming policy aimed, ultimately, not at the subjugation of Tibet, but at the avoidance of any kind of Tibetan threat.[47]

There are, in addition, economic observations to be made about the visit of the 5th Karma-pa. Diplomatic embassies during these times usually presented participants with opportunities for trade and commerce. As the size of the Karma-pa's entourage was certainly considerable, one can be sure that there was quite a bit of trading going on in conjunction with the visit. The amount of gifts presented to various members of the mission was not small, and included large amounts of items that made up the usual stock of commercial transactions along the frontier. One finds tea, silver, various kinds of cloth and, in a bit of a reversal, horses presented by the emperor to the Karma-pa.[48] Embassies such as this one undoubtedly had an importance in commerce that cannot easily be denied, since they often included some of the wealthiest figures in Tibet during this period.

The 5th Karma-pa arrived in Nanking on February 1st, 1407, and made his farewells on May 17th, 1408. His visit was not a simple affair, but a many-faceted one, reflecting the complex nature of Sino-Tibetan relations during the early Ming. Political, religious and commercial activities all played a part in his mission to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu, and all were important in the relationship between Tibet and China during this period. This new Ming-Tibetan relationship accorded with the fresh circumstances of both countries following the collapse of Mongol power. It was also clearly distinct from their previous relations. Thus, although Ming circles harked back to the T'ang for their theoretical lessons in Sino-Tibetan affairs, and although Ch'eng-tsu attempted to imitate the Yüan dynasty's ties with the Sa-skya-pa, early Ming-Tibetan relations existed upon a footing of their own amidst new circumstances for Tibet and China.

The relationship between Tibet and the early Ming was one that contained numerous aspects and intricacies. Hopefully it will not be too long before this period in Sino-Tibetan relations receives the extensive study that it merits.

## Notes

1. Ming T'ai-tsu, who reigned from 1368 to 1398, is also commonly referred to as Chu Yüan-chang and as the Hung-wu emperor (on the basis of his reign title).
2. *Ming-shih* (Peking, 1974), ch. 331, p.8572.
3. This is not to say that anti-Yüan policies must necessarily have been anti-Mongol; see Henry Serruys, 'The Mongols in China During the Hung-wu Period (1368-1398)', *Mélanges Chinois et Boudhiques* XI (1959), pp.19-21.
4. *Ming-shih*, ch. 331, p.8572 (in continuation of the notice concerning T'ai-tsu's Tibetan policy cited by note 2):

(T'ai-tsu,) in accordance with their widespread custom of using monks to lead them towards betterment, thereupon sent an emissary (i.e. to the monks) to widely proclaim his edict.

5. 'Mindai Seizō shiryō' (hereafter *MSL*, as this work is a compilation of all of the *Ming shih-lu* notices concerning Tibet), in Tamura Jitsuzo, ed., *Mindai Man-Mō shiryō* (Kyoto, 1959), Vol. 10, p.1. It may be useful to provide here a complete translation of T'ai-tsu's first edict to the Tibetans:

In the past, our emperors and kings, in the rule of China, used virtue so as to guide the people and esteemed peace. Of the four barbarians, not one was untranquil. Formerly the *hu* people usurped authority in China. For over a hundred years caps and sandals were in reversed positions. Of all hearts, which did not give rise to anger? In recent years the *hu* rulers lost hold of the government. In the four directions rival lords, like agitated clouds, struggled and people suffered. Thereupon I commanded the generals and led the armies and completely pacified China. The subjects supported me as the lord of all under heaven (i.e. China). The state is called the Great Ming, and the reign title of Hung-wu has been established. I utilize the ways of our former kings and employ peace among the Chinese people. Your Tibetan state is located in the western lands. China is now united, but I am afraid that you have still not heard about this. Therefore this proclamation (is sent).

6. *Ming-shih*, ch.330, p.8539. Hsü Yun-te, a provincial official in Shensi was often credited with having established the contacts that brought some of the Tibetan missions to Nanking during the first few years of the Ming; see *MSL*, pp.4 and 9.
7. At least four more emissaries were sent to Tibet between May 26, 1370 and August 25 of the same year, all carrying proclamations; see *MSL*, pp.2-4.
8. One must bear in mind, however, that the Chinese term To-kan is almost always used, during the early Ming, to refer to places in A-mdo, although it is certainly derived from the common Tibetan designation for all of eastern Tibet, mDo-Khams.
9. One may cite some brief examples: the mission to the Phag-mo-gru-pa hierarch, 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya rGyal-mtshan, dispatched on May 23rd, 1372 (*MSL*, p.7); the mission from the Sa-skya-pa cleric, Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, recorded under the date of January 21st, 1373 (*MSL*, p.7); and the mission from the 'Bri-gung-pa abbot, Chos-kyi rGyal-po, recorded for February 5th, 1392 (*MSL*, p.37). The identification of the *MSL*'s Nan-chia pa-tsang-pu with Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po is made certain by the form given for his name in the *Ming hui-yao* (Taipei, 1972), ch.78, p. 1537: Na-mu cha-le pa-tsang-pu; cf., however, Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), Vol.2, p.685. Missions from the Sino-Tibetan frontier regions began coming to China in 1369: see *MSL*, p.2.
10. The mission to 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya rGyal-mtshan mentioned in Note 9 above was undertaken specifically to gain influence in A-mdo; see *MSL*, p.7; *Ming-shih*, ch.331, p.8579; and Tucci, *op.cit.*, Vol.2,p.692.
11. See *MSL*, pp.1-3.
12. Thus, one finds attacks against Tibetan forces by Teng Yü (*MSL*, pp.17-18), and Mu Ying (*MSL*, pp.17-23), as well as by other prominent Chinese military figures, mentioned by Chinese record keepers.

13. See, for example, the attacks on embassies mentioned in *MSL*, pp.7-8 and 17.
14. Thus, Chinese sources will at times refer to some Tibetan frontier figures as simply 'chieftains' (Ch. *ch'iu-chang*); see, for example, *MSL*, pp.20-21.
15. See the references to T'ang border problems, in relation to those of the Ming, made in the memorials to be found in *MSL*, pp.21 and 33-34.
16. See *MSL*, p.42.
17. According to an imperial edict dated March 13th, 1397:

    ... Because of the outflow of 'private' tea from our territory, the horses that are brought to market are few. Thus, these horses become more expensive each day and Chinese tea becomes cheaper each day (*MSL*, p.42).

    See also the description of smuggling activities in *MSL*, p.28.
18. See the list of 'tribute' item to be found in the *Ming hui-tien* (Taipei, 1968), ch. 108, pp.2321-2325.
19. In fact, just such a situation existed between November 21st, 1378, and December 8th of the same year; see *MSL*, p.18.
20. De-bzhin gShegs-pa, the 5th Karma-pa was born in 1384 and died in 1415. Ming Ch'eng-tsu, who reigned from 1402 to 1424, is also commonly referred to as Chu Ti and as the Yung-lo emperor (on the basis of his reign title).
21. *Ming-shih*, ch.1, p.2.
22. Charles Hucker, *The Ming dynasty: Its Origins and Evolving Institutions* (Ann Arbor, 1978), p.56.
23. Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton, 1964), p.435.
24. Herbert Francke, 'Tsung-lo', in L.Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds. *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York, 1976), Vol.2, p.1320.
25. Kazuo Enoki, 'Tsung Lê's Mission to the Western Regions in 1378-1382', *Oriens Extremus* XIX (1972), pp.47-53.
26. See the edicts in *MSL*, pp.10, 13, and 39.
27. One might note the mission of Chi-kuang to Nepal (and undoubtedly Tibet) mentioned in *MSL*, p.27, and that of K'e-hsin mentioned in *MSL*, p.4. K'e-hsin, interestingly enough, was ordered to prepare maps of Tibet.
28. *Ming-shih,* ch. 144, pp.4079-4080.
29. *Ming-shih,* ch. 144, pp.4080-4081.
30. As for other Buddhist influences on Ch'eng-tsu, see Wang Ch'ung-wu, 'Ming Ch'eng-tsu yü fo-chiao', *Chung-kuo she-hui ching-chi shih chi-k'an* VIII.1 (1949), pp.1-11.
31. One may find *rnam-thar* of the 5th Karma-pa in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba, *Chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (hereafter dPa'-bo; New Delhi,1961), Vol.2, pp.510, line 22-528, line 7; Si-tu paṇ-chen Chos kyi 'Byung-gnas, *bsGrub-rgyud karma kam-tshang brgyud-pa rin-po-che'i rnam-par thar-pa rab-'byams nor-bu zla-ba chu-shel gyi phreng-ba* (hereafter Si-tu; New Delhi, 1972), Vol.1, ff.437, line 3-477, line 6 (original folio numbers: 219r-239r); and, in a short version in sMan-sdong mTshams-pa rin-po-che Karma Nges-don bsTan-rgyas, *Chos-rje karma-pa sku-'phreng rim-byon gyi rnam-thar mdor-bsdus dpag-bsam khri-shing* (hereafter mTshams-pa, in Vol. 2 of *sMan-sdong mTshams-pa rin-po-che'i gsung-'bum*; Himachal Pradesh, 1975) ff.199, line 3-230, line 4 (original folio numbers: 100r-115v). The letter of invitation may be found in dPa'-bo, pp.517, line 18-518, line 12; Si-tu, ff.454, line 2-455, line 2; H.E. Richardson, 'The Karma-pa Sect. A Historical Note', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1959), p.10; and in a version edited from those of dPa'-bo and Si-tu; Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche* (St. Augustin, 1977), pp.180-181. The date given for the dispatch of the letter in *MSL*, p.48, March 10, 1403, accords with that in the letter except for the year; on this problem see Schuh, *op.cit.*, p.180.

32. Schuh, *op.cit.*, p.180.
33. *Ming shih*, ch.331, p.8572.
34. On the name Ho-li-ma see Han Ju-lin 'Ming-shih Wu-ssu-tsang ta-pao fa-wang Kao', in *Ming-tai tsung-chiao* (Taipei, 1968), pp.182-183.
35. *Ming-shih*, ch.304, p.7768. Even closer to the original invitation is this notice that found its way into the 19th century *Ming T'ung-chien* (Peking, 1959), ch.14, p.622:

    When the emperor was in Yen he learned of his name and wanted to meet him (just) once.

36. See *Ming hui-tien*, ch.104, pp.2270-2274.
37. dPa'-bo, p.522, lines 15-16. Cf. also Si-tu, f.461, lines 6-7; and mTsh-ams-pa, f.221, lines 2-3. These three accounts give the respective figures of one thousand, three thousand, and three hundred for the number of Chinese monks involved in the amnesty.
38. Shuh, *op.cit.*, p.181.
39. See dPa'-bo, pp.522, line 4, and 523, lines 17-18; Si-tu, ff.461, line 1, and 463; Richardson, *op.cit.*, pp.1 and 11; *MSL*, pp.54 and 56; and *Ming-Shih*, ch.331, p.8573.
40. See dPa'-bo, pp.521, line 25-522, line 4; mTshams-pa ff.219, line 5-220, line 3; and especially Si-tu, ff.463, line 2-469, line 4, which quotes from the scroll presented to the 5th Karma-pa by Ming Ch'eng-tsu, which has been described, transcribed, and translated in Richardson, *op.cit.*, (1958), pp.148-149, and (1959), pp.1-6, and 11-16. The texts of Richardson and Si-tu are not *exactly* alike.
    This scroll, which originated among Chinese circles, has been the basis of the notices in the other Tibetan sources of miraculous occurrences at Ch'eng-tsu's court in connection with the Karma-pa's visit. Among such miracles are rains of flowers, rainbow lights, and others.
41. *Ming-shih*, ch.331, p.8573. Among the miracles that Chinese sources speak of are sweet rains, heavenly flowers, white elephants, Sanskrit chants from the heavens, auspicious lights from relics, and others; see *Ming-shih*, ch. 304, pp.7768-7769; and *Ming t'ung-chien*, ch.15, p.662.
42. *Ming-shih*, ch.147, p.4125; and ch.304, p.7769. One, by the official Hu Kuang, was made into a Buddhist hymn by the emperor.
43. Note the feasts and presentations made to him according to *MSL*, pp.53-57.
44. See Dieter Schuh, 'Wie ist die Einladung des 5.Karma-pa an den Chinesischen Kaiserhof als Fortführung der Tibetpolitik der Mongolenkhane zu verstehen', in Walther Heissig, ed. *Altaica Collecta* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.209-244; and Han, *op.cit.*, pp.184-185.
45. *Ming-shih*, ch.331, pp.8571-8572; *MSL*, p.54; Si-tu, f.461, lines 5-6; and mTshams-pa, f.220, lines 5-6.
46. Thus, one finds among the few extant works of Hu Kuang (see above, note 42) an essay concerning Sino-Tibetan relations in the T'ang period.
    This is the only surviving work of his dealing with Tibet; see Hu Kuang, *Hu Wen-mu tsa-chu* (Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu edition, Taipei, 1971), pp.1a-4a.
47. See the comments on the Tibetan policies of T'ai-tsu and Ch'eng-tsu in *Ming-shih*, ch.330, p.8542; and 331, p.8589.
48. dPa'-bo, p.520, lines 11-13; and Si-tu, f.458, lines 3-4.

Chinese Characters

Chih-kuang 智光

ch'iu-chang 酋長

Chu Ti 朱棣

Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋

Chung-kuo she-hui ching-chi chih chi-k'an 中國社會經濟史集刊

Han Ju-lin 韓儒林

Ho-li-ma 哈立麻

Hsü Yün-te 許允德

hu 胡

Hu Kuang 胡廣

Hu Wen-mu tsa-chu 胡文穆雜著

Hung-wu 洪武

K'e-hsin 克新

Ma 馬

Mindai Man-myō shiryō 明代滿蒙史料

Mindai Seizō shiryō 明代西藏史料

Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖

Ming Ch'eng-tsu yü fo-chiao 明成祖與佛教

Ming hui-tien 明會典

Ming-shih 明史

Ming shih-lu 明實錄

Ming-shih Wu-ssu-tsang ta-pao fa-wang k'ao 明史烏斯藏大寶法王考

Ming T'ai-tsu 明太祖

Ming T'ai-tsung 明太宗

Ming-tai tsung-chiao 明代宗教

Ming t'ung-chien 明通鑑

Mu Ying 沐英

Na-mu cha-le pa-tsang-pu 納木扎勒巴藏布

Nan-chia pa-tsang-pu 喃加巴藏卜

seng 僧

shang-shih 尚師

ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王

Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造

Tao-yen 道衍

Teng Yü 鄧愈

To-kan 朵甘

Tsung-lo 宗泐

Wang Ch'ung-wu 王崇武

Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏

Yao Kuang-hsiao 姚廣孝

Yen 燕

Yung-lo 永樂

# GLOSSES ON THE OEUVRE[1] OF BLA-MA 'PHAGS-PA. I: ON THE ACTIVITY OF SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA

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Sa-skya paṇḍita is well-known for having played a very important role in the history of Tibet. Almost everything that we know about his life and his mission to Mongolia comes from post facto Tibetan sources. Contemporary data can only be found in the works of his nephew, 'Phags-pa bla-ma. In this paper I should like to focus on those works of 'Phags-pa which contain valuable data concerning Sa-skya paṇḍita's life and the early Tibetan mission to Mongolia up to 1251/52.

It is also well-known that it was Go-dan (Ködän),[2] master of Qaragorum, who first established relations with Tibetan lamas, including Sa-skya paṇḍita. I have found only one passage relevant to[3] the relationship between Ködän and Sa-skya paṇḍita: 'Go-yug (=Güyük)'s brother, the mighty and perfectly glorious Go-dan (=Ködän), similar to a co-regent,[4] ... had invited and honoured [or revered] the Chos-kyi rje Sa-skya paṇḍita and through the latter's blessing a son, called Ji-big de-mur (=J̌ibik temür),[5] was born to him ...'[6] Tibetan historiographers generally ascribe Sa-skya paṇḍita's success with Ködän to his having cured the Prince of some disease;[7] the exact nature of this son-producing blessing remains obscure, but it may perhaps be connected with the Avalokiteśvara cult.[8] What is more important is that the year of birth of J̌ibig temür is not given in any other source; and since we can assume some reliability in 'Phags-pa's account (apart from Sa-skya paṇḍita's actual role in the birth), we can conclude that J̌ibik temür was born between 1247 (or rather 1248) and 1251.

This story is interesting from another point of view too. Both 'Phags-pa's account and the later sources attribute Sa-skya paṇḍita's success to some magic art. The primary reasons for the growing influence of the Sa-skya sect were no doubt political. But as Mongol rulers were generally enthusiastic about magic the above passage is probably an allusion to this. Sa-skya paṇḍita may have gained Ködän's personal sympathy (beyond the Prince's political motivation)by presenting some magical tricks (cf., in this respect, the semi-magical personality and activity of Padmasambhava), but the sympathy did not of course result in his conversion to Buddhism.[9]

'Phags-pa's accounts of the missionary activity of Sa-skya paṇḍita are generally quite uninformative.[10] Sometimes we have to read between the lines, e.g; '... at the inspiration of the co-regent (cf. note 4) Go-dan (=Ködän), [Sa-skya paṇḍita] had gone to the East. Introducing there many people of different languages to the immortal door of the Teaching, he put them on the path of complete liberation according to their capacity (lit. 'share') ...' (orig. in verse).[11] The reference to many people of different languages may refer to Uigurs as well. In one of his works (cf. n.14), 'Phags-pa provides some very important and interesting data concerning certain Uigur persons and their relations with Tibetans. Let us turn to the text: 'After him[=Čingggis], the fifth excellent king in the royal genealogy called Go-pe-la (=Qubilai), ... devoting himself to the Teaching and showing mercy in particular to Bod-khams (-dag/?/-la), made various arrangements for protecting the Land of Snows. [There is a place] called Zal-mo-sgang[12] in the province[13] of mDo-khams [which is in the centre of ? ] the cardinal points East and West, South and East together with the poles: for the benefit of everybody, sTon-tshul (cf. n.2) was appointed to the chief of the whole [province/country by Qubilai]...' (orig. in verse).[14]

Then 'Phags-pa mentions the Uigur Esen-Ay, giving his genealogy (in BA 316a):

Ga-nim-du ( Qayimtu)[15]

(bu) Du-gal ga-ya(=Tükäl qaya)[16],wife (khyim-zla)Dur-mis de-rim-mo(=Türmiš terim)[17]

(bu) Yug-run ga-ya( Yügrünč qaya)[18], (nu-bo) Ze-'un ga-ya( Sevinč qaya)[19] and

(tha-chungs) E-se-na (=Esen-Ay) (cf.n.23)

(+Yu-gur rigs-byung Ga-ra-go-jo [=Qara qočo][20]-yi mkhar-du skyes-pa)

'Phags-pa continues as follows: 'An assistant [i.e., Esen-Ay] was assigned[21] to [sTon-tshul] for the sake of guarding the country, and was [given] an authorization (? lung), mark (bka'-rtags) and seal (phyag-rgya)[22] and [he] accomplished the work entrusted [to him]. His [i.e., Esen-Ay's] bla-ma ... was Sa-skya paṇḍita. By the grace of his [lama] he was introduced to the Teaching ...' (orig. in verse, BA.316a-b). There follows an important communication on Esen-Ay's religious activity for the year 1275, but the details are beyond the scope of this paper.

Esen-Ay is also known from Chinese sources. According to the Yüan-Shih (chap. 133)[23], in the second year of chung-t'ung (1261/62), Qubilai bestowed on Esen-Ay the seal of the Golden Tiger (chin hu fu) and appointed him to the 'tu yüan-shuai'[24] of the Western Road (hsi-tao); at the same time Esen-Ay also received the rank 'hsüan-wei-shish'[25] in T'u-fan, i.e. in Tibet; later he was transferred to Yünnan and Shensi and he died there in 1304/1305. Whether Zal-mo-sgang was a town or locality is not clear; it certainly was or contained a Buddhist centre and its chief was sTon-tshul at least up to 1276.[26] Our text makes it evident that it was an administrative centre (cf. n.7) as well; but, we are left in doubt about whether or not it was also a site for the billeting of foreign military forces in the country. It is not surprising that a Uigur was appointed to a high rank in Tibet; like the Tibetans, the Uigurs had surrendered voluntarily to the Mongols, and with their famed skill in administration the Uigurs gained a relatively privileged position throughout the Mongol empire.[27] What is more significant is that this Esen-Ay was introduced to the Buddhist religion by Sa-skya paṇḍita; he rendered different military services to Möngke and Qubilai and it is quite natural that he received various ranks in return. But the fact that it was Esen-Ay himself who became the hsüan-wei-shih in Tibet,[28] clearly shows that in the case of official appointments, the Mongol rulers, at least in those countries where their reception was more or less friendly, took various religious factors into account over and above political considerations. This was, possibly, only a gesture on the part of the Mongols and as such not to be over-estimated. But in such a religious country as Tibet its probable intention was to ensure peaceful collaboration with the Mongols - consequently, it is not to be under-estimated either.

There is one point left. 'Phags-pa wrote two very important letters (both from Liang-chou in 1252) which contain some valuable data for the years 1251/52. The first (cf.n.54) begins with an account of the Sa-skya paṇḍita. Then follows a very important section containing an edict of Möngke (italicised in my translation): 'After the death of the Mahātman [Sa-skya paṇḍita], we are in good health. The Prince Mong-go-ta ( Möngketei)[29] also arrived.[30] He took care of [us]. Mong-go gan (=Möngke gan)[31] was enthroned and [he] proclaimed a good edict ('ja'-sa)[32] all over the empire (lit. to every direction). According to this edict: *The whole country is very happy.*[33] *In particular [ Buddhist] priests (bande) are not obliged (mi dgos) to deliver ('dab)*[34]

*military tax (dmag-khral),*[35] *tribute (sho)*[36] *and goods (nor)*[37] *to the treasury (gan-mdzod).*[38] *Messengers (gser-yig-pa)*[39] *must not (ra-med)*[40] *stop at/or take up quarters (lit.to descend) in the house*[41] *of a priest (bande) or in a temple (vihāra).*[42] *[They] must not (ra-med) take relay horse ('u-lag).*[44] *Everyone should offer to the Heaven in accordance with his own religious manner. Pronounce benedictions to all of us [e.g. Möngke].*[45] *The main precept (mgo-lung) concerning the prescribed [e.g. religious] duty is that of the Sa-skya sect and must be acknowledged by all priests (bande).*[46] This good edict was given [by Möngke]. It was to be proclaimed everywhere and [also contained[47] the following:] *for the purpose of the counting of the individuals of Tibet by the messengers*[48] *and for the putting in order of [e.g. the administrative affairs of] the country send some*[49] *priests (bande)!* [-thus] saying/ or ordering [by Möngke], and accordingly, the kalyāṇamitra rDo-rje-'brug[50] and the kalyāṇamitra Sum-bu,[51] master and servant were sent to us,[i.e. to Liang-chou?]. The above [order] was written[52] in detail to them. There are certainly some rumours up there [i.e. in Tibet], but there is no [reason for] fear [of anything]. All affairs[53] are going well. Put on all the great armour (mahāvarma) [i.e. of the religion] and exert yourselves for the service of a bla-ma. [Our] letter of 16 February 1252, written in the glorious Liang-chou, in the temple (vihāra) of the residence'.[54]

The other letter was written to bSod-nams seng-ge.[55] He had originally received a letter, probably from Sa-skya-paṇḍita, containing an invitation to continue his mission in Mongolia and to accomplish the religious education of his young nephew and successor. bSod-nams seng-ge sent a letter in reply, but he himself did not go. This explains why 'Phags-pa wrote to him again[56] after Sa-skya paṇḍita's death. The letter also refers to the edict, but here we have a much shorter text with practically the same date[57] so translation is not necessary.

At the end of this paper, I should like to pose two problems. The edicts of of Möngke in 1251, those of Qubilai (even if one of them was a 'Rückschritt')[58] etc. definitely speak of the religious supremacy of the Sa-skya sect in Tibet. T.V. Wylie gives a generally persuasive explanation of why Sa-skya paṇḍita was selected by Ködän.[59] But the situation was somewhat more complicated than he allows. For it is well-known that there were various lamas from Tibet in the courts of the different Mongol rulers. Wylie writes of Sa-skya paṇḍita:

> The reason why Köden selected the Sa-skya lama rather than one of the others surely must be relevant to the role the lama was expected to play, namely, a ruler to surrender a country. For practically, such a role should be for a long engagement rather than a one-night stand; thus, continuity of control would be of the essence. In this respect, Sa-skya paṇḍita was uniquely qualified. Unlike sectarian hierarchs who were elected to office from within a monastic community, Sa-skya Paṇḍita came to his religious position by birth. From its very beginning, control of the religious and economic power of the Sa-skya-pa sect was a prerogative of the 'Khon family, which ruled at the see of Sa-skya. Thus the familial control and transmission of Sa-skya-pa ruling power offered the Mongols a tangible means of providing continuity to the submission of Tibet.[60]

However, we know that a somewhat mysterious Tibetan lama called Na-mo[61] was appointed to the rank 'kuo-shih' by Güyük as early as 1247. He was the superintendent of Buddhist affairs in the whole Mongol empire (confirmed by Möngke in an edict in 1251 - is it the same edict referred to by 'Phags-pa in his letters?) and he is mentioned in 1255 too.[62] It therefore seems reasonable

to ask why did he and his sect not gain privileges in Tibet? Wylie's explanation is in principle an excellent one; however, in practice the exact relations of powers and persons, the precise chain of events in question remain in many respects obscure.[63]

The other point of interest is the repeated mention of the 'census' in 'Phags-pa's letters. Both Tibetan and Chinese sources agree that the first census was taken in 1268 and the 'thirteen myriarchies' (khri-skor) also came into being in 1268.[64] Wylie denies any attempt at geopolitical administrative unification prior to 1268.[65] However, our texts reveal that the Mongols did plan a census as early as 1251/52[66] and indeed imposed some kind of centralized rule over Tibet about 1261/62 (cf. the activity of sTon-tshul and Esen-Ay), although it is beyond doubt that '1268 was the year the Mongols began to impose regency on Tibet with Sa-skya as the capital.'[67] If we want to find reasons for this early plan for a census, we must link it with the Mongol campaign against the Thai kingdom of Nan-chao (in 1253). The Mongol rulers sought a well-organized, sympathetic, loyal Tibet(hence the privileges they conferred on the clergy) to facilitate a direct invasion of Nan-chao in 1253.[68] But by that time Sa-skya-paṇḍita was dead.[69] His mission was inherited by his nephew, bla-ma 'Phags-pa, who proved to be worthy of his uncle's confidence. With his succession a new phase began in the history of Tibet.

## Notes

1. Found in Vols. PA and BA of *The complete works of the great masters of the Sa sKya sect of Tibetan Buddhism* VI-VII, compiled by bSod Nams rGya mTsho, Tokyo, 1968.
2. Note that a syllable with the inherent vowel may transcribe in the second or in non-initial position the phoneme E, while in initial position it is represented by the Tibetan letter *e*. This explains why I use in the transcription ä and *e* respectively. Some examples: ye-ga= yekä, du-gal= tükäl, mu-ga = mü(ö)gä, du-lag =tüläk etc. and de-mur = temür, de-gus= tegüs etc. Obviously, the 'Go-dan' form here represents Ködän (or Kötän and e.g. not Ködön etc.) for *e* ~ *ä* , see N. Poppe, *The Mongolian monuments in hPhags-pa script* (hereafter: Poppe), Wiesbaden, 1957, pp.25, 30-31, and for the name Ködän, G. Doefer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen* etc., Wiesbaden, Vol. III (1967), p.618. (cf. n.31.)
3. These accounts are generally unhistorical, cf., e.g., the work entitled *dBus gTsang-gi dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen-rnams-la spring-ba*;'(BA 258a-b) Meanwhile our Lama, the Chos-kyi rje[=Sa-skya paṇḍita] who, having infinite wisdom and mercy and wishing benevolence to all beings and to the general (?) Teaching of the Buddha,disregarding his own welfare and happiness came before the royal family e.g.,[that of Ködän's]...'
4. Tib. nye(-ba'i) dbang(-po) - sk. upendra; 'co-regent' is perhaps not the best translation; it refers obviously to one rank lower (e.g. viceroy) than that of Möngke; cf. also n.21; also F.W. Cleaves, *Aqa Minu*, HJAS 24, p.72.
5. He was either the fifth or the third son of Ködän, cf. L. Hambis - P. Pelliot, *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che*, Leiden, 1945, p.74 n.5.etc. As in Mo the foreign lenis voiceless consonants are frequently represented by the corresponding lenis voiced ones, it is not impossible that the name J̌ibik goes back to Turkish cıbıq/cıpıq, cf. Doerfer, ibid., pp.43-45, G.Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p.395.
6. Title: *Ji-big de-mur-gyis Phal-chen gSer-'od sTong-phrag-brgya-pa-rnams bzhengs-pa'i mtshon-byed* (BA 313 a-b).
7. On this legendary curing, see the illuminating article of T.V. Wylie, 'The first Mongol conquest of Tibet reinterpreted' (hereafter: Wylie), HJAS 37, p.112 and n.26; cf. also the excellent monography of D. Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche* (hereafter: Schuh), St. Augustin 1977, p.55.
8. Both Tārā and Avalokiteśvara were believed to be able to grant children, see A. Sarközi, 'A Thanka from Mongolia', in: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, edited by L.Ligeti, Budapest, 1978, pp.393-401; it is noteworthy that Ji-big de-mur is repeatedly placed under Tārā's patronage by 'Phags-pa in his eulogies (bkra-shis), cf. pp.138b-139a of the PA Vol.
9. For the disgrace of Nestorianism and Shamanism (or more properly 'Heaven-belief'), see recently Schuh, pp.53-56; for a more general survey cf. Wylie, pp.119-120, H. Kunishita, *Relations of the early Mongol emperors with the Buddhist priests of the Dhyāna-sect*, Tōyō gakuhō XI-XII, K. Sagaster, *Die weisse Geschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1976 (passim), P. Demiéville, *La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo*, in *Oriente Poliano,* Roma, 1957, pp.193-236, etc., also n.57.

10. See n.3.
11. Title: *Manga-la yab-yum-gyis rGyas 'Bring bsDus gsum dang Phal-po-che bzhengs-pa'i mtshon-byed* (BA 310b).
12. R.A. Stein locates it in the environment of Derge, cf. his *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar*, Paris, 1956, I 40a, II 75a, his *Recherches sur l'épopée et la barde au Tibet*, Paris, 1959, p.129, 198-200, etc. and his *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris, 1961, p.52n. 147 etc. This location may be correct, but the exact boundaries of the different territories changed many times during history, and, e.g., his location of dMar/sMar-Khams was surely further to the North-East in the 13th century; for example 'Phags-pa always writes 'dMar-khams Shing-kun' (e.g. Chin. Lin-t'ao)! (Cf. also next note.)
13. Cf. Jäschke's dict; A. Ferrari mentions 'Zhal-mo-sgang (=Zal-mo-sgang) situated in mDo-khams (see her *Mk'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Roma, 1958, p.20); for the problem of mDo-khams and dBus-gTsang see T.V. Wylie, *The geography of Tibet according to the Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Roma, 1962 (passim).
14. Title: *Go-pe-las rGyas 'Bring bsDus gsum bzhengs-pa'i mtshon-byed* (BA 316a-b).
15. This person is not identified. I retain here the form qayımtu as it occurs more frequently in the Uigur documents; Tibetan suggests, of course, a qanımtu form (is it a variant of qayımtu?) and it is not impossible that the numerous qarımtu forms of Radloff represented a misreading of *-r-* instead of *-n-*; see W.Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Osnabrück (repr.) 1972 (passim) and also N.Yamada, *The Qayïmtu MSS*, The Tōyōshi-Kenkyū 34, pp.32-58.
16. This person is identical with Ögel's 'Tügän Qaya' (evidently an incorrect reconstruction from Chin.); cf. B. Ögel, *Sino-Turcica*, Taipei, 1964, pp. 110-111; concerning tükäl ('vollständig'), see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950 (cf. her *Glossar*), also Radloff, ibid., 21 etc; qaya ('rock') frequently forms the second element of proper names cf. P.Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris,1949, p.70/n, see also Gabain's *Glossar*(ibid.) etc.
17. She is not mentioned by Ögel. Türmiš (<Turk. tür-) frequently occurs in proper names, cf. Radloff, ibid., pp.1,13, 14, etc.; also *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar*, Leningrad, 1960, p.588, etc. For terim (the -mo is evidently Tibetan), and its possible connection with tengri see G.Clauson, ibid., p.549.
18. For his biography see Ögel, ibid.,pp.112-113. Ögel reads the name as 'Yüeh-chü-lien-ch'ih Hai-ya' and reconstructs it as 'Yügrünč'; however, it might also reflect an ögrünč form. 'Phags-pa transcribes Ögödei's name as ''O-go-ta' (cf. e.g. BA 313a) which is a very similar transcription to that of the Chin.form 'Wou-k'ou-tai', cf. Hambis, ibid. (1945), pp. 51-52, n.3. However, palatalization is indicated by 'Phags-pa in another way too, cf. e.g. his 'G.yung-rung-tas' (PHA 137b) which corresponds, without doubt, to Ürüngdaš (third son of Möngke). Here *g-* indicates in combination with *-y-* not some consonant, but a palatal vowel, unknown in Tib. script. For indications of foreign palatal vowels with *g.y-* combination we can refer only to the transcription used by Tibetans in the different chronicles; cf. G.N. Roerich's *Index to The Blue Annals* I-II, Calcutta, 1949-1953, etc.) And if we assume some instability in this transcription, the *g-* may be omitted and we get the form Yug-run instead of +G.yūg-rūn. Here we must refer again to the Chin. system of transcription, as *ö/ü* is indicated either with *w* (cf. above), but also

with *y*; see for example the form 'Yue-k'ouo-tch'a-eul (=Ököčar) etc. in L. Hambis, *Le chapitre cviii du Yuan che*, p.137, etc. For ögrünč see L. Ligeti, 'Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise', AOH 1, pp.182-183, etc. and also my note 29.

19. Ogel notes more persons with the same name, but identification for these years is impossible at present; another Sevinč qaya is mentioned by L.C. Goodrich in his 'Westerners and Central Asians in Yuan China', in *Oriente Poliano*, Roma, 1957, p.10. For sevinč ∾ sävinč, see my note 2. For sävinč ('joy', 'delight'), see Ligeti, ibid., pp.182-183, also his 'Sur quelques transcriptions sino-ouigoures des Yuan,' UAJb 33, p.240, Clauson, ibid., p.790, A.v. Gabain, ibid. (*Glossar*) etc.
20. For Qara qočo, cf. P.Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris, 1958, pp.262-263, etc.
21. Tib. nye-bar bskos (Sk. upasthā-) - the Tibetan term may refer to a position one rank lower (cf. n.4); note that the Yüan-shih does not mention that he was subjected to any Tibetan chief (cf. n.25).
22. Their exact meaning is not very clear to me; they must be official terms representing the emblems of legality of bureaucratic power; for bka'-rtags and phyag-rgya, cf. A.Macdonald, 'Une lecture des P.T. 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290,' in: *Etudes tibétaines*, Paris, 1971, pp.324-325.
23. Esen-Ay is also mentioned by Ögel, pp.111-112. According to Ögel he took in one of the campaigns against the Sung in 1235, so he was not a child when he met Sa-skya paṇḍita. The data on Esen-Ay cited by me are translated only in part by Ögel. For Esen ∾ Äsän, see n.2 and 19.
24. Cf. O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reichen* IV, Berlin, 1948, p. 561 ('Oberbefehlshaber'), G.Tucci's identification with Tib. dpon-chen (see *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*), Roma, 1949, p.16) was criticized by Schuh on p.155 n.173. See also Pelliot, *Notes*, p.858.
25. This refers to the care of military service in the frontier areas. Cf. O. Franke, ibid. 561 ('Sondercommissar'), and P.Ratchnevsky, 'Die mongolische Grosskhane und die buddhistische Kirche', in *Asiatica- Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, p.495; also J.A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* New York-London, 1971, p.280, n.147.
26. sTon-tshul is mentioned from 1275 (BA 306b) and as chief of Zal-mo-sgang also from 1276 (BA 318b); the later text of 1276 indicates that it was also a religious centre as in that year various religious books were prepared by order of the Mongol princes.
27. We may add that in one of the 'Phags-pa works (of 1275), there is a similar but much shorter reference to the cooperation of some bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan and Thang-ngo-ta (i.e. Tangud or Tang'utai) - for the works, see n.11. This Thang-ngo-ta is also mentioned by 'Phags-pa in 1267 (PHA 139a), but the identification of this person is uncertain. (For the name see Hambis, ibid. (1954), p.106). Perhaps he is the same Tanggudai (Chin. 'T'ang-kou-tai')whose father, Sodun Noyan, accompanied Ködän to Kansu (note also that Sodun Noyan's wife was the nurse of the children of Ködän); cf. P. Pelliot and L.Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden, 1951, pp.153-154, for Sodun Noyan; also J.A. Boyle, ibid., pp.252, 270 and 312.
28. 1261 is possibly the first date of the appointment of a foreigner to a position in Tibet proper.
29. I have not found a satisfactory solution for this name. Whether 'Phags-pa uses the name Prince Möngketei prior to Möngke's enthronement or whether he refers here to another person, is obscure. This name may also refer to one of the sons of Ködän, reconstructed by Hambis as Mönggädu, who is

also mentioned in the Yüan-shih in connection with the same Ögrünč detailed in n.18 ('Ügrünč Qaya' in Hambis's book), cf. L.Hambis, ibid. (1945), p.74, n.1, 3; this Möngketei or Mönggädü was present at Möngke's enthronement in the Qaraqorum (see J.A. Boyle, ibid.,pp.20, 204-205). Again, there was a grandson of Qubilai, Manghutai, who was sent to Tibet by the emperor in 1268 (cf. Wylie, p.125, n.80; the Yüan-shih nowhere ascribes a grandson with this name to Qubilai).

30. This is an eye-witness account. Consequently it can be assumed that the Sa-skya lamas participated at the enthronement.

31. For the name and bibliography, see Poppe, pp.29,70-72, n.3/c. The somewhat unexpected Mongkha form of the 'Phags-pa monuments might perhaps be explained by the special Tibetan method for representing in non-initial position the phoneme E (cf. my n.2). The Mong-go form may suggest either a Möngkö or perhaps a Möngke reading, for the latter, cf. the Go-go-chen (Köke(ö)cin or Köke(ö)ǰin, Chen-chin's wife) or Tho-ro-ga-ta (Thöre(ö)-gänä, -ta is evidently a scribal error) forms of 'Phags-pa.

32. It corresponds eymologically to ǰasa, however, here 'ja' probably Jarliq, as the edict was issued by Möngke, cf. Schuh, pp.159-162, Poppe p.91, n.26. These edicts were written in a very stereotyped style. I wish to quote some lines from one edict to illustrate the similarities and discrepancies: 'In the edicts of Chinggis qaɣan, Ogedei qaɣan, Sechen gaɣan, Oljeitu gaɣan and Kulug qaɣan, it was stated that Buddhist, Christian and Taoist clergy, not observing any tribute or tax, are to pray to Heaven and to pronounce benedictions ... Messengers must not stop at their temples, sanctuaries and dwellings. They must not take relay mounts and provisions etc.' (from Poppe, pp.49-50).

33. I have not found a parallel to this sentence.

34. Edicts have üǰe(n) in every case; 'dab in the meaning 'to deliver' is not given in the dictionaries; the differentiation between certain cognate verb pairs occurs regularly with st-~'d - (e.g. stegs~'degs etc.), so we may reconstruct a +'dob/'dab(s) form to the verb stob/stabs); stabs is given as a synonym of 'bul in Das's dict. (p.291) and as a synonym of ster in Sumatiratna's dict. (p.890).

35. Nowhere in the edicts!

36. Probably = sho-gam (=Mo.?)

37. May translate Mo. ed (listed only in Poppe's *Glossary*).

38. It translates Mo. c'ang or sang (<Chin.ts'ang), cf. Poppe, p.83/n. 10/a ('granary', 'treasury'); gan-mdzod (or gam-mdzod, even bang-mdzod) known also in Tibetan; here it might perhaps be a translation of Mo. qan(u) c'ang, cf. Poppe's *Glossary*. If we examine this sentence, it turns out that none of the Tibetan expressions (except perhaps nor) can be found in the texts of the edicts, but all the (non-religious) edicts contain a functionally equivalent sentence. So we may conclude that the different kinds of taxes enumerated in the edicts were unknown to Tibetans and 'Phags-pa replaced them with others which were probably more meaningful and current in Tibet; we know that Tibet had to pay tribute (e.g. 'sho' or 'nor'), but the military tax may refer to some previous encounter prior to 1251; cf. also Tucci, *TPS* p.12, Wylie, p.115 and for a more general survey J.M. Smith, *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, HJAS 30. pp.46-85, also n.57.

39. Corresponds to yorč iqun yabuqun ėlč ine, 'messengers going to and fro' (Poppe, p.81/7); cf. also D.Schuh, 'Wie ist die Einladung des fünften Karma-pa an den chinesischen Kaiserhof als Fortführung der Tibetpolitik der Mongolen-Khans zu verstehen?', in *Altaica Collecta*, hrsg. von W. Heissig, Wiesbaden, 1976, p.232, n.20.

40. Not found with this meaning anywhere.
41. Cf. Poppe, p.88, n.19.
42. Note that the words are transposed, cf. also Poppe, p.88, n.19. Note that in the Manggala edict the word 'sanctuaries' is omitted (cf. Poppe, p.47); for lha-khang see Poppe, p.88, n.19 and p.92, n.30.
43. It is always ula'a in the 'Phags-pa monuments; the Tib. must come from Uig. ulaγ, cf. G.Doerfer, ibid. II (1965), pp. 102-107; the edicts always have ula'a ši'usu ('relay horses and provisions'), the latter is here omitted, cf. Poppe, p.88, n.20. Apart from this, it is very close to the corresponding sentence of the edicts.
44. The first part of the sentence is a verbatim translation, but 'Phags-pa leaves out Christian and Taoist and replaces it with the phrase 'in accordance with ... etc.'
45. It is again a verbatim translation, cf. Poppe, p.85, n.11.
46. After the generalities, the edicts specify the recipients, so 'Phags-pa's text corresponds structurally to the form of the edicts, but it differs from their actual contents. This is the first reference to the supremacy of the Sa-skya sect in Tibet.)
47. I am not sure whether the following sentence belongs to the edict proper or not, as it is introduced with 'dang' and this may indicate that it does belong to the edict, but it closes with 'zer' which may also refer to a verbal instruction of Möngke, cf. n.57.
48. Note that the text has genitive instead of instrumental; the two Tibetans were probably invited to facilitate the census, for example to prepare lists of persons and localities, etc. (Cf. n.57.)
49. I.e. from the territories of dBus and gTsang.
50. Not identified, cf. n.57.
51. Not identified, cf. n.57.
52. dris instead of bris (very common in 'Phags-pa's works).
53. It may also mean: ' Everyone is welcomed here from everywhere.'
54. Title: *Chos-rje-pa bde-bar gshegs dus dBus gTsang-gi dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen-rnams-la spring-ba* (in BA 320b-321b). The text of the edict: '(321b) bdag-nyid chen-po sku-gshegs-pa'i rjes-su yang/ Chos-rje nyid-kyi thugs-rje'i mthus nged thams-cad khams bde-bar yod/ rgyal-bu Mong-go-ta yang byon/ thugs-la dogs-par yod/ Mong-go gan rgyal-por mnga'-gsol phyogs thams-cad-du 'ja'-sa bzang-po bsgrags/ rgyal-khams thams-cad kyang shin-tu bde/ bye-brag-tu bande-la dmag-khral sho dang/ gan-mdzod-du nor 'dab mi dgos/ bande'i khang-pa dang lha-khang-du gser-yig-pa 'bab ra-med/ 'u-lag sbyin ra-med/ so-so'i chos-lugs bzhin-du gnam-mchod/ nged thams-cad-la smon-lam thob/ bande thams-cad-kyi ji-ltar bya-ba'i mgo-lung de/ Sa-skya-pa shes-su chug bya-ba'i 'ja'-sa bzang-po gnang/ de phyogs mtha' -dag-tu bsgrags-pa dang/ gser-yig-pa-rnams-kyi[s] Bod so-so'i mi rtsi-ba dang/rgyal-khams gtan-la 'bebs-pa'i ched-du/ khyed-kyi bande cig kyang thong zer-nas/ de'i don-du dge-bshes rDo-rje 'brug dang dge-bshes Sum-bu dpon-g.yog-rnams btang-ba yin/ bla'o zhib-tu khong-rnams-la dris/ de-na yar(?) gtam snyan mi snyan sna-tshogs yod kyang skrag mi dgos/ phyogs kun-nas legs-par 'ong/khyed thams-cad-kyis go-cha chen-po gon-la/ bla-ma'i zhabs-tog-la 'bad-pa skyed/ chu-pho-byi-ba'i lo dpyid-zla bring-po'i tshes lnga'i yi-ge/ dpal Ling-chu-rtsir khab-kyi gtsug-lag-khang-du bris//' - This is the first Tibetan translation of a Mongol edict; I do not know whether or not it exists in Chinese translation, as I was unable to obtain M.-P. Tsai, *Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu*, Peking, 1955.
55. Not identified cf. n.57.
56. So we have to interpret a letter (full of colloquial idioms) that is an 'equation with two unknown quantities...'

57. Title: *sLob-dpon bSod-nams seng-ge'i spyan-sngar phrin-du zhu-ba* (in BA 383a-385b). The relevant passage in the text is the following: '(383b) skabs-don-la/da-res rgyal-pos thugs-(384a)-la btags-nas bande dang/ Bon-po-la sogs-pa gnam-mchod-pa-rnams-la dmag-khral med-par sdod/ de'i mgo-gnyer dang bande thams-cad Sa-skya-pa shes-su chug gsungs-pa'i lung byon/ de'i 'ja'-sa bskyal-nas mi-rnams brtsi-ba dang/ slob-dpon dren-pa'i don-la rDo-rje-'brug mngag-pa yin/
This letter has a variant translated by D.Schuh (p.111). The most important differences are as follows:
1. According to him, the letter is addressed to Grags-pa seng-ge (cf. also his n. 75); 2. His text has Li-rtsi-ba and Schuh translates accordingly as 'Um diesen Erlass (mit) jener (Weisung) zu überbringen und um den *Li-rtsi-ba* und den *sLob-dpon-pa* einzuladen, wurde er *rDoṃ-'bṛug* entstandt.' In my text 'mi-rnams brtsi-ba' and 'slob-dpon' cannot be interpreted as proper names, so the translation is: 'For the purpose of counting the people and for the leading of the masters (cf. no.48), rDo-rje-'brug (=rDom-'brug) is to be (or was) delegated.' (There are some other differences between the texts, e.g. bla-mchod instead of gnam-mchod, etc., but these are of minor importance.) It should be noted that the sentence translated above is definitely separated from the edict while in the other text it is not so evident (cf. n.47). Note also that the longer version enumerates different taxes, while here only the military tax is mentioned (cf. n.38). Moreover 'Phags-pa here enumerates the believers of the three religions, viz. Buddhism, Bon-po and Heaven-belief (cf. n.9), but these cannot be identified with the triad of the edicts (Buddhism, Christianity and Taoism of which the last is called 'Zin-shing' by 'Phags-pa; cf. also Y.Imaeda, 'Refutation in verse against Taoist by 'Phags-pa', *The Toyo Gakuho* 56, pp.41-48). Finally I must mention that D. Schuh believes this edict to have been issued by Prince Ködän. However, the longer version indicates rather that its author was Möngke.
58. Schuh, pp. 102, 103-124.
59. Wylie, p.113.
60. Wylie, p.113.
61. In this form it seems to be a Sanskrit word: R.A. Stein identifies the person with Karma Pakṣi, cf. P. Demiéville, *La situation religieuse* etc., p.230, n.29. Cf. also H.E. Richardson, 'The Karma-pa Sect' I-II, JRAS 1958, pp.136-164, 1959, pp.1-18, and Wylie, pp. 119-120 etc.
62. This name occurs first in the literature in the *Kang-mou* of Hyacinthe Bichurin (this book is not available in Hungary) and his data were used by C.D'Ohsson in his *Histoire des Mongols* II, Amsterdam, 1852, pp.261-262; D'Ohsson's book was further abridged by H.Howorth in his *History of the Mongols* I, London, 1876, pp. 187-188, etc. The first scholarly investigation was undertaken by Ed. Chavannes, cf. his *Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole* I,TP, 1904, pp. 373-374; Na-mo is also mentioned by O. Franke, cf. *Geschichte*, etc. V, pp. 173-175 and also be Imaeda, cf. his afore-mentioned paper, pp.45-46. Demiéville adds that he might be also a Kashmirian lama or some pupil of Sa-skya paṇḍita (this last hypothesis is not very convincing), cf. ibid, n.29 on p.230.
63. Even Qubilai's 'enthusiasm' for Tibetan lamas is doubtful. Thus the Chinese Buddhist monk Hai-yün introduced Qubilai to Buddhism in 1242, gave the name 'Chen-chin'(this is 'Phags-pa's Jing-gim) to the second son of Qubilai, held various ranks during the rule of Güyük and Möngke and was the teacher, as 'Phags-pa also was, of Chen-chin up to 1285.

Cf. Demiéville, ibid, pp.200-204, also Franke, ibid, pp.173-175 etc. In other words, he was obviously a very influential religious person in the Mongol court. Thus 'Phags-pa's rule was in all likelihood only that of *primus inter pares*. Cf. also P. Tsering, 'Rñyiṅ Ma Pa Lamas am Yüan-Kaiserhof', in: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium* etc. pp.511-540; Wylie (passim); also T.V. Wylie, 'Reincarnation: a political innovation in Tibetan Buddhism', in: *Proceedings* etc., pp.579-586; S.Jagchid. 'Why the Mongolian Khans adopted Tibetan Buddhism as their faith', in: *Proceedings of the Third East Asian Altaistic Conference*, ed. by Ch'en Chieh-hsien and S. Jagchid, Taipei, 1970, p.117.
For the position of Taoism see J. Thiel, 'Der Streit der Buddhisten und Taoisten zur Mongolenzeit', *Monumenta Serica* XX, pp.1-81; also my notes 9, 61, 62.

64. Wylie, p.125.
65. Wylie, p.118, p.125.
66. Cf. also n.57.
67. Wylie, p.125.
68. Wylie, p.117.
69. He died on 28th November, 1251, see D.Schuh, 'Wie ist die Einladung etc.', p.234, no.22.

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# NOTES ON THE TIBETAN KINSHIP TERM *DBON**

**Helga Uebach**

In the course of excerpting texts for a Dictionary of Classical Tibetan I have noticed considerably differing interpretations of the kinship term *dbon*, especially in its compounds. These differences indicate that the term *dbon* is a problematic one and indeed at any occurence the question of its correct translation arises anew. To a certain degree this is due to the dual meaning of the word: according to the standard dictionaries and also Benedict's study on Tibetan and Chinese kinship terms,[1] *dbon* is a respectful term denoting both grandchild and sibling's child.

The lack of a corresponding term covering both the meanings of *dbon* in any western language prevents any direct translation of the Tibetan and thus we are forced to be precise about its interpretation. The decision whether *dbon* should be translated as grandchild or sibling's child is difficult in many instances and depends on sufficient information of the context. The following notes are therefore an attempt to contribute to a better knowledge of the use and meaning of the term *dbon*.

An investigation of the Old Tibetan texts and inscriptions so far published shows that occurences of *dbon* by itself are rare. There are only two instances of the word meaning grandchild in the Tun-huang Annals, where the spelling is *sbon*:

> DTH p.13, 1.8: 'btsan po myes khri song rtsan gyi spur phying ba'i ring khang na' ring mkhyud ching bzhug ste/ btsan po sbon khri mang slon mang rtsan mer ke na bzhugs par lo gcig/'
> 'The corpse of the btsan po grandfather[2] Khri-srong-btsan was preserved in the deadhouse at Phying-ba. The btsan po grand-child Khri-mang-slon-mang-rtsan stayed in Mer-ke. Thus one year.'

In this instance we may translate *sbon* as grandchild only because we know from the Genealogies of the Kings[3] that Khri-mang-slon-mang-rtsan was in fact a grandson and not a nephew of Khri-song-btsan.

For the year 707 the Annals inform us about the residence of Khri-ma-lod, the grandmother of rGyal-gtsug-ru:

> DTH p.20, 1.1-2: 'dgun btsan po brag mar na bzhugs pa las/ po brang 'phoste/ phyi sbon lhas gang tsal na bzhugs ...'
> 'The btsan po having stayed in winter in Brag-dmar changed residence. The grandmother and the grandchild stayed in Lhas-gang-tsal...'

The element *dbon* appears in two compound expressions known from the Tun-huang Chronicle and the inscriptions: *sras-dbon* and *dbon-sras*. Both expressions deserve our special attention because various scholars have interpreted them in different ways and sometimes *sras-dbon* and *dbon-sras* have been taken for equivalents. Certainly, *sras-dbon* as well as *dbon-sras* refer to descending generations, but a differentiation is desirable.

In the Tun-huang Chronicle the respectful term *sras-dbon* occurs on the occasion of the oath sworn by king Khri-srong-brtsan to protect the family and property of dBa's-dbyi-tshab. The king's oath ends with the words:

> DTH p.110, 1.20-21: '... nam nam nam nam/ zha zha zha zhar/ sras dbon gyi zha sngar di bzhin du gnang ngo//'
> Bacot and Toussaint translated: DTH p.146, 1.21-22: 'Toujours, toujours, toujours, toujours, dorénavant, pardevant nos fils et petit-fils, seront ces promesses tenues.'

From the context it is known that the king himself and six ministers have attended the oath ceremony. There is no mention of a son and grandson of Khri-srong-brtsan and if we accept that the oath took place before the year 634, as Macdonald[4] proposed, most probably the son and grandson of the king had not yet been born. We may therefore assume that the king simply included his descending generations in the oath.

In the Tibetan inscriptions which record in an abstract form the oaths of the kings, we find further instances of *sras-dbon*. The inscription on the north side of the pillar at Zhol[5] records the rewards which king Khri-srong-lde-btsan bestowed on his minister sTag-sgra-klu-khong.

> Zhol 1.12-17: 'brtsan po sras dbon sku tse rabs re zhing yang/ zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud 'peld las gcig/ zham 'bring/ na nang kor yan cad du gzhug cing ... gnang ngo/' Richardson, p.9: 'And he decreed that during each generation of the male descendants of the King, one of the male descendants shall serve in the King's retinue, ranking above the private attendants ....'

In another inscription at Zhva'i-lha-khang[6] king Khri-lde-srong-btsan favours his monk-minister Myang-ting-nge-'dzin. There *sras-dbon* occurs twice:

> West inscription 1.29: '... sras dbon phyi ma mgna' mdzad pa rnams ...' Richardson p.2: '... my sons and grandsons who shall rule hereafter ...'
>
> West inscription 1.59: '... sras dbon chab srid kyi mnga' gang mdzad pas ...' Richardson p.4: '... my sons and grandsons, whosoever may hold authority...'

In these instances the term *sras-dbon* has been translated by Bacot and Toussaint and also by Richardson as a coordinate compound, *sras dang dbon*, sons and grandsons. In the Zhol inscription Richardson rendered this pair of terms by 'male descendants'. The translation as sons and grandsons is correct although it only includes two generations which might be too restricted from the point of view of *nam zhar*, 'for ever'. The Zhol inscription where the descendants of Zla-gong are called bu-tsha clearly shows that *sras-dbon* is the respectful equivalent for common bu-tsha which according to Benedict[7] 'serve to cover all the relatives of descending generations, including the collateral lines ('nephew' and 'niece')'. Benedict's definition which includes the collateral lines is justified by the dual meaning of *tsha/dbon* and may be generally accep--ted, although there is no mention of the nephews of the king or the position they may have held in the Old Tibetan texts, whereas Rona-Tas has shown an example where *bu-tsha* denotes sons and nephews[8]. There is no doubt that the term *sras-dbon* refers to the descendants of the king in a collective sense, the specification 'male' for them is not necessary.

Now the question arises as to which descending generations the term *dbon-sras* refers. The discussion of the following occurences may perhaps contribute to elucidate its meaning.

The above-mentioned oath of king Khri-srong-brtsan in the Tun-huang Chronicle is followed by the counter-oath of dBa's-dbyi-tshab. It starts with the sentence:

> DTH p.110, 1.22-24: 'btsan po spu rgyal khri srong brtsan yab sras dang/ gdun (read: gdung) rgyud la/ glo ba 'dring re/ nam nam zha zhar yang// dbon sras rgyal po gang mdzad pa la/ glo ba 'dring re// ' The second part of the sentence containing the term under consideration has been translated by Bacot and Toussaint: DTH p.146, 1.25: 'Toujours, toujours, dorénavant, en tout ce que feront le roi, son fils, ses petits-fils, nous leur serons fidèles.' Fang kuei Li p.58.[9] 'Never, never shall we be disloyal to whoever is king, the son or grandson.' Snellgrove and Richardson p.27:[10]

'Never ever at any time will we be faithless to the King and his offspring, whatever they do!'

From these translations it becomes obvious that except for Snellgrove and Richardson who choose to take *dbon-sras* as 'offspring', the term has been translated in reverse order or, in other words, as if it read *sras-dbon*. It has generally been disregarded that the son was already mentioned together with his father in the first part of the sentence. Therefore it is likely that the dBa's made allusion to a further generation, i.e. the grandchildren of the king.

Let us examine two more instances of *dbon-sras* occuring in the inscription on the pillar of the Vihāra at sKar-cung. Concerning this inscription, Tucci[11] has pointed out in his invaluable study on the tombs of the Tibetan kings that it is an abstract from an edict on the support of Buddhism decreed by king Khri-lde-srong-btsan which is recorded at length by dPa'o-gtsug-lag.

> sKar-cung 1.33-36: '... btsan po dbon sras// sku chu ngur bzhugs pa yan cad// chab srid kyi mnga' bdag mdzad pa man chad kyang// dge slong las dge ba'i shes nyen bskos ste/ ...' Tucci TTK p.53: 'From the time when the kings, the nephews and uncles are young of age, up to the time when they take the power, from among the monks, let them appoint their good friends ...' Richardson p.56 [11]: 'And the Kings, Grandsons and Sons, from the smallest children upwards and from the Rulers of the Land downwards, having appointed teachers of religion from among the Clergy...'

In interpreting the term *dbon-sras* attention should be turned upon the fact that this inscription from line four onwards represents a rather long narrative, starting with the enumeration of the great deeds of *myes* Khri-srong-btsan in succession down to *myes* Khri-'dus-srong, *myes* Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, *yab* Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and then to the initiator of the inscription who is referred to as *lHa-btsan-po* Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. Again his father is mentioned and then there follows the *btsan-po-yab-sras* and finally the *btsan-po-dbon-sras*. The great deeds from the time of the ancestors down to the father of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan are more or less retold from the edicts of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and the passage beginning with '*btsan-po-dbon-sras*' in my opinion recalls the well known fact that Khri-lde-srong-brtsan was brought up by the monk Myang-ting-nge-'dzin whom the king later appointed his minister and rewarded. This is known from the inscription at Zhva'i-lha-khang[6]. It may be taken into consideration that here Khri-lde-srong-brtsan himself is called *btsan-po-dbon-sras* with regard to his ancestors listed in advance.

The narrative of the sKar-cung inscription is summed up in 1.48-51:

> '... yab myes dbon sras gang gi ring la yang rung ste...' TTK p.54: 'At any time, during the time of the grandfather and the father, the son and grandson...' Richardson[11] p.56: 'And in whatever time may be, of the Father, the Ancestors, and the Descendants...'

The expression *yab-myes-dbon-sras* should perhaps not be split into three or four parts if we compare it with the second edict of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, where there is a reference to the *yab-myes-snga-ma*,[12] the former paternal ancestors. Thus the *dbon-sras* would be a unity too, denoting the grandson.

A pillar near the tomb of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan bears a badly damaged inscription where we find one more instance of *dbon-sras*. Tucci's first edition has been re-edited by Richardson[14] who was able to make use of the readings of Ka-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu,[15] a scholar of the 18th century. Lines 18-20 of the inscription differ in these editions.

TTK p.92: '... nam zhar dbon sras rgyud chab srid btsan dang/ 'bangs skyid par bya'o...' TTK p.37: 'the family of the son in law and of the son and the government became ever mighty and the subjects were happy...'
Richardson[14] p.31: '... nam zhar dbon sras rgyud kyi chab srid brtan zhing/ 'bangs skyid par bya ba'i gdams ngag ... bka' lung du bzhag ste// ...' Richardson p.32: 'Having made firm for ever the dominion of the succession of his sons and grandsons he established by order ... the precepts of conferring happiness upon subjects...'

All the data given above show well that a meaning of *dbon-sras* connected with the collateral lines may be excluded. It may also be assumed that the interpretation 'grandchild and son' is not correct because of its unusual inverted order. There is a slight possibility that the term means *dbon gyi sras* = 'great grandchild' but it seems to be less probable as generally a distinction between *myes* = 'grandfather and great grandfather' is also not made. I think *dbon-sras* is nothing but the respectful expression for the male *dbon*, taking sras for an apposition acting as sex modifier and thus *dbon-sras* denotes 'grandchild-son=grandson'.

In later Tibetan literature the simple *dbon/sbon*= 'grandchild' occuring in the Old Tibetan texts is usually replaced by the male form *dbon-po* or by *dbon-sras*. Instances where the term denotes grandson are rare and can mainly be observed when the texts deal with the so-called Yar-lung dynasty.[16] In the latter literature there appears another compound expression containing *dbon: mes-dbon-gsum*[17] or *chos-rgyal-mes-dbon*.[18] Both expressions refer to the three Tibetan kings Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and Ral-pa-can as supporters of Buddhism and incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajgrapāṇi by means of the kinship terms *mes* and *dbon*.[19]

It has already been mentioned that the term *dbon* according to the dictionaries may also denote nephew but as the dictionaries only refer to later sources it must be emphasized that in Old Tibetan texts there is no genealogical evidence for *dbon* meaning 'sister's son' or 'brother's son'. In Old Tibetan, *dbon* with this meaning[20] is almost inseparable from the term *zhang* and the pair of terms *dbon-zhang* occurs repeatedly in the bilingual treaty inscription at lHa-sa gtsug-lag-khang.[21] It has become prominent for it serves to denote the matrimonial alliance between the Tibetan king and the Chinese emperor. It is from the Chinese text of the inscription that the meaning *dbon* = 'nephew on the mother's side' or 'sister's son' has been deduced. The Chinese pair of terms *cheng kieou* (or kieou cheng) has been discussed at length especially by Demiéville who states *inter alia* 'Cheng et kieou signifient neveu utérin et oncle maternel (frère de la mère), mais aussi (parmi d'autres significations enc encore)gendre et beau-père, double sens remontant aux institutions matrimoniales de l'antiquité chinoise ...'[22]. The Chinese *cheng kieou* is rendered by *dbon-zhang* in Tibetan and it may be assumed that the terms are equivalent for the following reasons.[23]

For the Tibetan Tucci has shown 'that Zhang is the title given to officials related by marriage with the king...'[24] and Richardson[25] has observed that the title *zhang* with some exceptions is found especially with those Clans which provided queen mothers. Analogously, the Tibetan king should have been the *dbon* of these *zhang* and Tucci has translated *dbon* in the inscriptions as shown above in this sense. But such a translation cannot be accepted because it would imply either that the Tibetan king calls himself *dbon* with regard to his *zhang* relatives or that the inscriptions issue from the *zhang* who address the king as their *dbon*.

Evidently, little is known about the use of the term *dbon* in an affinal sense from the Old Tibetan texts. Besides the bilingual treaty inscription, *dbon* in this sense only occurs in combination with the 'A-zha chiefs who were allied by marriage with the Tibetan king, as is proved by the texts.[26]

The question of the *dbon-zhang* relation has recently been rolled up again by Yamaguchi[27] who proposes to take the expression *dbon-zhang* for grandson and maternal grandfather because this was the actual relationship between the partners of the bilingual treaty, the Tibetan king and the Chinese emperor. Yamaguchi's article has been discussed elsewhere,[28] but I may add a few words on his newly acquired meaning of *dbon-zhang*. The opinion of Yamaguchi cannot be wholly rejected but he should have taken into consideration that there is no literary evidence in Old Tibetan as to whom the title *zhang* is given by the Tibetan king. It might have been the grandfather, the father or the brother of the queen or even the actual clan chief. Accordingly in the case of the 'A-zha chief it is not known whether *dbon* denotes the husband or the son of the Tibetan princess or even one of her further descendants. The Tibetan princess herself may have been a sister of the king but it is not recorded *expressis verbis*. Furthermore in Old Tibetan generally there is no testimony to a distinction being made between *myes* = 'grandfather and great grandfather' or 'ancestor', or between *dbon* = 'grandchild and great grandchild', ibid. (if my interpretation of *dbon-sras* is accepted.)

There is one more expression, *dbon-slob*, occuring in the Bon-po funeral rites which points to a connection of *dbon* with the mother's side, as Stein has showed[29]. Although the exact meaning of *dbon-slob* is hitherto unidentified this connection may be deduced from its description: Stein p.172: 'shas bdags/ snag gyis 'brel te// gnyen tu gyur nas...' Stein p.182: 'devenu un parent par la chair et par le sang.' This definition reflects the belief that the mother's side contributes the flesh and blood to the offspring while the bones descend from the father's side.

Summing up, it can be said that the kinship term *dbon* = 'grandchild' as well as 'sister's son,son-in-law and husband', the meaning of the latter being mainly based on the equation with the Chinese *cheng*, is used in Old Tibetan only for the kings and the 'A-zha chief. Concerning *dbon* = 'grandchild' it remains reserved to the kings in later literature too, whereas *dbon* = 'sister's son' in the later period is used as an honorific term for common *tsha-bo*, also for 'brother's son' as will be shown below.

When in the beginning of the 13th century some of the powerful monastic centres became hereditary, the nephews played an important role as successors of their celibate uncles. In the Red Annals[30] Sa-skya Paṇḍita and the son of his brother 'Phags-pa, are called *khu-dbon*:

> RA 23a9: 'chos rje khu dbon gyi slob ma shar nub gung sum du grags pa la...' 'The disciples of Chos-rje, father's brother and brother's son, are known as Shar, Nub and Gung, the three...'
> RA 21b9: 'shing po drug cu rtsa gsum pa la khu dbon gsum byon/ ...' 'In the male wood-dragon year in his 63rd year the father's brother and his brother's sons, the three departed...'

The succession to an office or see from uncle to nephew, when the latter is not specified to be mother's or father's brother's son, is denoted by the respectful term *dbon-brgyud*:

> RA 24a5: 'de nas dbon brgyud med par slob mas gdan sa bzung ba/ ...' 'Thereafter the see was held by the disciples because there was no succession of nephews...'

The succession from 'uncle to nephew' in as much as the Sa-skya-pa are concerned was from father's brother to brother's son but there are also cases of succession by the sister's son known from the texts. The following

instance on the succession to the see of the monastery of Tshur-bu is taken from the Blue Annals.[31]

BA p.453 (nya52a4): 'kar ma pa shi khams nas byon nas gdan sa mdzad/ de rting kar ma pa'i snag dbon yin pa zhig gis gdan sa bskyangs te dbon rin po che zer/ de rjes kar ma pa'i rus dbon bla ma gnas nang pa/ de rjes kar ma pa'i mched ya gtsug tor skyabs kyi sras a dbang ye shes dbang phyug/ de'i sras bla ma 'bum pas gdan sa gzung/ de rjes bkra shis 'bum pa'i mched ya dbon po a dpal gyi sras che ba bla ma dbang rin/ ...'

Roerich, p.519-20: '... Kar-ma pa-shi came from Khams and occupied the chair. After him , Kar-ma-pa's maternal nephew (snag-dbon) took over the chair and was called dbOn Rin-po-che. After him, the paternal (rus-dbon) nephew of Kar-ma-pa, the bla-ma gNas-nang-pa. After him A-dbang Ye-shes dbang-phyug, son of gTsug-tor-skyabs, the brother of Kar-ma-pa. Then the latter's son the bla-ma bKra-shis 'bum-pa took over the chair. After him the bla-ma dBang-rin, son of dbOn-po A-dpal, brother of bKra-shis 'bum-pa...'

This instance is interesting on the one hand because it shows that a differentiation between nephew on the mother's side, *snag-dbon* and the nephew on the father's side, *rus-dbon* is made. On the other hand it is noteworthy that the respectful address Rin-po-che is preceeded by *dbon* and *dbon-po* also forms the first part of the name A-dpal. This might lead us to the assumption that the collateral relationship is expressed by the antecedent *dbon* in names. The following remark of gZhon-nu-dpal seems to confirm it:

BA p.507 (nya79a7): 'dbon po gzhon nu bzang po la dbon po zer ba yang khong gi dbon po yin pas ming du chags/'

'Dbon-po gzhon-nub-zang-po is called dbon-po because he was his (i.e., Tshul-dar's) nephew and therefore (dbon-po) became his name.'

From these instances it is obvious that *dbon* = 'sister's son' in Old Tibetan was reserved to the royal family. After the collapse of the Tibetan kingdom it was taken over to denote respectfully within the clergy famous 'nephews', father's sister's sons as well as father's brother's sons, of renowned uncles. Thus *dbon* even became part of the name of some religious men.[32]

These notes on *dbon* could be concluded if there were not so many persons whose name begins with *dbon* or who are called *dbon-po* although there is neither any mention that they belonged to the clergy nor the slightest hint of any uncle. Finally let me therefore show by one example how the problem of these *dbon-po* can be settled. In the biographies of the lamas bSod-nams blo-gros and Chos-skyabs dpal-bzang[33] we read of a family of Glo(Mustang) named *dbon mKhang-dkar-ba,* the members of which are repeatedly and simply called the *dbon-po-ba.* A lot of trouble was caused by these *dbon-po-ba* and they seemed to have done great harm to the lamas. Who were these *dbon-po-ba*? A misreading or misprinting for *dpon* can easily be excluded because they were the opponents of a *dpon-po* who is mentioned too. In his index Snellgrove gave the translation 'nephew', 'squire', 'official' and within the translation of the text the meaning was extended to chieftains and clan-leaders.[34] Indeed the *dbon mKhang-dkar-ba* seem to have held such a position but this fact does not allow us to translate the term *dbon-po* accordingly. The solution to the problem of their being called *dbon-po-ba* must be sought elsewhere and there is a remark in the recently published 'Bod rje lha btsan po'i gdung rabs tshigs nyung don gsal yid kyi me long' of Ka-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu[35] which helps to clarify the issue of the *dbon mKhang-dkar-ba*. The author traces the descendants of the Tibetan kings down to his own times. Concerning the descendants of 'Od-srungs, it is said on

p.32, 1.4-5:

'sku mched bar pa kha cig gi rgyud da lta glo bo ma thang gi dbon rgyud rgyun phra mor gnas pa 'di rnams yin zer bas de tsho gung thang gi rgyal po'i gdung rigs su rtogs dgos so/' Those who nowadays continue to exist here and there as the *dbon-rgyud* of Glo-bo ma-thang are said to be descendants of the middle brother and therefore they should be known as (belonging to) the bone-lineage of the kings of Gung-thang.'

The information provided here by Ka-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu, who was an expert in genealogy, is most useful and shows the *dbon-rgyud* has been used not only to denote the succession from 'uncle to nephew' but also has survived to denote royal descendants. This passage fits the *dbon mKhang-dkar-ba* well since they, like so many prominent families of Tibet, trace their origins back to the Tibetan kings. They are called, or perhaps call themselves, *dbon-po* in order to indicate their royal descent. It is understandable that these distant relatives of the Tibetan kings used the term *dbon*, for in the absence of a common dynastic name what expression could better denote their royal descent than this term for grandchild and nephew, implying both direct and collateral royal descendants?

## Notes

I am very much indebted to Heather Karmay who kindly corrected the English of my paper and to Nicholas J. Allen for his very helpful criticism from the point of view of a specialist in the kinship terminology.

1. Bendict, Paul K: 'Tibetan and Chinese kinship terms', in HJAS VI, 1941, pp.313-337.
2. In translating *btsan po myes*, ibid., I follow the suggestions made by L. Petech: "Glossi agli Annali di Tun-Huang', in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. XLII, p.257.
3. DTH, p.82.
4. Macdonald, Ariane: 'Une lecture des P.T. 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290. Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Srong-btsan sgam-po', in *Etudes Tibétaines dédiées à la memoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, p.256.
5. Richardson, Hugh E; 'Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/ Khri gtsug lde brtsan treaty of A.D. 821-822 from the inscription at Lhasa', R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, Vol. XIX, p.1-34.
6. Richardson, Hugh E; 'Tibetan inscriptions at Zhva-hi lHa Khang', pts.I and II, JRAS, 1952, pp.133-154 and JRAS 1953, pp.1-12.
7. Op.cit., p.320.
8. Róna-Tas, A: 'Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tun-Huang Chronicle', in AO, 1955, p.256.
9. Li, Fang kuei: 'Tibetan Glo-ba-'dring', in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen, 1959, p.58.
10. Snellgrove, David L. and Richardson, Hugh E; *A Cultural history of Tibet*, London, 1968, p.27.
11. Tucci, Giuseppe: *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, SOR I, Roma, 1950, pp.104-8; Richardson, Hugh E; 'Three ancient inscriptions from Tibet', in JRASB, Vol.XV, 1949, pp.51-6.
12. TTK, p.96.
13. TTK, pp.91-93, translation pp.36-39.

14. Richardson, Hugh E; 'The inscription at the tomb of Khri lde srong brtsan', in JRAS, 1969, pp.29-38.
15. Richardson, Hugh E; 'A Tibetan antiquarian in the XVIIIth Century', in *Bulletin of Tibetology* IV, 1967, pp.5-8.
16. For example in *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, ed. by Kuznetsov, B.I.,Leiden, 1966, p.187, 1.10: 'de'i dbon po mang srong...' or p.160, 1.13-14; 'de nas dbon sras mang srong mang btsan gyis/ dgung lo bcu gsum lon dus rgyal srid bzung/' or in *sBa-bzhed*, ed. by Stein, R.A., Paris, 1961, p.1,1-4: 'nga'i dbon sras gyi ring la rgyal po lde zhes bya ba'i ring la dam pa'i lha chos 'byung/' or in the *History of Tibet of the Vth Dalai Lama,* Varanasi, 1967, p.65: 'de nas dbon sras/ mang srong mang btsan gyis rgyal srid bzung/'.
17. *sBa-bzhed*, op.cit., p.1, 1.1.
18. *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, op.cit., pp.2 and 202.
19. It is difficult to judge if *mes-dbon-gsum* means two grandfathers (ancestors)and one grandson or one grandfather(ancestor) and two grandsons (descendants).
20. Only once is the expression split: line 42 of the East inscription reads: 'btsan po dbon ni ... rgya rje zhang ni...'.
21. Li, Fang kuei: 'The inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821-22', *T'oung Pao*, 1956, pp.1-99; Richardson, Hugh E; see n.5 above and new edition 'The Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of A.D. 821/823 at Lhasa', JRAS, 1978, pp.137-162.
22. Demiéville, Paul: *Le concile de Lhasa*, Bibl. de l'Inst. des Hautes Etudes Chinoises Vol. VII, Paris, 1952, p.4.
23. For references see Demiéville, op.cit., p.4, Benedict, op.cit., and Allen, N.J: 'Sherpa kinship terminology in diachronic perspective', in *Man*, Vol. 11, 1976, where marriage customs and their relation to kinship terminology are discussed.
24. TTK, p.61.
25. AHE, p.50f.
26. DTH, p.48; Thomas, F.W: TLTD, pt.II, p.6; Richardson, Hugh E; 'Names and titles in early Tibetan Records', in *Bulletin of Tibetology*, IV, 1967, p.10; Uray, G: 'The Annals of the 'A-zha principality', in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium,* Budapest, 1978, p.574. According to Stein, R.A: *Les tribus anciennes des marches Sino-Tibêtaines,* Bibl. de l'Inst. des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Vol. XV, Paris, 1961, p. 66f, there is also the possibility that in this case *dbon* might be the name of a tribe in the North-East of Tibet.
27. Yamaguchi, Zuiho: 'Matrimonial relationship between the T'u-fan and the T'ang dynasties', in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko,* No.27, pp.141-166 and No.28, pp.59-100.
28. Uray, op.cit.
29. Stein, R.A: 'Un document ancien rélatif aux rites funéraires des Bon-po Tibêtains', in JA, 1970, pp.155-185; see also Lalou, Marcelle: 'Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales', in JA, 1953, pp.1-24.
30. *The Red Annals,* Gangtok, 1961.
31. *The Blue Annals,* ed. by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1976; translation by Roerich, G.N; *The Blue Annals,* 2 pts, Calcutta, 1949.
32. There are references in the standard dictionaries to *dbon-po* denoting Lama-servant (H.A. Jaeschke: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London,1965, repr., p.389) and to its equivalent in *ser-gzugs* (Dagyab, L.S: *Tibetan Dictionary,* Dharamsala, 1966, p.464b). Tucci, G: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* Roma, 1949, Vol.II, p.725 gives: 'ngags pa, rtsis pa, dbon po, exorcists and astrologers.' Blondeau, Anne-Marie: 'Les religions du

Tibet', in *Encyclopedie de la Pléiade*, pp.286-7 informs us: 'Un autre statut est celui des religieux mariés: on leur donne le nom général de sngags-pa, 'tantristes' .... Les religieux mariés vivent parfois en communauté dans les monastères appelés *dbon-dgon* d'après le nom *dbon-po* donné également aux sngags-pa;...' Unfortunately I could not trace the textual evidence for *dbon-po* with this sense and I am not in a position to judge if it is connected with the kinship term.

33. Snellgrove, D.L: *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1967; I. p.14,1. 19: 'dbon po ba ngan shed ches pa'i stabs kyis ...', p.14, 1. 22: 'nor gang yod dbon po ba rnams kyis bgos nas ...' II, p.45, p.20: 'dbon po mkhang dkar ba nang bzhig nas yod pa ...', ibid.

34. Snellgrove, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.90 and 153.

35. *Rare Tibetan historical and literary texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa*, Series I, New Delhi, 1974, pp.1-59; on the author see n.15.

## Abbreviations

AHE *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, see n.5.
AM *Asia Major*
AO *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*
BA *Blue Annals*, see n.31.
DTH *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. J.Bacot, F.W. Thomas, Ch.Toussaint, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 51, Paris, 1940.
HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
JA *Journal Asiatique*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASB *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*
RA *Red Annals*, see n.30.
SOR *Serie Orientale Roma*
TLTD *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 4 pts. F.W. Thomas, London, 1935, 1951, 1955, 1963.
TTK *The Tombs of the Tibetan kings*, see n.11.

# *KHROM:* ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF THE TIBETAN EMPIRE IN THE 7th – 9th CENTURIES

Geza Uray

1. In this lecture an attempt is made to determine the meaning of *khrom* in the early Tibetan records and the place the *khrom* had in the organization of the Tibetan Empire of the 7th-9th centuries.

Till recently the term *khrom* seemed to give rise to no difficulties in the interpretation of the early records. As there is a word in classical Tibetan with the well-supported meaning of 'a market place, a bazaar, a crowd of people, multitude of persons', scholars have translated the term *khrom* in the records as 'mart', 'town', 'city', or 'ville', 'marché', or occasionally as 'population'; the more so since these translations seemed to fit the context unobjectionably. Disagreement existed at most as to whether in certain passages there occured the common noun meaning 'market, town, population', or the proper name of a country.[1]

The way to a more correct interpretation of the Old Tibetan term was paved by Mme. Ariane Macdonald, when she translated *khrom chen-po* as 'prefecture'.[2] This translation is fully justified, insofar as *khrom*, according to the evidence of several recently disclosed sources, designated territorial units of considerable size. A comprehensive analysis of the data shows, however, that the *khrom* of the 7th-9th centuries cannot be treated as equivalents to the so-called prefectures, the 州 *chou*, of contemporary China.

2. For discovering the true nature of the *khrom* the document Pelliot Tibétain 1088, Fragm.1, *recto*, affords an important starting point. Among the texts written as exercises over one another there is found the copy or draft of a decision, and that with a dating formula, as follows: *Yos-bu-lo'i dpyid/ /Kwa-cu-khrom-gyi dun-sa/Sug-cu btab-pa'i ⌜I⌝an-⌜I⌝a* 'In the spring of the year of the Hare, in the period when the assembly of the *khrom* of Kwa-cu was held in Sug-cu.'[3] Now *Kwa-cu* (also written at times *Kwa-chu*)[4] is the well-known Tibetan transcription, or rather a loan from Ch. 瓜州 *Kua-chou* (AC *kwa-tśi̯ə̯u*[5]), the name of an earlier Chinese prefecture and/or of its centre which in the T'ang period was situated south-east of the present town of 安西 An-hsi in Kan-su.[6] Similarly *Sug-cu*[7] renders Ch. 肅州 *Su-chou* (AC *s̯iuk-tśi̯ə̯u*[8]) the name of another earlier Chinese prefecture, actually of its centre, which is identical with the town known at one time and still known as 酒泉 Chiu-ch'üan.[9] Thus, on the sole basis of the dating formula quoted above one can state that at least two earlier Chinese prefectures belonged to the *khrom* of Kwa-cu.

Further important clues are contained in the entry for summer 755 in the *Royal Annals*. It is reported here that after a raid into Chinese territory *rMa-grom phyir btsugste/zhang mDo-bzher rMa-grom-gyi dmag-dpon-du bka'-scald* 'rMa-grom was re-established, and the Uncle (*zhang*) mDo-bzher was appointed Military Head of rMa-grom.'[10] The name *rMa-grom* is known from other sources and refers without doubt to a region near the wide bend of the rMa-chu, i.e. upper Hoang-ho.[11] In the 755 report of the *Annals*, however, *rMa-grom* does not function at all as a mere place name but as that of a reorganized (*phyir btsugste*) unit of the state, consequently the suffix *-grom* must have represented a political term. As a term of this kind only *khrom* comes into question, the more so since spellings like *bka'-grims* instead of *bka'-khrims* are quite current in the old manuscripts. Thus, relying upon the report for 755, one can see in rMa-grom the *khrom* of Rma[-chu], i.e., the upper Hoang-ho, and also state that the *khrom* was governed by a *dmag-dpon*, a 'military head', which indicates that it was a unit of a fundamentally military character.

The conclusions drawn so far can now be completed with the data provided in the document Pelliot tibētain 1089, which became known through Lalou's 'Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VIIIe siècle'. In this record a decision is passed on a dispute over rank among the functionaries of Sha-cu, and in this connection earlier dispositions on the rank order of the functionaries of the various regions are also abundantly quoted.

In the record in question a *khrom* named *mKhar-tsan/Khar-tsan* is mentioned four times (11. 12,30,33,35). Of importance is the passage containing the regulation on the rank order of the functionaries of this *khrom*, introduced by an examination performed by the Military Head (*dmag-pon*) and a consultation with the Great Uncle-Councillors (*zhang-lon ched-po*) (11. 12-14).[12] These circumstances seem to be in agreement with the conclusion drawn from the report of the Annals for 755; namely that the *khrom* were governed by military heads.

Even more interesting is a further passage in the same document. It is said there that at a certain time the decree on the ranks of the functionaries who had control of the Chinese of Sha-cu from the *rtse-rje* down could not be found and this led to constant collisions. Therefore a copy of the decision on the ranks that had been passed in a decree by the Military Head (*dmag-pon*) of Kwa-cu was requested. Then there is also the list of ranks itself to read, as determined by the decree of the Military Head and the Inspector (*spyan*) of Kwa-cu, based on information concerning the ranks as submitted by the *rtse-rje* of Sha-cu (11. 43-50).[13] Relying upon this passage, Lalou herself indicated that Sha-cu was subordinate to the Military Head (*dmag-pon*) of Kwa-cu.[14] There can be no doubt about the fact that one has to look upon this Military Head as the chief official of the *khrom* of Kwa-cu,[15] and so it is to be further understood that the *khrom* of Kwa-cu also comprised the territories of the former prefecture 沙州 Sha-chou (ÁC *sa-tśi̯ə̂u*[16]) besides those of Kua- and Su-chou.

Now the question arises as to how far the earlier Chinese prefectures remained administrative units under Tibetan rule. In the document under discussion, Pelliot tibētain 1089, the highest functionary of Sha-cu, as already stated by Lalou, is mentioned by the titles *Sha-cu'i rtse-rje blon, Sha-cu-rtse-rje, Sha-cu'i rtse-rje*(11. 5,43,46,47), and also without a place-name, as *rtse-rje* and *rtse-rje blon* (11. 44,53,80); besides, *Sha-cu'i* (or *-chu'i*) *rtse-rje* occurs in numerous other Tun-huang documents too. Since in the *Mahāvyutpatti rtse-rje* corresponds to Sanscrit koṭṭapāla, Lalou translates *rtse-rje* as 'préfet'[17]. This translation is in itself incontestable, but in my opinion one should on no account put the *rtse-rje* on an equal footing with the Chinese prefects, the 刺史 *ts'e-shih*. i.e., the chief officials of the *chou*. In the Tibetan Miran records *rtse-rje* and *rtse-rje blon* are mentioned in connection with nearly all the towns of the Lop Nor region, notably: 1) Ka-dag, which is identical with the Kadhakh and Katak of the Mohammedan authors (*Ka-dag-gi rtse-rje*); 2) Little Nob, the old Tibetan fortess near Miran (*Nob-chungu-'i rtse-rje blon*); and 3) Great Nob, the Charkhlik of our days (*Nob-ched-po'i rtse-rje*). Similarly, the Tibetan Mazar Tagh records mention the *rtse-rje* of Shing-shan, i.e. the old Fortress of Mazar Tagh on the northern border of the Kingdom of Khotan (*Shing* or *Shin-shan-gyi rtse-rje*).[18] Thus all these cases concern the chief officials of the centres of the smaller oasis territories. They are to be compared more with the heads of the so-called subprefectures, the 縣 *hsien*, rather than with those of the prefectures, the *chou*. Therefore, instead of 'prefect' I should prefer the translation 'town prefect', which also comes closer to the meaning of Sanscrit *koṭṭapāla*.[19] Similarly, I should interpret *rtse-rje blon*, translated 'conseiller du préfet' by Lalou, as 'town prefect (and) councillor' or 'town prefect (holding the rank of a)councillor', since it is precisely this title that always stands at the head of the official rank lists of the functionaries of Sha-cu.

3. The results achieved so far are confirmed and completed by the data provided in some Chinese records and inscriptions of Tun-Huang, originating from the Tibetan period. The data contained in these records were thoroughly analysed by the recently deceased Professor Demiéville, while even Marcelle Lalou had called attention to the agreement of certain of these data with those of the Pelliot tibêtain 1089.[20]

The most important of the Chinese documents in question is the scroll S. 1438 of the British Library, which includes the drafts of several official documents and some private letters of a high Chinese functionary of the Tibetan administration of Sha-chou ( 沙州都[督] *Sha-chou-tu[-tu]*).[21] A number of the official writings contained in the scroll deal with an attack on Sha-chou by a group of foreign Chinese rebels and its further consequences. The rebels had slaughtered the Tibetan functionaries of Sha-chou, but later they were arrested by the author of the writings who informed the 留後使 *liu-hou-shih* of Kua-chou on the events and had the arrested rebels transported to Chiu-ch'üan, i.e. Su-chou. The *li-hou-shih* sent a new 節兒 *chieh-erh* to Sha-chou, and so the situation there became quiet again. Basing himself on these reports, Demiéville was able to establish that the *liu-hou-shih* of Kua-chou was superior to the *chieh-erh* of Sha-chou, and Lalou compared this with the data of the Pelliot tibêtain 1089 concerning the role played by the Military Head of Kwa-cu in settling the dispute over rank in Sha-cu.[22]

To add to the picture so far obtained, the Chinese titles of these functionaries have to be subjected to a closer look. *Liu-hou-shih* was, since the second half of the 8th century, the title of the temporary officials who carried on the affairs of a 節度使 *chieh-tu-shih*, i.e. of a 'military governor'[23] while the post was vacant. Now there are in fact several passages in Pelliot chinois 2449, *verso*, texts 2 and 3, which concern the 瓜州新節度使 *Kua-chou hsin chieh-tu-shih*, 'the new military governor of Kua-chou' etc.[24] Especially interesting is an inscription from 839 A.D., in which a man's office is stated to be 大蕃瓜州節度行軍并沙州三部落倉曹及支計等使 *Ta-Fan Kua-chou chieh-tu hsing-chün ping Sha-chou san pu-lo ts'ang-ts'ao chih chih-chi teng shih* 'commissary of the expeditionary army, as well as of the granaries, accounts, etc. of the three tribes of Sha-chou, of the Military Government of Kua-chou of Great Tibet.'[25]

It is also worth mentioning *chieh-erh*; in S.1438 this is given as the title of the new chief official of Sha-chou who was sent by the *liu-hou-shih* of Kua-chou to occupy the place of one who had been murdered. Demiéville to begin with intended to explain this title as founded on Chinese, but later he raised the idea that *chieh-erh* (AC *tsiẹt-ńźiẹ*)[26] might perhaps be a transcription or a loan of the Tibetan *rtse-rje*.[27] In my opinion this interpretation is without doubt the correct one since, as far as I know, *chieh-erh* is known only from records which date from the time of Tibetan rule and from a passage in a later document in which reference is made to the expulsion of the Tibetan *chieh-erh* and to the 'barbarian mob' from Sha-chou in 848 A.D.[28]

Consequently, the analysis of the Tibetan and Chinese sources under discussion has demonstrated that the *khrom* were large units which comprised several earlier Chinese prefectures, *chou*. In Tibetan, their leaders bore the title *dmag-(d)pon* 'Military Head', and in Chinese *chieh-tu-shih* 'Military Governor' or, in vacancy of the post, *li-hou-shih*. This bears witness to the basically military character of the *khrom*, and I therefore consider 'military government' the adequate translation of the term *khrom*. As sub-divisions of the *khrom* one can only prove the existence of the small districts governed by the *rtse-rje*, i.e. the 'town prefects'. Indeed, the Chinese Tun-huang records

provide the strongest confirmation of the fact that in the Tibetan administration there were no units corresponding to the Chinese prefectures, the *chou*, since they designated the Tibetan head of Sha-chou not by *ts'e-shih*, the Chinese term for the prefect, but by *chieh-erh*, the transcription of the Tibetan title *rtse-rje*.

4. The findings so far achieved have to be supplemented with chronological and geographical information.

For the period up to the end of the 8th century, only the *Royal Annals* contain data on the *khrom*. Thus in the year 676/677 *Khri-bshos-khrom*, 'the military government of the Ch'ing-hai (Koko Nor) region' is mentioned.[29] In the summer of 704 there appears the designation *rMa-grom*, 'military government of rMa[-chu] (i.e. upper Hoang-ho)', but only as a possessive attribute of the name of a smaller place. Later, however, at the time of the Chinese advance during the 730-740's, this government must have been destroyed since a report on its restoration exists from as early as the summer of 755.[30] There is mention, further, of the great administration of the military governments (or of an unspecified military government) which had been arranged in the presence of the Tibetan ruler in the summer of 741 at Zhang-tsal in Zho-don, i.e. 樹敦 Shu-tun (AC *źi̯u-tuân*[31]) to the west of modern 西寧 Hsi-ning.[32]

Thanks to the records of Tun-huang, Miran and Mazar Tagh, as well as to some texts of a different character, a far greater number of military governments are known for the period lasting from the end of the 8th century down to the disintegration of the Tibetan Empire and, sporadically, even down to subsequent centuries. From east to west, these military governments are as follows:

(a) *rMa-grom*, 'the military government of rMa-[chu]'. One learns about this unit from the introduction to the document Pelliot tibêtain 1089 where it is made clear that the same assembly of the bDe Councillors which had come to a decision on the dispute over rank among the functionaries of Sha-cu also suspended, among others, the authority of the treasurer and of the *slungs* of the military government of Rma (*dkor-pa-dang/slungs rMa-grom-pa*) (1.7).[33] It appears from Pelliot tibêtain 1082, a letter from a Uighur Khagan of Kan-chou written in Tibetan in the 10th century, that at that time rMa-grom was an independent political unit which had striven after an alliance with the khagan (11.9-10).[34] R.A. Stein proposes to connect this old military government - to all probability with good reason - with Ma-khrom and the region of Khrom, which were mentioned in connection with the travels of the 5th and 7th Karmapa and which were situated near the principality of Gling and the territory of mGo-log.[35]

(b) *dByar-mo-thang-khrom chen-po*. 'the great military government of dByar-mo-thang'. The existence of this government is borne out only by the *Prayers of the De-ga-g.Yu-tshal Monastery* (fol.33, *recto*, 1. 1: fol.34, *verso*, 1.3).[36] The location of the region dByar- (or g.Yar- or g.Yer-)mo-thang (which frequently occurs not only in the ancient records but also in the geographic literature and, especially, in the religious and heroic epic) was at all times thought to be found in the neighbourhood of Lake Ch'ing-hai;[37] it was, however, only recently that Richardson recognized the importance of the Zhol inscription in Lha-sa for a more exact location of dByar-mo-thang in the 8-9th centuries. Since, in the description of the conquest of Chinese territories between 758 and 763 this inscription mentions among others *rGya'i/ kha[ms]-su [gto]gs-pa dByar-mo-thang*, 'the Dbyar-mo-thang belonging to the Chinese country' (south side 11.32-33), there can exist no doubt, even given the incompleteness of the text, that dByar-mo-thang should be located east or north-east of Lake Ch'ing-hai.[38]

(c) *mKhar-tsan-khrom chen-po / mKhar-tsan-khrom / Khar-tsan-khrom / khrom mKhar-tsan-pa*, 'the (great) military government of (m)Khar-tsan'. The denominations of this unit are documented not only in Pelliot tibétain 1089 (11, 12,30,33,35) but also in the *Prayers of the De-ga-g.Yu-tshal Monastery* (fol. 38, *verso*, 11. 2-3; fol.39, *recto*, 1.3; fol.39, *verso*, 1.1).[39] It is 涼州 sufficient to say here that I identify mKhar-tsan with Liang-chou, i.e., with modern 武威 Wu-wei. I hope to discuss this more thoroughly in another place.

(d) *Kwa-cu-khrom chen-po / Kwa-cu-khrom / Kwa-cu'i khrom*, 'the (great) military government of Kwa-cu.[40] Apart from Kwa-cu (Kua-chou) in the stricter sense this government also included Sug-cu (Su-chou) and Sha-cu (Sha-chou), as discussed above.

(e) A military government which comprised the whole Lop Nor region. In all probability it bore the name of *Tshal-byi*, i.e. 薩毗 *Sa-p'i* (AC *sât-b'ji*[41]), although the denomination *Tshal-byi-khrom* has yet to be found. The assertions of Thomas on certain *khrom* bearing the alleged denominations *khrom Nob Chu-ngu* and *Sta-gu-khrom*[42] are founded on false interpretations of elliptic formulas and heavily damaged passages: they are therefore unacceptable. However, I shall not enter into details here as I hope in the near future to be in a position to conclude a paper on certain problems concerning Tibetan rule in the Lop Nor region.

(f) A military government of unknown name in the Kingdom of Khotan. Evidence on the existence of this government is found only in the occurence of the term *khrom* in several Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh concerning local affairs.[43] However, in the extremely fragmentary passage *[...] dbyild cung. rtse.khrom.du/su[...]* of M.Tagh a v 001, *recto* 1.3, I cannot see the name of this *khrom*, as Thomas did,[44] since *Dbyild* is easily demonstrated to be a clan name, and in my opinion the *dbyild.cung.tse* of M.Tagh a vi 006, *recto*, 1.2, can only be interpreted as a personal name.[45]

(g) *Bru-sha'i yul-gyi khrom*, 'the military government of the Bru-sha Country (i.e. Gilgit)'. This unit is only known from the colophon of the *rDo-rje bkod-pa'i rgyud rnal-'byor grub-pa'i lung kun-'dus rig-pa'i mdo* as the place where its translation was completed by Dha-rma-bo-dhi, Dā-na-ra-kshi*[sic!]*-ta and Che-btsan-skyes,[46] whose activities can be dated to approximately the 9th century according to the rNying-ma-pa tradition.[47]

5. In conclusion one can state that the *khrom* were military governments established in the borderlands, or at least in the eastern, northern and far-western frontier zones, which were of the greatest military importance for the Tibetan Empire. In the interior of the Empire there were no *khrom* and this is proved by the silence of the sources and also by the distinction made between the *so-khams-kyi khrom*, 'the military governments of the frontier-guard province(s)', and the *yul chen-po'i dbus*, 'the centre of the great country', in the *Prayers of the De-ga-g.Yu-tshal Monastery* (fol. 40, *verso*, *1.3*).[48]

## Notes

1. Thomas, 1955, p.118 and the passages quoted there; Bacot, 1940-1946, p.51 and n.4; Lalou, 1955, pp.199, 201-202; Stein, 1959a, p.218; Uray, 1960, p.39, n; Stein, 1962, p.216; Petech, 1967, p.253; Richardson, 1978, p. 149.
2. Macdonald, 1971, p.325. I used to adopt this translation myself: Uray, 1975, p.168.
3. Quoted from microfilm. Cf. Lalou, 1950, p.57, where, however, *Sug-chu* is read, and the end of the formula is not quoted.
4. For occurences of the name *Kwa-cu/-chu* see Lalou, 1955, pp.199-200; Thomas-Conze, 1963, p.40.
5. Karlgren, 1957, nos.41/a + 1086/a-c.
6. Hamilton, 1955, p.26, Anm.5, and esp., Hamilton, 1958, pp.124-125.
7. Hackin, 1924, pp.37*, 26-27, 40, 82; Thomas, 1951, p.49-50 (misinterpreted here); Thomas, 1955, p.32 (already correct here); Lalou, 1950, pp.66, 83, 84 (nos. 1129, 1211, 1212).
8. Karlgren, 1957, nos. 1028/a-b + 1086/a-c.
9. Hamilton, 1955, p.29, n; Hamilton, 1958, p.128.
10. *Annals* II-1,11. 13-14; cf. Thomas, 1940-1946, pp.56, 63.
11. Stein, 1959a, p.209, n.34; Stein, 1959b, p.30.
12. Lalou, 1955, pp.176-177, 180-182, 193. - Also in 1.30 of the record a military head is mentioned in connection with the *khrom* of mKhar-tsan; in my opinion, however, the passage admits of various interpretations.
13. Lalou, 1955, pp.178, 183, 199.
14. Lalou, 1955, p.199.
15. In any case, one has to emphasize the point that besides the chief officials of the *khrom*, those of military units of other degrees and sizes were also designated as *dmag-pon* 'military head'; this is true also for the document under discussion (11. 26, 42, 67, 69, 70, 72; cf. Lalou, 1955, pp.177-179, 181, 183-185, 193). Since, however, a *khrom* of Kwa-cu did exist, the military head of Kwa-cu can have been nothing else but the chief official of this *khrom*.
16. Karlgren, 1957, nos.16/a-c + 1086/a-c.
17. Lalou, 1955, pp.175, 176, 178-179, 180, 183-185 and, especially,pp.191, 203; Thomas, 1951, pp.339-340.
18. Thomas, 1951, pp.135, 193, 211, 297-298, 403, 449-450, 451. For identification of the towns of the Lop Nor region see Hamilton, 1958, p.120; Hamilton, 1977, pp.357-358, 361.
19. On the office of the *koṭṭapāla* and its history see Majumdar, 1966, p. 275. For this datum I owe thanks to my friend Gy. Wojtilla.
20. Lalou, 1955, pp.199, 203.
21. Demiéville, 1952, pp.259 and n.2.- *Tu-tu* (AC *tuo-tuok*; Karlgren, 1957, nos. 45/e'-g'+ 1031/n) was borrowed by the Tibetan in the form *to-dog*, yet the function of this office in the Tibetan administration is unfortunately not known.
22. Demiéville, 1952, pp.260-264, 276-278; Lalou, 1955, p.199.
23. Des Rotours, 1948, p.670; p.825, n.2. For *chieh-tu-shih* see Pulleyblank, 1955, pp.68-69; pp. 106-107, n.13; and, especially, pp.149-152, n.32, for a detailed discussion of the opinions referring thereto.
24. Demiéville, 1952, p.240 and n.6; p.242, n.2; p.243 and n.5.
25. Demiéville, 1952, p.241, n.

26. Karlgren, 1957, nos.399/e-f + 873/a-d.
27. Demiéville, 1952, p.261, n.2; p.281, n.6. Cf. also Lalou, 1955, p.203.
28. Demiéville, 1952, p.217, n.
29. *Annals*, I. 1. 68. In Bacot, 1940-1946, p.15; p.34 and n.8, misinterpreted. For a correct interpretation see Stein, 1952, p.84; Stein, 1959a, pp.196-197, 293-294 and, especially, p.314, n.136; Stein, 1962, p.216.
30. *Annals*, I, 11. 146-147; cf. Bacot, 1940-1946, pp.19, 40. Also the passages quoted above, n.10-11.
31. Karlgren, 1957, nos. 127/j-1 + 464/p-q.
32. *Annals*, I. 11. 285-286; cf. Bacot, 1940-1946, pp.26, 51; Petech, 1967, pp. 253. For the location of Shu-tun see especially Molè, 1970, pp.121-122, n. 206; p.140, n.337.
33. Lalou, 1955, pp.176, 180. Interpretation of the passage according to Uray, 1975, p.160.
34. Quoted from a microfilm. Cf. Stein,1959a, p.209, n.34; Stein, 1959b, p.30. An edition of this letter with a commentary is in preparation for a volume of the *Monumenta Tibetica Historica*.
35. Stein, 1959a, p.209, n.34; pp.213, 215, 218; Stein, 1959b, p.30.
36. Macdonald-Imaeda, 1978, pl. 12-13; cf. Thomas, 1955, p.46; Stein, 1959a, p.294.
37. Thomas, 1951, p.106; Thomas, 1955, pp.42, 46; Stein, 1959a, pp.186, 196, 198; p.207, n.11; p.209, n.34; pp.287, 294; p.303, n.29; Stein, 1959b, p. 52, and n. 147; pp.67, 68; p.71, n.203; p.73; Wylie, 1962, p.112 and p. 201, n.822-823; cf. also p.105 and p.190, n.697.
38. Richardson, 1952, pp.17, 20; p.23, n.19; Richardson, 1978, p.149 (however, I believe a location of the region to the north of the lake is improbable).
39. Thomas, 1951, pp.95-96, 102; Lalou, 1955, pp.176-177, 180-182, 201-202.
40. For the various forms of denomination for this government see Thomas, 1951, pp.21, 73, 75, 96-97, 103; Lalou, 1950, p.57, no.1088.
41. Csongor, 1960, no.687 + Karlgren, 1957, no.566/u.
42. Thomas, 1951, pp.143-144, 153, 158-160, 248, 290.
43. Thomas, 1951, pp.219, 382, 411-412, 415, 466.
44. Thomas, 1951, p.219.
45. Thomas, 1951, pp.219, 255-256.
46. *Tibetan Tripitaka*, text no.452; Vol.9, 1956, p.204-5, 11. 3-4, cf. Pelliot, 1914, p.149, where *khrom* is understood as a place name.
47. Cf. Dargyay, 1977, pp.41-43.
48. Thomas, 1951, pp.97-103.

## Bibliography and Abbreviations


*AC:* Ancient Chinese.

*ANNALS* I: *The Royal Annals of Tibet*, Version I; mss. Pelliot tibētain 1288 (previously 252) + Ch. 79 viii 7 (India Office Library, Tun-huang, no. 750); quoted from a microfilm.

*ANNALS* II-1: *The Royal Annals of Tibet*, Version II, Copy 1; British Library ms. Or. 8212 (187); quoted from a microfilm.

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**PRELIMINARY RESULTS FROM A STUDY OF TWO RASĀYANA SYSTEMS IN INDO-TIBETAN ESOTERISM**

**Michael L. Walter**

The purpose of this paper is to describe and contrast two systems of alchemical practice found in rNying-ma literature. The general observations made about these systems may shed some light on the role of alchemy and medicine in Tantrism from the 8th century on.

First, a few preliminary remarks. The compounding of elixirs and tonics on the one hand, and the transmutation of base metals into gold on the other, are referred to in most Indian traditions by the term *rasāyana*. In Indian medicine the creation of such elixirs is very old, attested already in the *Caraka-* and *Suśruta-saṃhitā*. Metallic transmutation under this term dates from at least the 8th century, and is best represented in Śaivite materials such as the *Rasārṇava-tantra*. In addition to this latter development, there were other adaptations of *rasāyana* techniques within Tantrism. As a result of this, when it is listed as one of the *siddhis* marking a yogin's success (especially among the Nāths and Siddhācāryas and related groups[1]), it is often unclear exactly what *rasāyana* is supposed to denote. The vagueness is accentuated because this power is frequently listed formulaically.[2]

1. Two figures of paramount importance to Tibetan religious culture have played decisive roles in the interpretation of *rasāyana*. We refer here to Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra, 8th century contemporaries who dominate rNying-ma traditions. Using materials from the *bKa'-'gyur* and such rNying-ma collections as the *sNying-thig-ya-bzhi* and the *rNying-ma'i-rgyud-'bum* we present here a very brief look at their systems.[3]

Let us look first at the system in Padmaist literature. Our examination reveals that it is almost completely oriented around the extraction of essences (*rasas*) from the physical elements of the universe (the *mahābhūtas* of Indian cosmogony and Ayurvedic doctrine) and a few other substances. Padmasambhava delivers these teachings as a mediator for, or is to be evoked as a form of, Amitāyus. There are also several texts which mention the conjuring of eight immortal magicians which emanate from Amitāyus.[4] The process is as follows: 'In the south there appears the magician Mañjuśrī(-mitra), who comes from the sphere of activity of 'Jam-dpal-sku.[5] When he extracts the essence of the element earth it floats up from the flesh element of the yogin's body and collects in the realm (*klong*) of Buddhalocanā (one of the 'goddesses of the elements'[6]). It then enters the column of eternal life-force of the yogin ...' The process is the same for each of the other elements, and all conclude with the statement that the yogin has attained a *siddhi* over the forces of life and death.[7]

Two particular points to note in this *sādhana* are its utilization of Āyurvedic principles of corporeal development and its statement of the *bhūta-(vi-)śuddhi* concept. The latter are usually preliminary Tantric rituals for cleansing the body's constituent elements; in the present text it has become a distinctly alchemical process.[8]

In another text, directly attributed to Padmasambhava, there are discussed the recognition, acquisition, and use of 'the essence of the rock element' (*'byung ba'i rdo*). Methods for preparing and ingesting it with the proper meditational practices are given. The eighth section of this *upadeśa*, where the results of its application are described, is particularly interesting.[9] We read, *inter alia*, that: 'Gradually it becomes no longer necessary for one to develop or to deteriorate (physically)... all struggling after food, clothing, and nourishment ceases. Within seven or eight days the flesh on the

the body diminishes (*'bri*) and a slight aroma arises. After more than ten days new flesh develops; it is inflated greatly (showing the strength of his *prāṇa*?), white, lustrous, and smooth. Developing an aversion to food, one's intelligence (*shes pa, jñāna*) brightens, his senses become acute, the spirit is purified and meditation is benefitted ... When one's *rasāyana* practice is complete ... the yogin knows no fatigue; his body moves over regions at will and no vermin appear on it. In addition to being soft and white like cotton, his body possesses a warmth which burns like fire ...; because his spirit is so purified, thoughts of bright light (*'od gsal, prabhāsvara*) and of the supernatural mental powers (*abhijñās, mngon shes*) arise in his mind ...'[10]

This text ends, as do several others of similar content 'revealed' by Padmasambhava, with a list of those places in Tibet where this material occurs or where he has hidden this potion for the sake of others.

Quite a different ambience surrounds the alchemical work described in texts transmitted by Vimalamitra, and two factors are largely responsible for their form and content. First, they are from the Lung Anuyoga vehicle of rNying-ma practice, the eighth of their nine yogic stages.[11] At the same time, these texts are central to the *bDud-rtsi-yon-tan-snying-thig*, one of the eight cycles of bKa'-brgyad teachings, several of which were disseminated by magicians listed in the *sādhana* discussed above.[12]

In Vimalamitra's texts one finds no discussion of the process of extracting the essences from the universal elements. Instead, one finds a system centred on *bodhicitta* as the foundation of reality. Its production and perfection become then the product of sexual and alchemical practices.[13] Most of the recipes in Vimala's works aim either at procuring a particular *siddhi* for the yogin, or at fixing the *bodhicitta* (and consequently the body) like a *vajra*, which at one and the same time signifies the attainment of the ultimate in a Vajrayāna system as well as physical immortality.[14]

Fixing the *bodhicitta* is the yogic process of controlling one's flow of semen on a physical level, which develops along with attaining the state of *mahāsukha* (*nirvāṇa*) as the ultimate spiritual goal. Arresting the flow of semen, achieved in ritual union with a consecrated consort, is the essence of the ritual teachings of the Lung Anuyoga vehicle. The texts translated by Vimala thus combine this view of *bodhicitta* as the *materia prima* with the most sexual aspects of Tantric teachings,[15] and we see *bodhicitta* as identical to the *rasa* in Padmasambhava's rather more abstract system.[16]

Other points of distinction may be drawn between these systems. First of all, there is a large element of magic (occasionally verging on black magic) in some of Vimala's recipes;the power to kill is taught, for example,[17] and organs from human bodies are used to attain powers. Also, Vimala's materials openly acknowledge the important positions held by Caraka, Ātreya, the Aśvins and ṛṣis and other Hindu figures from Indian medicine in this complete medico-alchemical system, even though in the *saṃgīti* they are of course shown to be learning their craft from Samantabhadra.[18] In contrast, the Padmaist materials - not unexpectedly - centre upon him, and reference to other figures is basically limited to Amitāyus or the magicians who emanate from him.[19]

2. Now that we have shown the contrasting characters of these systems, let us turn to a very brief examination of how they relate to the Indian conceptions which underlie them. Padma's *rasāyana* system is a function of his role as a 'second Buddha' (*sangs rgyas gnyis pa*) combined with a Tantric application of Āyurvedic notions. In the third chapter of the *Lha-'dre-bka'-thang*, for instance, various forms of Padmasambhava create elixirs to aid non-human sentients.[20] This is analogous to the aid brought by the earth goddess Dṛḍhā when, in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, she vows to extract the essence from earth

to nourish and strengthen beings.[21] Also, we have the story in Padma-gling-pa's biography of Padmasambhava and in a chapter from the *rGyal-po-bka'i-thang-yig* in which Padma brings the elixir of life to Tibet, but must hide it for posterity because Khri-srong-lde-btsan and others are not spiritually prepared to receive it.[22] In such scenes the alchemical notions are clearly more allegorical than literal in purpose, to express the 'saviour' aspect of Padma's actions. However, in those texts where the alchemical process is quite literal, it rests on a Tantric (i.e., macrocosmic/microcosmic) interpretation of the role of *rasas* in Indian medicine: there are nutritive fluids within the human body, so also do they exist without. Padma's system seeks to harmonize these essential essences to bring the yogin's body into harmony with the universe. More materials will have to be studied, however, before a more detailed analysis of this process can be presented.[23]

In contrast, Vimala's *rasāyana* materials are in the tradition of the alchemy of the Siddhācāryas and, to a lesser extent, the Nāths, being basically a combination of *hatha-yoga* and Tantric doctrine aimed at attaining certain *siddhi* and the physical state of *jīvanmukti*, with its unchangeable human form as a goal.[24] The most noticeable addition Vimala's materials make to this system is a body of rDzogs-chen terminology and concepts integrated into this process. How these two streams have so flowed together is another topic for further study.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it is hoped that the findings presented here will contribute to a comprehensive definition of Tantric medicine, one which includes criteria such as the ingestion of drugs to strengthen the yogin and procure the *siddhi* for him, as well as directly bringing him to the final goal. This will give a historical and spiritual dimension supplementing some recent articles providing materials from anthropologically-oriented interviews.[25] In this way the study of the history of science in India and Tibet will be drawn closer together, helping to illuminate their interconnections as well as their distinctive features.

## Notes

1. Materials which provide a general orientation to these developments include Shashibhusan Das Gupta's *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1969); Priyadaranjan Ray, 'Origin and Tradition of Alchemy,' *Indian Journal of the History of Science* II, 1967. pp.1-22 (especially pp.14ff), and D.M. Bose, S.N.Sen, and B.V. Subbarayappa, edd., *A Concise History of Science in India* (New Delhi, 1971), pp.263-349.
2. Such as when the *Sādhanamālā* mentions a *rasarasāyana siddhi* (as edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* Nos. 26 & 41, Baroda 1925-28, p.350), or when a famous yogin's biography speaks of *sman gyi bcud len, bdud rtsi bum pa*, and *gser 'gyur gyi rtsi* as separate *siddhi* (gZhon-nu-dpal reporting on Mitra-yogin in his *Deb-ther-sngon-po* as translated by George N. Roerich (Calcutta, 1949), p.1036).
3. The following Padmaist materials have been utilized: *Lha-'dre-bka'-'thang* (published in an edition of the *bKa'-thang-sde-lnga* made at Paro,Bhutan, in 1976) (abbr.: *Lha*); *Byung-ba-rdo'i-bcud-len* (found in Volume three of the *sNying-thig-ya-bzhi* published at Delhi in 1971); (abbr.;*rDo*); and *Rig-'dzin-tshe-sgrub-bdud-rtsi-bum-bcud* (found in Volume one, *Klong-chen-snying-gi-thig-le*, New Delhi, 1973) (abbr.:*Rig*).
   The following materials transmitted by Vimalamitra are quoted: *Thams-cad-bdud-rtsi-lnga'i-rang-bzhin-dngos-grub-chen-po-nye-ba'i-snying-po-mchog-bam-po-brgyad-pa*, found in all *bKa'-'gyur*; sDe-dge pagination is followed (abbr.:*Bam-po*); and, *rGyud-kyi-rgyal-po-chen-po-dpal-bdud-rtsi-rol-pa* (found in Volume eighteen of the *rNying-ma'i-rgyud-'bum*) (abbr.: *Rol-pa*).
4. *Rig* represents a sādhana by which, through Padma's mediation, one visualizes and gathers in certain life-essences (*tshe bcud*) which enable Amitāyus to enter the body of the yogin: *tshe dbang rig 'dzin padma 'byung ... thugs kar ... rgyal ba rig 'dzin drang srong gi: tshe bcud bsdus la bcud du 'dril: tshe dpag med pas tham gyis gang:* (1v-2r). (See note 19 below).
5. On Mañjuśrī(-mitra)/'Jam-dpal-bshes-gnyen, see note 19 below and Eva Dargyay's *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (New Delhi, 1977), page 20. 'Jam-dpal-sku designates Mañjuśrī in his function as the physical manifestation of all Buddhas and includes an entourage of other deities. It has not yet been explained why the first five of the eight bKa'-brgyad deities represent *sku/gsung/thugs/yon-tan/'phrin-las*, but note the interpretations given by Li An-che, 'Rniṅ-ma-pa; the Early Form of Lamaism,' *JRAS*, 1948, p.147; Eva Neumaier, 'bKa'-brgyad raṅ-byuṅ-raṅ-sar,ein rJogs-c'en Tantra,' *ZDMG* 120/1970, p.145n; and René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (Graz, 1977 reprint), p.320.
6. On the creative aspect of the goddesses of the elements, see Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras; Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism* (New York, 1973), p.215.
7. *Rig*, 2v-3r: *lho nas rig 'dzin manydzu shri :'jam dpal sku yi klong nas bzhengs : 'byung ba sa yi bcud bsdus la : sha yi khams nas yar ba'i tshe : sangs rgyas spyan ma'i klong du skyil : 'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs : ... skye 'chi med pa'i dngos sgrub stsol :*
8. A brief discussion of the elemental theories is B.V. Subbarayappa, 'The Indian Doctrine of the Five Elements,' *The Indian Journal of the History of Science* 1/1966, pp.60-67.

A comprehensive study of the concept of cleansing the elements would also be valuable; note the methods given in Arthur Avalon's translation of the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (*Tantra of the Great Liberation*, London, 1913), pp.cvii and 75f with that in Ferdinand Lessing and Alex Wayman's *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague/Paris, 1968), pp.231-33.

9. The other sections of *rDo* are concerned with examining different sorts of rocks, gathering them, creating the elixir, ingesting it, the pledge which accompanies it, evil forces which are averted, and places where the elixir has been hidden (*rdo brtag pa, rdo thu ba, byin gyis rlob pa, bza' thabs, dam tshig, gegs sel, rdo khungs bstan pa*).

10. *rDo*, 105r-v: *rdo 'di za ba'i dus su rim gyis bskyed 'bri mi dgos : ... lta gos dang zas kyi rtsol 'chad : zhag bdun brgyad na lus kyi sha 'bri zhing dri chung chags : bcu lhag nas shed chen po skye : sha skye drag pa 'bud : dkar la dangs shing snum pa'o : zas kyi zhen la ldog : shes pa dangs dbang po gsal : rigs pa dangs dge sbyor la bogs thon : ... bcud len 'byongs pas ... ngal ba mi yong : lus yang zhing mgyogs : lus la srog chags mi 'byung : lus shing bal ltar dkar la 'jam zhing yang : dod* (read *drod*) *me ltar du 'bar ba yod : ... rig pa dwangs nas mngon shes dang 'od gsal gyi nyams skye :*

11. Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa gives us a list of the tantras of this vehicle in the eighty-fifth chapter of his biography of Padma, *U-rgyan-gu-ru-padma-'byung-gnas-kyi-rnam-thar-rgyas-pa-gser-gyi-phreng-ba-thar-lam-gsal-bued* (published at Varanasi, n.d.), folio 210r-v. In addition to the *Bam-po* and *Rol-pa* (see note 3 above), the *sGyu-'phrul-drwa-ba-chen-po*, also translated by Vimala, is listed there.

12. On the bKa'-brgyad in general, see the works of Neumaier and Dargyay in note 5 above, especially the latter, pp.33ff. The eminent scholar dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba states that there are nine tantras concerned with *bdud rtsi yon tan*, 'the virtues of the elixir': *bdud rtsi rol pa / bam po brgyad pa sogs bdud rtsi yon tan gyi rgyud dgu* (p.241 of the *gSang sngags rnying ma'i chos 'byung*, chapter three in Part I of the *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston of Dpaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag*, New Delhi, 1959. *Śata-piṭaka*, Volume 9.)

13. On the sexual orientation of Anuyoga, see Giuseppe Tucci's description on pages 97ff of Tucci and Walther Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart, 1970.

14. As do the recipes at *Bam-po* 204v (*shi la mdza tu* (bitumen - mlw) *zhes / ra sa ya na bdud rtsi'i mchog / ...* (mixed properly) *... de yi yon tan brjod mi lang / rdo rje brag dang 'drar 'gyur te*) and at *Bam-po* 206v (*de yi yon tan thams cad kyang / rus pa sra mkhregs rdo rjer 'gyur*).

15. That most excellent *rasāyana* is the one produced during intercourse within the *maṇḍala;* it is made of menstrual blood and semen *(bodhicitta)*: (the consort) *dkyil 'khor nang du gzhag par bya / 'dzag pa'i dus su sbyar ba yi / khrag chen po ni sems dang bcas / ra sa ya na'i gtso bor bya'o / (Bam-po*, 215r): *Rol-pa* (270v) refers to this mixture slightly differently: *dkyil 'khor gnas su nye bar sbyar / 'dzag pa'i bdud rtsi ra sa yan /*. Such bringing together of the *rakta* and *bodhicitta* is referred to as 'churning the *sūrbakānta* and *candrakānta*', which are *upaya* and *prajñā: bsrubs pa'i 'bras bu rin po che me shel chu shel gnyis byung ba / de yang thabs dang shes rab ste / (Bam-po*, 204v-05r).

16. 'Within the body, it is the *bodhicitta* which is the most important and, at the same time, the most restless *rasa*, and the attempt to carry it upwards to the topmost station lies in converting it into a hard element(*vajra*), thus destroying its restless character. Outside it is mercury (*pārada*)

which symbolizes the *bodhicitta* ... The two methods, the esoteric and exoteric, were complementary.' (P.C. Bagchi, 'The Cult of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas,' *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Volume IV (Calcutta, 1969), p.279.

17. As at *Bam-po*, 206r.
18. *Bam-po* 230r-v; *Rol-pa* 240r-v.
19. It is quite clear that these eight magicians have been assimilated by later Padmaist traditions; several were central to rDzogs-chen tradition. In addition to Vimalamitra, Klu-sgrub-snying-po, Pra-bha-ha-sti, and 'Jam-dpal-bshes-gnyen (see above, note 5), are evoked in *Rig* (their position in rDzogs-chen transmission is noted in the *mKha'-'gro-snying-thig-gi-lo-rgyus-rin-po-che'i-phreng-ba*, folio 242v (*sNying-thig-ya-bzhi*, Volume three, New Delhi, 1971). The later claim that they emanate from Amitāyus links them to Padma/Amitāyus: it is as an earthly representative of that deity that Padma is empowered to teach alchemical techniques (*'od mi 'gyur ba tshe dpag med pa dngos : o rgyan padma 'byung gnas ... - Lha,* 8r).
20. The chapter ends thus: ... *dbang gi 'byung gnas rdo yi bcud len mdzad : 'phrin las 'byung gnas rlung gi bcud len mdzad : la la 'dabs chags khri : la la rmig zlum la la dbrag khri : dud 'gro'i don mdzad pa'i le'u ste gsum pa'o / (Lha,* 4v).
21. First, Dṛḍhā vows to satisfy herself with an 'imbibing' of the *dharma*, after which she will moisten the earth with that nectar and it will bring longevity and health to sentients: *ātmānaṁ cānena dharmasravaṇena dharma-mṛtarasena saṁtarpayiṣyāmi ... pṛthivīmaṇḍalam snigdhena pṛthivīrasena snehiṣyāmi ... āyurbalavarṇendriyāṇi vivardhayiṣyanti (Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra,* edited by S.Bagchi, Darbhanga, Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series No. 8, p.64).
22. Padma-gling-pa's biography is entitled *O-rgyan-padma-'byung-gnas-kyi-'khrungs-rabs-sangs-rgyas-bstan-pa'i-chos-'byung-mun-sel-sgron-me* (published at Delhi, 1978), pp.118-123 of Volume two. The *rGyal-po-bka' i-thang-yig* is found with *Lha* in the edition given in note three. Padma's story is on folios 108r-113r.
23. An important author who tried to integrate Padma's and Vimala's systems, but seems to have leaned to the former's approach, is Klong-chen-rab-byams-pa. Several treatises in his *Klong-chen-snying-gi-thig-le* are valuable for their alchemical contents.
24. See especially on this topic Das Gupta, *op.cit.*, pp.251-55.
25. We are thinking here of William Stablein's 'A Medical-cultural system among the Tibetan and Newar Buddhists: Ceremonial Medicine,' *Kailash* 1/1973, pp.193-203, and the same author's 'Tantric Medicine and Ritual Blessings.' *The Tibet Journal* 1/1976, Nos.3 & 4, pp.55-69.

# TSONG-KHA-PA ON *KUN-RDZOB BDEN-PA*

Paul M. Williams

The doctrine of the Buddhas according to Nāgārjuna rests on two levels of truth - the everyday conventional truth and the ultimate truth.[1] Without recourse to the former the latter cannot be reached; without distinguishing between these two levels one cannot really understand the Buddha's teaching.[2] There seems to be no reason to doubt that by the level of conventional truth (*saṃvṛtisatya/kun-rdzob bden-pa*) Nāgārjuna meant firstly that everyday world as it is presented to our senses in ordinary cognition, and secondly the interpretive or analytic world into which the Abhidharma had analysed sensory experience. Commentators up to at least the time of Candrakīrti seem to find little problem here - Prāsaṅgikas, Svātantrikas and modern commentators alike are united in referring to conventional truth as, in the words of T.R.V. Murti, 'depending... on what is usually accepted by the common folk ... the truth that does not do any violence to what obtains in our everyday world, being in close conformity with linguistic conventions and ideas ... the object of the ignorant and the immature.'[3] Bhāvaviveka gives such examples as '*Dharmas* arise, are stable and cease', and also ordinary statements such as 'Devadatta goes'.[4] Candrakīrti refers to the whole range of cognition and its objects, language and its referents.[5] Asked for an example of an entity which gains its status from *kun-rdzob bden-pa* the most common case cited by Tibetan commentators is that of a pot.[6] For Madhyamaka religiosity within the framework of its systematic anti-ontology the importance was to emphasise the everyday world as a ground upon which religious activity leading to the cognition of the ultimate could occur.

According to the Svātantrika Jñānagarbha in his *Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikā* conventional truth equals the object as it appears (*ji-ltar snang-ba*), in contrast to the object as it is understood through critical reasoning (*rigs-pa*), which is the ultimate truth.[7] In his *Pañjikā* subcommentary Śāntarakṣita explains that a pot is true conventionally although it is not ultimately real.[8] It is, the *svavṛtti* asserts, held to be a real referent (*dngos-po'i don*) in conformity with perception - Śāntarakṣita observes that for both learned and fools a pot is veridical conventional truth in conformity with their intellectual awareness of it.[9] For everyday truth appearance equals existence, non-appearance the reverse.[10]

It has, of course, been a common position among philosophers the world over that no matter how doubtful I may be about the exact status of the cognitive referent yet nevertheless I cannot doubt that I am being presented to in a particular manner, that there is something - a blue patch, for example - which I am perceiving. Even for the Mādhyamaka some status must be given to the object of everyday perception otherwise not only would it be impossible to deny that *x* has real, fundamental existence, but also religious activity would become quite impossible. In the case of the Svātantrika we find that, in spite of his being a 'transcendental' (Kant) Mādhyamika, there is a radical realism as regards the veridical status of our cognitive referents. Cognition is directed to something, and that thing is true inasmuch as it is given for an everyday, that is, non-ultimate, consciousness. Indeed it is just because it is an intentional referent that an entity is included under conventional truth - what does not appear as the object of an everyday intentional act must be either ultimate or a fictional like the hare's horn. As in the case of more recent realists such as Meinong and Brentano, the Svātantrikas faced a problem over the status of hallucinatory referents, or those entities which Brentano called '*entia rationis*'. In his *svavṛtti* to the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*-

*Karikā* Jñānagarbha takes note of an opponent who observes that if all is true as it appears so there can be no distinction between a pot and the erroneous perception of two moons.[11] His reply is in effect to admit that inasmuch as it appears, an object comes under *kun-rdzob bden-pa* regardless of whether it is real or not. In this he is really following Bhāvaviveka who, in his *Madhyamārthasaṃgraha*, divided conventional *bden-pa* into true and false *bden-pa*, a position which makes the usual translation of *'satya'* and *'bden-pa'* by 'truth' problematic since it is hard to see how there can be false conventional truth.[12] It is clear that in their treatment of *bden-pa* the Svātantrikas at least were concerned to apply the term to anything which can be given as the object of a conscious act - *bden-pa* is borne by the intentional referent *qua* referent and not by a proposition as truth is in contemporary Western philosophy.[13]

But there is a phenomenological distinction between having an hallucination and an everyday veridical perception, and Jñānagarbha notes this fact in an attempt to escape from the position he has created for himself. Briefly the distinction between hallucination and truth is made in the world, where it is not maintained that pot and two moons have the same status.[14] Such will, of course, scarcely help since it is incumbent upon him not to state the fact but to explain how this can be the case on his premises. Following once more Bhāvaviveka, Jñānagarbha notes that an object is true according to the world, according to fools, if it has pragmatic function.[15] That is, in the world truth has nothing to do with epistemological status, we cannot deny that we are perceiving something when we are perceiving it, even if it later fails to cohere and thereby turns out to be hallucinatory. The Svātantrika position is based on the fact that if we are faced by something which we think may be an hallucination there are certain ways of testing and reaching a conclusion. Macbeth, as is well known, suffered from hallucinations. Was the dagger he saw before his eyes a particular sort of dagger - an hallucinatory one - a particular sort of hallucination - a dagger-shaped one - or a totally non-existent entity? For the Svātantrika it was the first. Macbeth's dagger was an hallucination because he could not grasp it, he could not cut with it and so on. But he had no reason to doubt that it was a dagger which he saw before his eyes, and - herein lies the strong form of the Svātantrika claim - it was a dagger which is as it appears and not otherwise.

Tsong-kha-pa, in his *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā* 24:8 quotes from verse 12 of Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikā* in which Jñānagarbha establishes true and false convention on a pragmatic basis and comments, 'For this school one who is possessed of nescience (cognises) all which appears as established with its own characteristic (*svalakṣaṇasiddha,* equals *svabhāvasiddha*). Because that cognition is accepted as it appears when admixed with nescience so there is no distinction drawn between correct and incorrect conventional referents.'[16] The object has status as it appears, and it appears as bearing an essential nature, as being, at least for the world, what it is. For the Svātantrika the distinction of veridical and non-veridical is not dependent upon the object cognised but upon what can be done with it. As regards the epistemological situation no distinction can be drawn. It is clear that for Tsong-kha-pa the opposition to this position must necessarily centre on the conception of a conventional entity existing as it appears (*ji-ltar snang-ba*); by 'as it appears' he is particularly concerned with the category of *svabhāvasiddha*, established with a self-essence.

In his little work, the *rTsa-she'i dka'-gnas brgyad* Tsong-kha-pa observes that the Svātantrikas are precisely those who maintain that while they do not exist ultimately, nevertheless *svabhāvas* (*rang-bzhin*)are granted conventionally. The two Prāsaṅgika teachers Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti deny that the *svabhāva*

is established even conventionally.[17] The question arises as to whether Tsong-ha-pa views the entity which appears to everyday cognition as appearing to have a self-essence inasmuch as it so appears. In treating sense-perception in his *Lam-rim chen-mo* he quotes from Candrakīrti on *Catuḥśataka* 13:301 that an entity which is established in one manner appears as if established in another.[18] Elaborating elsewhere he states, 'Those five sense-objects, form, sound and so on, being not proved as having their own characteristics, yet nevertheless appear to sensory cognitions as (proved) with their own characteristics.'[19] Since they are not actually so, he comments, we should perceive the objects which are given in a sensory cognition as illusions. Moreover even things which the world has accepted for ages, if they are considered by those who are possessed of nescience to have a self-essence, then these things do not exist even conventionally.[20] Again, 'things as they are apprehended by nescience do not exist even conventionally, because nescience superimposes on entities a self-essence which is established with its own form, and such a self-essence does not exist even in everyday commerce.'[21] This nescience is that which apprehends self-essences, it is the nescience of those who are possessed of defilement, those who do not see all as contingent and illusory, those who are neither *arhats, pratyekabuddhas* nor *bodhisattvas* above the seventh *bhūmi*.[22] In his *dBu-ma dgongs-pa rab-gsal* commentary on *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6:25 Tsong-kha-pa states that 'as a reflection and so on do not exist as objects according to the way they appear so also blue and so on which appear as proved with their own characteristic for those who are ignorant do not exist as objects according to the way they appear.'[23] The sense-datum theorist who wishes to reach some sort of Cartesian certainty about the immediate datum of sensory experience must be wary of failing to make the distinction between what appears and how it appears. Tsong-kha-pa is not denying here that blue is given and has a status in everyday perception, but what he is denying is that it exists the way it is given. To deny that an entity has a *svabhāva* is to indicate not what is seen but the way to take what is seen. For Tsong-kha-pa the referent as it actually is conventionally is part of a network of relationships, where the entity, like a phoneme, gains its status solely in terms of a system of structural oppositions. Nothing is complete in itself and it is this very incompleteness which points beyond any one given seen conventionally as it is - both to the other entities which 'horizontally' make up the conventional realm and also to the completeness which is the ultimate truth.

It is clear, I think, that what is given in everyday perception is given for Tsong-kha-pa as having this completeness, as being an in-itself, possessed of self-essence, and this he denies even conventionally. Rgyal-tshab in his *Spyod-'jug rnam-bshad* on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 9:2 notes that the difference between the Mādhyamaka and the realists, including the Svātantrikas, as regards the everyday world is that while both sides apprehend and give a status to the world of sensory experience, the realists see it as really established and not as empty and illusory,as does the Madhyamaka.[24] The point is that everyday perception, the objects of our everyday world, that which, in Murti's words, 'is usually accepted by the common folk', those who are 'ignorant and immature', is not *kun-rdzob bden-pa* as far as Tsong-kha-pa is concerned. Conventional truth must be taken as equalling not truth according to the world or the conventional realm but rather truth of or in the world. Certainly the *Lam-rim chen-mo* makes it clear that widely held contentions such as the belief in relative permanence, in a Self and Mine and so on are not true even conventionally, and these very beliefs are those which form the foundations of the everyday perception of a *pṛthagjana*.[25] In fact as one might expect given the role of conventional truth for the Mādhyamaka it is precisely the world understood

in accordance with articulated Buddhist religious teaching which is conventional truth. It is the world as unsatisfactory, impermanent and not-Self.

The Prāsaṅgika *locus classicus* for discussions of the exact status of everyday apprehension *vis-a-vis* conventional truth and the apprehension of the *Āryas* is Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on 6:28. In his *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* Tsong-kha-pa quotes from this commentary, 'Conventional truth is the stream of existence (constituted) by virtue of the nescience possessed of defilement. The *śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas* and *bodhisattvas* who have abandoned nescience possessed of defilement and who apprehend *saṃskāras* as existing after the manner of reflections and so on do not maintain that what has the nature of contingency (*bcos-ma*) is true, since there is not for them any erroneous conception regarding truth. Those things which delude fools for those who are not fools are *kun-rdzob-tsam* (simply conventional, i.e. not true), because they are dependently-originated like illusions and so on.'[26] One is reminded here of the Vijñānavāda *vijñaptimātra* and particularly of the expression *'sgyu-ma-tsam'* used to refer to appearance in Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakaprajñāvatāra*.[27] Note here that the category of nescience possessed of defilement does not cover all of nescience. Jayānanda in his *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* notes that there is nescience without defilement - this is obviously possessed by the two *arhats* and *bodhisattvas* above the seventh *bhūmi* who are not complete Buddhas.[28]

Tsong-kha-pa comments on this passage in his *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* that what is *not* being taught here is that those entities which are maintained as existent according to conventional truth are simply maintained as existent by nescience, while for those who have abandoned the nescience possessed of defilement they are not maintained as conventional truth.[29] This is the mistaken view held by an opponent in the *rTsa-she'i dka'-gnas brgyad*, and Tsong-kha-pa points out there that if such were the case the *Āryas* would not perceive conventional truth and therefore they could not draw the distinction between the two truths.[30] Here in the *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* he notes firstly that the referent which is apprehended by nescience possessed of defilement does not exist even according to worldly commerce (*tha-snyad*), that is, it is not included under conventional truth, while conventional truth is, of course, pervaded through and through with conventional status by definition. Moreover what is conventionally the case is not what appears to those with nescience possessed of defilement.[31] We have already seen that what appears to these beings is an entity as bearing its own essential characteristics and essence, and Tsong-kha-pa does not want to grant this even conventionally. Secondly from the position of the *Āryas* who have abandoned this defiled nescience, since the convention of those who crave for something to be truly established does not exist for these Āryas so *saṃskāras* are not maintained as true. Therefore the Āryas use the expression *'kun-rdzob-tsam'*.[32] The word *'tsam'*, Tsong-kha-pa explains, is used to overcome truth in the sense that a phenomenal entity is truly established, and not in order to deny conventional truth.[33] The essential direction of criticism is always towards the claim that what is given in everyday perception exists as it is given, that is, as it is presented to the ignorant, complete in itself, relatively permanent, to be desired or avoided. In the *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* Tsong-kha-pa continues by opposing all those - including of course the Svātantrikas - who maintain that entities exist in the everyday world as possessed of their own characteristics. Those who hold such a view are realists for the Prāsaṅgikas, they are wrong even conventionally because they do not perceive the everyday world under the aspect of illusion.

The expression *'kun-rdzob-tsam'* is thus used to refer to the everyday world as it is apprehended by the everyday perception of those who bear defiled

ignorance. This world is precisely not that of conventional truth. In his *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* Jayānanda notes that there are two sorts of *kun-rdzob-tsam; 'jig-rten kun-rdzob tsam* such as everyday illusions, and the *kun-rdzob-tsam* which is seen by the *Āryas* when they perceive appearance - that is, at this level when they perceive appearance according to the mode in which it appears.[34] Note here that the word *bden-pa* is kept strictly for some sort of truth, unlike the position which we saw in the case of the Svātantrikas. To this extent it is clear that the word takes on different meanings in the two Madhyamaka schools. The *svabhava* apprehended by fools, Jayānanda notes, is just a case of *kun-rdzob tsam*. In the *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho* Tsong-kha-pa quotes Candrakīrti's comment on *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6:28 that the ultimate (*don-dam*) of the *pṛthagjana* is the simply conventional (*kun-rdzob-tsam*) of the *Āryas*.[35] For the *pṛthagjana*, he observes, a pot and so on are truly established, and this means that they have ultimate existence. This is the way of the world, the empirical approach, for which the world of everyday sensual experience is final, self-established and complete.[36] The pot, says Tsong-kha-pa, is truly established for them, it is not a conventional object. But the pot which is ultimately established for them appears to the *Aryas* as like an illusion and is thus not ultimate but conventional. Dependent upon this sort of cognition since it is not truly maintained, it is simply conventional.[37] The pot can certainly not be ultimate for the *Āryas*, since it is not found when searched for in the light of critical analytic cognition.[38] It is clear that the claim here is not that conventional truth is the world as perceived by everyday cognition, but rather it is the sensory world as understood correctly by the *Āryas* inasmuch as it is a means to liberation. Much earlier Tsong-kha-pa had commented that *kun-rdzob* gets its name from the fact that it generates obscuration. Its meaning is based, however, on one of its aspects, for it is not true that all *kun-rdzob* brings about darkness.[39] It is precisely this enlightening aspect of *kun-rdzob* which is *kun-rdzob bden-pa*. *Don-dam bden-pa* for the *pṛthagjana* is the world of his everyday experience; for the *Ārya* it is the unutterable ultimate truth. The *pṛthagjana's don-dam bden-pa* is *kun-rdzob-tsam* for the *Āryas*, but the world of everyday experience seen as illusory, not-Self, unsatisfactoriness and so on is just *kun-rdzob bden-pa*. It is the world not of the *pṛthagjana*, not of the *pṛthagjana* as seen by the *Ārya*, but of the *Ārya* inasmuch as he himself perceives the everyday world. For having eliminated defiled nescience he no longer sees the self-essence, but he sees only illusion. And it is at this level, the level where the *Ārya* sees the everyday world, that the analyses of the Madhyamaka as articulated occur and have meaning.[40]

When objects are seen as illusory, transitory and so on, that is, under the aspect of conventional truth, then they form the phenomenal residue to the process of analysis. Entities are established in a manner other than they appear, but they are established nevertheless. Even the Prāsaṅgikas could not totally deny the given, and indeed to do so would be fatal to Buddhism for this would be to deny the basis for religious activity. When understood correctly the sensual object is phenomenally certain, although it can of course be analysed away from an ultimate point of view. As certain,and in one sense primary, it is not necessary to prove the sensual object. Tsong-kha-pa comments that it is not necessary to prove intellectually a pot or cloth and so on as objects according to conventional truth since inasmuch as they appear without self-essence, like illusions,so they need not be proved - just as one does not need to prove an illusory object.[41] That is, there is no need to prove an illusory object once it is realised as illusory. It is established not as originally given but as given to the amended cognition. In the *dBu-ma-gongs-pa rab-gsal* Tsong-kha-pa states that 'even though blue and so on as proved

with their own characteristics, and a reflection as it is posited does not exist,nevertheless in the same way as a reflection exists not according to the way it is posited so blue and so on even though without self-characteristics necessarily exist.'[42]

But of course even from this position entities while given are not really true,they have no ultimate standing. In terms of the three alternative analyses of Macbeth's dagger mentioned earlier, the Prāsaṅgika adopts the second alternative phenomenally - the dagger is a particular sort of hallucination, a dagger-shaped hallucination - but ultimately it takes the third alternative; there is simply nothing there. Even the conventional realm when properly understood is not really conventional truth, since it is not really true. Truth is simply superimposed; in the *Lam-rim chen-mo* Tsong-kha-pa comments that inasmuch as this is the case we are still within the realm of nescience. For the two *arhats* and *bodhisattvas* above the seventh *bhūmi* even what is really conventional truth is actually simply conventional (*kun-rdzob tsam*).[43] It is clear that there is no paradox here - the word '*tsam*' has two different meanings. Firstly it is used here in opposition to '*bden-pa*' in the phrase *kun-rdzob bden-pa*' - an entity is simply conventional because it is not conventional truth. Secondly '*tsam*' is used in opposition to '*bden-pa*' in its everyday sense of real or really true, which has now become *don-dam bden-pa*. So long as we bear this in mind there is no paradox in maintaining that the entity perceived in everyday apprehension is simply conventional, when seen correctly as illusory it is conventional truth or conventionally true, while conventional truth is itself simply conventional for the *Āryas*. But the essential point is that the category of conventional truth when used is used by and for the *Ārya*, not the *pṛthagjana*, and correspondingly it thereby does not refer to the world of everyday activity and apprehension.

Finally, I wish briefly to make some distinctions as regards the philosophical issues involved in the discussions of appearance. Firstly the dispute over appearance between the Svātantrika and Tsong-kha-pa to a certain extent reflects the extreme ambiguity pertaining to the uses of 'appearance'. For the Svātantrika appearance is clearly the entity which appears, and there is perhaps a certain obviousness in saying that what appears is an appearance. Such is found in the phenomenalism of Hume, Berkeley and even Kant, for example, but these thinkers did not wish to maintain that the world is illusory. Appearance in the sense of given through sensation is not the same as appearance when contrasted to some sort of reality. And it is clearly this sense of 'appearance' which Tsong-kha-pa is operating with. It is thus highly ambiguous to state that for the Madhyamaka as represented by Tsong-kha-pa's Prāsaṅgavada appearance is conventional truth. Appearance as to what appears is conventional truth for Jñānagarbha, but what appears is not conventional truth for Tsong-kha-pa, for whom this is *just* appearance. It is precisely appearance which is *kun-rdzob-tsam*. The (conventional) reality with which this appearance is here contrasted is Tsong-kha-pa's conventional truth; that is, appearance seen as illusory. We might say that *kun-rdzob-tsam* is appearance which, for Tsong-kha-pa is, as a matter of fact, illusory; while the entity as illusory is *kun-rdzob bden-pa*. It is only when the illusion is contrasted with *don-dam bden-pa* that we can say that it is (contrastingly) appearance, and as such it appears to the two *arhats* and *bodhisattvas* above the seventh *bhūmi*. In this sense, unlike Hume, Berkeley and Kant, Tsong-kha-pa's treatment of appearance comes closest to that of Leibniz, for whom 'appearance' is used precisely to distinguish from reality. But in no case is it universally established that for Tsong-kha-pa *kun-rdzob bden-pa* equals appearance.

Furthermore, does Tsong-kha-pa really escape from Jñānagarbha's problems

regarding illusion? Certainly he has to make a distinction between 'transcendental' and 'empirical' illusion based on defect-producing conditions such as jaundice, and perhaps this is adequate enough. From the position of the *Ārya* the real point is that as regards attachment and so on he views all convention in the manner in which he views an illusion, he sees that actually it has the same status. And it is perhaps worth remembering, as a final note, Dumont's comments on the way in which, in a societal context, illusion for the Indian renouncer is precisely the mode in which he sees the society he has renounced. As a renouncer *kun-rdzob bden-pa*, conventional truth, the truth of the world, is precisely the world of society seen as an illusion.

## Notes

1. I am not too happy with the translation of *'bden-pa'* or *'satya'* by 'truth', for reasons which will be briefly mentioned subsequently. For a more detailed discussion see Paul M. Williams (1978) 'Language and Existence in Mādhyamika Buddhist Philosophy'; Unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, Ch.4.
2. dve satye samupāśritya buddhānāṃ dharmadeśanā / lokasaṃvṛtisatyaṃ ca satyam ca paramārthataḥ // ye'nayor na vijānanti vibhāgaṃ satyayor dvayoḥ / te tattvaṃ na vijānanti gambhīraṃ buddhasāsane // From the new critical edition by J.W. de Jong (1977) *Nāgārjuna: Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, Adyar: Adyar Library and Research Centre.
3. T.R.V. Murti (1960) *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, Second Edition, London: George Allen and Unwin, p.245.
4. *Prajñāpradīpa* on *M.M.K.* 24:8, Co-ni edition Vol.18 (Tsha), ff.228b-229a. Cf. Buddhapālitavṛtti, Co-ni 17 (Tsa), f.267a-b.
5. *Prasannapadā* on *M.K.K.* 24:8 in Candrakirti (1960) *Madhyamakaśāstra of Nāgārjuna with the commentary: Prasannapadā by Candrakīrti* (ed. P.L. Vaidya), Darbhanga: Mithila Institute.
6. See, for example, dKon-mchog 'jigs-med dbang-po's *Grub-mtha'* (1971) in *The Collected Works of dKon-mchog 'jigs-med dbang-po* (ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo), New Delhi: Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 26, f.529. Tsong-kha-pa uses pot and cloth, kLong-rdol bla-ma a pot, and so on.
7. Co-ni Sa, f.Ib, verses 3-4a: kun-rdzob dang-ni dam-pa'i don / bden-gnyis thub-pas gsungs-pa-la / ji-ltar snang-ba 'di-kho-na / kun-rdzob gzhan ci cig-shos yin / slu-ba med-pas rigs-pa-ni / don-dam yin-te kun-rdzob min /
8. Peking edition No.5283, Vol.28 (sa), f.5a: de-bzhin-du kun-rdzob-tu bum-pa la-sogs-pa bden-pa rnam-par-gnas-kyi de-kho-na-nyid-du-ni ma-yin-te / Interestingly Jñānagarbha's *kārikā* and *svavṛtti* seem to be missing from the Peking Edition of the Tenjur.
9. *Ibid.*: byis-pa dang / mkhas-pa-dag bum-pa la-sogs-pa gang-la blo-mthun bden yang-dag-pa'i kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa yin-no. The *svavṛtti*, as quoted by Śāntarakṣita asserts: mthong-pa dang mthun-par dngos-po'i don nges-par 'dzin-pa. Cf. the text of the *svavṛtti*, Co-ni Sa, f.4a-b, and *Pañjikā* f.12a.
10. *Pañjikā*, ff.12ff.
11. *Svavṛtti*, f.4. See also *Pañjikā*, f.6a.
12. Bhāvaviveka (1931) 'Madhyamārthasaṃgraha of Bhāvaviveka', edited by N.

Aiyaswami Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)* 5, pp.41-49.

13. For a more detailed discussion of these points see Williams (1978), Ch.4.
14. *Svavṛtti*, f.4 and *Pañjikā*, f.6a: ma-rig-pas ldongs-pa'i 'jig-rten-pa-rnams bum-pa la-sogs-pa bzhin-du / zla-ba gnyis-pa la-sogs-pa bden-pa-nyid-du / de-ltar kha-mi-len-pas-so /
15. *Kārikā* verse 12: snang-du 'dra-yang don-byed-dag / nus-pa'i phyir dang mi-nus phyir / yang-dag yang-dag-ma-yin-pas / kun-rdzob-kyi-ni dbye-ba byas / Cf. *Madhyamārthasaṃgraha*, verses 7-8.
16. lugs-'di-ni ma-rig-pa-dang-ldan-pa-la rang-gi-mtshan-nyid-kyis grub-par gang-snang-ba thams-cad shes-pa-de ma-rig-pas bslad-pa'i snang-bar bzhed-pas / kun-rdzob-pa'i don-la yang-dag-pa dang log-pa gnyis-su mi-'byed-do / The text of the *dBu-ma rTsa-ba'i tshig-le'ur byas-pa shes-rab ces-bya-ba'i rnam-bshad Rigs-pa'i rGya-mtsho* used is a modern blockprint printed in India and dated 1966. Folio 236a.
17. *rTsa shes-rab kyi dka'-gnas chen-po brgyad kyi bshad-pa*, Sarnath: The Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1970, p.6.
18. *mNyam-med Tsong-kha-pa chen-pos mdzad-pa'i Byang-chub lam-rim che-ba*, folio 397a: rnam-pa gzhan-du gnas-pa'i dngos-po-la rnam-pa gzhan-du snang-pa'i phyir-ro / This text is a modern blockprint made for, and presumably by, the Tibetan Monastery at Sarnath. It appears to have no date. Textually it correlates fairly closely with the bKra-shis-lhun-po edition mentioned by Wayman in his fine translation (1978) *Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real*, New York: Columbia University Press. The passage referred to here is on p.224.
19. Folio 398a: dbang-shes-rnams-la gzugs sgra sogs yul lnga-po de-rnams rang-gi-mtshan-nyid-kyis ma-grub-bzhin-du rang-gi-mtshan-nyid-du snang-bas-na... See also Wayman, p.224.
20. Folio 406b: 'jig-rten-na thog-ma-med-pa-nas grags-pa'i don yin-kyang rigs-pa gnod-pas-na tha-snyad-du'ang med-pa-ni ma-rig-pas dngos-po-rnams-la rang-gi-ngo-bo sgro-btags-pa etc. Cf.Wayman, p.238.
21. Folio 408a: ma-rig-pas ji-ltar bzung-ba-ltar kun-rdzob-tu-yang med-de / 'di-ni dngos-po-rnams-la rang-gi-ngo-bos grub-pa'i rang-bzhin sgro-'dogs-pa yin-la / de-'dra-ba'i rang-bzhin-ni tha-snyad-du'ang med-pa'i phyir-ro // Cf.Wayman, pp.240-241.
22. Folio 407b, Wayman, p.240. See later.
23. *dBu-ma-la 'jug-pa'i rgya-cher bshad-pa dGongs-pa rab-gsal*, Sarnath: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1973, pp.181-182: ji-ltar gzugs-brnyan-la-sogs snang-ba-ltar-gyi don-du med-pa-bzhin-du / ma-rig-pa-dang-ldan-pa-rnams-la sngon-po la-sogs-pa rang-gi-mtshan-nyid-kyis grub-par snang-ba-yang / snang-ba-ltar-gyi don-du med-pa'i phyir-ro /
24. *Byang-chub-sems-dpa'i spyod-pa-la 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad rGyal-sras 'jug ngogs*, Sarnath: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1973, p.214.
25. Folio 398a. This forms a continuation of the section mentioned in note 19 above.
26. Folio 235a: de-ltar re-zhig srid-pa'i yan-lag-gis yongs-su-bsdus-pa nyon-mongs-pa-can-gyi ma-rig-pa'i dbang-gis kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa rnam-par-bzhag / de-yang nyan-thos dang rang-sangs-rgyas dang byang-chub-sems-dpa' nyon-mongs-pa-can-gyi ma-rig-pa spangs-pa / 'du-byed gzugs-brnyan la-sogs-pa'i yod-pa-nyid dang 'dra-bar gzigs-pa-rnams-la-ni bcos-ma'i rang-bzhin yin-gyi / bden-pa-ni ma-yin-te bden-par mngon-par-rlom pa med-pa'i phyir-ro / byis-pa-rnams-la-ni slu-bar byed-pa yin-la de-las gzhan-pa-rnams-la-ni sgyu-ma la-sogs-pa-ltar rten-cing-'brel-par-'byung-ba-nyid-kyis kun-rdzob tsam-du 'gyur-ro / Cf. Poussin's translation in *Le Muséon* n.s. II (1910), p.304.

27. Peking No.5264, folios 411b-412a: dngos-por snang-ba kun / sgyu-ma-tsam-du shes-byas etc. (f.412a).
28. Peking No.5271, Mdo-'grel 25 (Ra), folios 174a-174b.
29. Folios 235a-235b: kun-rdzob bden-pa yod-par 'jog-pa-rnams ma-rig-pas yod-par 'jog-pa dang / nyon-mongs-can-gyi ma-rig-pa spangs-pa'i nyan rang dang byang-sems-kyi ngor kun-rdzob bden-pa mi-'jog-par ston-pa min-no /
30. *rTsa-she'i dka'-gnas brgyad*, p.13: kha-cig na-re / sngon-po byis-pa'i ngor kun-rdzob bden-pa yin-la / 'pha(g)s-pa 'og-ma-gsum-gyi ngor kun-rdzob-tsam yin-gyi / kun-rdzob bden-pa ma-yin-no zhes-zer-to / de-lta-na 'phags-pa-rnams-kyis bden-gnyis-kyis rnam-dbye phyin-ci-ma-log-par 'chad mi-nus-par 'gyur-te / rang-nyid-kyi blo'i ngor kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa ma-srid-pa'i phyir /
31. Folio 235b: nyon-mongs-pa-can-gyi ma-rig-pa-ni bden-'dzin yin-pas nges-bzung-ba'i don tha-snyad-du-yang mi-srid-pa'i phyir dang / kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa yin-na tha-snyad-du yod-pas khyab-pa'i phyir-ro / des-na chos-rnams kun-rdzob-tu yod-par 'jog-pa'i 'jog-sa'i kun-rdzob yin-na-ni / nyon-mongs-can-gyi ma-rig-pa-la kun-rdzob-tu byas-pa-de ma-yin dgos-pa-yin-no /
32. nyon-mongs-can-gyi ma-rig-pa'i kun-rdzob spangs-pa-rnams-la / gang-gi ngor bden-par 'jog-pa'i bden-zhen-gyi kun-rdzob med-pa'i rgyu-mtshan-gyis /'du -byed-rnams de-dag-gi ngor mi-bden-par bsgrubs-kyi kun-rdzob bden-pa ma-yin-par ma-bsgrubs-pa'i phyir-ro / des-na de-dag-gi ngor 'du-byed-rnams kun-rdzob-tsam-du gsungs-pas-ni... Folio 235b.
33. *Ibid.* de'i ngor kun-rdzob dang bden-pa gnyis-kyi nang-nas bden-par gzhag-tu med-pas-tsam-gyis sgras-ni bden-pa gcod-kyi kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa gcod-pa ga-la yin /
34. *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā*, folios 173b-174a.
35. Folio 237a: de-la so-so-skye-bo-rnams-kyi don-dam-pa gang-yin-pa de-nyid 'phags-pa snang-ba dang bcas-pa'i spyod-yul-can-rnams-kyi kun-rdzob-tsam yin-la / Cf. Poussin's translation, p.305.
36. *Ibid.*: so-so-skye-bo-rnams-kyis-ni bum-pa la-sogs-pa-la bden-par 'dzin-la de-nyid don-dam-par yod-par 'dzin-pa-yang yin-pas / de-dag-gi shes-ngo(?)-de-la ltos-te bum-sogs-rnams don-dam-par grub-pa yin-gyi kun-rdzob-pa'i don min-no /
37. *Ibid.*: de-dag-gi ngor don-dam-par grub-pa'i gzhi bum-pa la-sogs-pa-rnams 'phags-pa'i rgyud-kyi sna(ng)-ba sgyu-ma-lta-bu'i don gzigs-pa-la ltos-nas kun-rdzob-pa yin-no / shes-pa-de-la ltos-na bden-par-gzhag-tu med-pas kun-rdzob-tsam zhes-gsungs-so /
38. *Ibid.*: See also the Svātantrikas, who share this point with the Prāsaṅgikas.
39. Folio 234a. This is of course an important point for the defence of Tsong-kha-pa's *lam-rim* against the Chinese Hva-shang Mahāyāna for whom all conventional truth is on the same level as simply misleading, and a graduated path is impossible. See Wayman, pp.44-58.
40. I have tried to indicate at many points in Williams (1978) the importance of this point. In spite of the mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories of the two truths the Madhyamaka analyses themselves - pointing to *x* as empty and so on, occur just at the position where the *Ārya* views the everyday world. One can speculate that in the face of the tension created by the Chinese position it is just this fact which rises to the surface in Tsong-kha-pa's treatment of *kun-rdzob bden-pa*, but I think that it is a fundamental point for understanding what Bhāvaviveka was trying to do with the category of *paryāyaparamārthasatya* introduced in his *Madhyamārthasaṃgraha*, for example.
41. *Rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho*, folio 236b: bum snam la-sogs-pa kun-rdzob bden-pa yin-kyang de-dag blos-grub-pa-na kun-rdzob bden-pa'i don blos-'grub mi-

dgos-te / bum snam sogs rang-bzhin-gyis med-bzhin-du snang-ba'i sgyu-ma-lta-bu yin-kyang de-dag grub-pa'i blos sgyu-ma-lta-bu'i don-'grub mi-dgos-pa-bzhin-no /

42. Page 184: sngo-sogs rang-gi mtshan-nyid-kyis grub-pa dang / gzugs-brnyan byad-bzhin-du yod-pa ma-srid-kyang / byad-bzhin-du med-pa'i gzugs-brnyan yod-pa-bzhin-du / rang-gi mtshan-nyid-kyis grub-pa min-kyang sngo-sogs yod-dgos-la...

43. See *Lam-rim chen-mo* folios 407b-408a.

# LAMA TRIBUTE IN THE MING DYNASTY

**Turrell V. Wylie**

During much of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), it was the general policy of the Chinese emperors to invite leading lamas to court and to bestow on them lavish gifts and titles. The lamas, in turn, sent tribute missions periodically to the Ming court. Some modern Chinese writers regard those events as evidence that Chinese 'suzerainty' was thus maintained over Tibet during the Ming dynasty. Reviewing the Ming policy, Li Tieh-tseng, then Professor of International Relations at an American university, observed that '... hereditary titles tended to consolidate Chinese power by their psychological effect upon the Tibetan mind.'[1] Li went on to conclude that '... Tibet became a vassal state of China from the time of Kublai Khan and remained in such a status throughout the Yüan and Ming dynasties.'[2]

Li's political interpretation is shared by Tu Hengtse, then Professor of International Law at Tunghai University in Taiwan, who wrote that 'in 1269 Phagspa was raised to the rank of priest-king (*Ta Pao Fa Wang*) with power to rule the whole region of Tibet. From that time Tibet was ruled by the lamas as a theocracy under Chinese suzerainty.'[3] Tu stated further that the first Ming emperor ' ... Tai Tsu was greatly impressed by the success of the policy of his predecessors, and he decided to maintain the theocracy, and thus the suzerainty of China, in Tibet.'[4]

The purpose of this paper is to compare these interpretations with the historical background of the Ming policy of 'lama tribute' in order to assess their validity.[5]

First, although a minor point, to describe the government imposed on Tibet by the Mongols in the 13th century as a 'theocracy' is chronologically incorrect. By definition, a 'theocracy' is a government in which the ruler is a deity and, regardless of later piety, 'Phags-pa Lama of Sa-skya was not a deity. The doctrine of the reincarnation of a lama - who might then be regarded as a kind of deity in human form - had not yet established itself in Tibetan Buddhism when Khubilai Khan appointed 'Phags-pa Lama to be his Imperial Teacher (*Ti-shih*).[6] The government of the reincarnate Dalai Lamas which emerged centuries later may be called a 'theocracy', but the Mongol-imposed government with the Sa-skya lama as a viceroy of the khan would be closer to a 'hierocracy'; that is to say, a government by ecclesiastic rulers.

Regarding the 'tribute missions' sent by Tibetan lamas to the Ming court, the study by Fairbanks and Teng 'On the Ch'ing Tributary System' shows clearly that the payment of tribute in Ming times cannot be interpreted as evidence of China's suzerainty over any country.[7] Li Tieh-tseng himself noted that the tribute missions were highly profitable to the lamas and became such a drain on the Ming treasury that they had to be curtailed.[8] If the purpose of the Ming policy towards the lamas were to maintain Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, then surely such control depended on means other than the so-called 'tribute missions.'

This brings us to the issue of the bestowal of titles and seals on the lamas. Both Chinese authors cited in this paper interpret this as a continuation by the Ming emperors of the lama policy of the preceding Yüan dynasty and that it constituted the official renewal of appointments made by the Mongol emperors. Li Tieh-tseng wrote that 'Most of the offices were hereditary under the Yüan dynasty. Their occupants, in command of one thousand or ten thousand families, were reappointed with new patents.'[9] He refers, of course, to the offices of a chiliarch and a myriarch; offices which were in effect during the

lifetime of the Mongol-imposed Sa-skya government.

I have dealt with the first Mongol conquest of Tibet in the 13th century in some detail elsewhere.[10] Suffice it here to say that following the census of 1268, Khubilai Khan had central Tibet divided into thirteen myriarchies for purposes of taxation and administration. The hierocratic government he imposed on Tibet employed lamas as viceroys with administrative headquarters at Sa-skya. Historically, Tibet came under Mongol domination a decade before China was finally conquered by the armies of Khubilai Khan.

In the middle of the 14th century, Tibetans led by the myriarch of Phag-mo-gru rebelled against the Sa-skya government. Mongol military failed to intervene and Sa-skya was overthrown. The Phag-mo-gru myriarch became the *de facto* ruler of Tibet and the Mongol Emperor Toghon Temür conferred on him the seal and title of *Ta'i Si-tu*.[11] The Phag-mo-gru ruler established a new form of centralized government with headquarters at Sne-gdong in the Yar-klungs district. He replaced the myriarchy system imposed by the Mongols with administrative units called *rdzong*, each governed by an official appointed by him. Thus, the 'lama-patron' relationship (*yon-mchod*) which, beginning with Khubilai Khan and 'Phags-pa Lama of Sa-skya, had been the underlying principle of the Mongol-imposed polity in Tibet, came to an end. Historically then, Tibet became independent of Mongol domination before the Ming dynasty ever came into existence. In view of such chronology, one cannot help but question the validity of the claim that Tibetan myriarchs - whose offices had ceased to exist - 'were reappointed with new patents' by the Ming emperors.

The Chinese authors cited in this paper view the Ming policy as a continuation of the Mongol policy towards the lamas. Granted that the myriarchs and other officials of Tibet were confirmed in office by the Mongols, the primary sources make it clear that the khans focused their political support on lamas of the Sa-skya sect as their viceroys. Contrastingly, the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty lavished rewards and titles on all leading lamas who accepted the invitation to come to court, regardless of their sectarian affiliations. The *Ming Shih* lists various titles bestowed on lamas; eight of which end in the title 'King' (Chinese: *Wang*).[12] A contemporary Tibetan text notes that the Ming emperor bestowed the office and title of *Dbang* (phonetically: *Wang*) on the hierarch of Phag-mo-gru, but it then states that the hierarchs of 'Bi-khung, Rtse-gdong, and Gling were equally given that title as well.[13]

Even though the Chinese authors cited regard the entitlement of lamas as the renewal of appointments made earlier by the Mongol emperors, evidence contained in the *Ming Shih* itself disproves such an interpretation.

Consider first the title *Ta Pao Fa Wang* ('Great Precious King of the [Buddhist] Law'). This was the same title Khubilai Khan gave to 'Phags-pa Lama of Sa-skya as his Imperial Teacher and Viceroy of Tibet. If it were the intention of the Ming emperors to continue the Mongol policy towards the lamas, then one would have expected that this exalted title would have been bestowed on a descendant of the Sa-skya lineage in order to perpetuate - even if only symbolically - a semblance of the 'lama-patron' relationship that pertained in the Mongol dynasty. Or even better from the pragmatic view of maintaining suzerainty, that title should have gone to the successor of Ta'i Si-tu of Phag-mo-gru as the *de facto* ruler of Tibet. Notwithstanding these historical or political considerations, the title of 'Great Precious King of the Law' was bestowed according to the *Ming Shih* in the year 1407 by the Yung-lo Emperor on the fifth hierarch of the Black-hat Karma-pa sect.[14]

It is impossible to interpret this entitlement of the Karma-pa hierarch as a 'renewal of appointment' by the Ming emperor for the simple reason that the Black-hat Karma-pa lamas were not appointed to myriarchic office during

the previous Mongol dynasty. In fact, the Black-hat Karma-pa is said to have been politically eclipsed by Khubilai Khan because Karma Bakshi, second hierarch of the sect, refused Khubilai's invitation to become his court lama.[15] Logically, if the Black-hat Karma-pa hierarchs had not been appointed to office by the Mongol emperors, then there could be no 'reappointment to office' by succeeding Chinese emperors.

A successor of the famous 'Phags-pa Lama of Sa-skya was given a title, albeit a new one; namely *Ta Ch'eng Fa Wang* ('King of the Law of the Great Vehicle' [=the Mahāyāna]).[16]

As for the Phag-mo-gru hierarch, *de facto* ruler of Tibet at the time, it is said he was the first to go to the Ming court. The *Ming Shih* refers to him as the 'acting Imperial Teacher' and states that the emperor changed his title to the lesser one of 'State Teacher' (*Kuo shih*).[17] Decades later, however, one of the successors of the Phag-mo-gru hierarch was given the more exalted title of *Shan Hua Wang* ('King who Teachers Liberation').[18]

Even more important to the contention that the Ming policy cannot be regarded as one of renewing official appointments is the case of Chos-rje Shākya Ye-shes, a personal disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, founder of the Yellow-hat Dge-lugs-pa sect. The Yung-lo Emperor repeatedly invited Tsong-kha-pa to come to court, but he declined.[19] Tsong-kha-pa finally sent his disciple, Chos-rje Shākya Ye-shes, in his stead. On his first visit to court, this disciple was given the title of 'State Teacher'; the same title originally given the Phag-mo-gru ruler of Tibet. On a later visit to court, this disciple received the title of *Ta Tz'u Fa Wang* ('Great Compassionate King of the [Buddhist] Law') from the Hsüan-te Emperor.[20]

Chos-rje Shākya Ye-shes was just one among the many disciples of Tsong-kha-pa, yet he received a title with the pompous designation of 'King'. Presumably he was then regarded as being on the same religious plane as the hierarchs of the Black-hat Karma-pa, the Sa-skya-pa, and others who also were given the title of a 'King'.

Again, it is impossible to regard the title bestowed on Chos-rje Shākya Ye-shes as a 'renewal of appointment' made by the Mongol emperors. The reformation movement that led to the rise of the Yellow-hat sect did not begin until after the fall of the Mongol dynasty, consequently no member of that sect could have been appointed to office by the Mongol court.

At this point it is important to note that neither the name of the Yellow-hat sect or that of its founder, Tsong-kha-pa, appear in the official history of the Ming dynasty. The reason for this is provided by Li Tieh-tseng himself, who wrote that 'In China not only the Emperor could do no wrong, but also his prestige and dignity had to be upheld at any cost. Had the fact been made known to the public that Ch'eng-tsu's repeated invitations extended to Tsong-k'a-pa were declined, the Emperor's prestige and dignity would have been considered as lowered to a contemptible degree, especially at a time when his policy to show high favours toward lamas was by no means popular and had already caused resentment among the people. This explains why no mention of Tsong-k'a-pa and the Yellow Sect was made in the *Ming shih* and *Ming shih lu*.'[21]

Such censorship of the official history of the Ming dynasty distorts the true picture of the period. It is clear, however, that the Ming emperors were not continuing the lama policy of the previous Mongol dynasty. Beginning with Khubilai Khan, the Mongol emperors had appointed a Sa-skya lama as 'Imperial Teacher' to serve as the viceroy of the Mongol-imposed government in Tibet. When the last Sa-skya lama to hold that title died in 1358, the Sa-skya regime had already been overthrown and the office of 'Imperial Teacher' fell into disuse.[22] Although the Mongols had focused their support singularly

on lamas of the Sa-skya sect to rule Tibet, the Chinese emperors rewarded all who came to court regardless of sectarian affiliation. Since the Ming emperors were not following the Mongol practice, their lama policy must have been based on another consideration.

Relevant here is the turn of events during the reign of the Shih-tsung Emperor (1522-1566). This Emperor embraced Taoism, degraded lamas, and suppressed Buddhism. The *Ming Shih* states from his time onwards 'Tibetan lamas rarely went to China.'[23] In view of the lavish rewards and titles that were given to lamas for almost two centuries, the fact that they stopped going to China in the 16th century suggests a dramatic change in Ming policy towards the lamas. Is it mere coincidence that this change was synchronic with the return of the Mongols to the Kokonor region?

Even though the Mongols were overthrown in China, they continued to be a force in Inner Asia. Early in the 16th century they began again to infiltrate the Kokonor region, and in the reign of the Shih-tsung Emperor, Mongols under the leadership of Altan Khan began to harass the Chinese frontier.[24] Altan Khan finally made peace with the Ming court in 1571, but that did not stop him from becoming involved in Tibetan affairs. He invited the third hierarch of the Yellow-hat sect to Mongolia and in 1578 he gave that lama the Mongolian title of *Dalai* ('Ocean'). Following the example of his ancestor Khubilai Khan, Altan Khan entered into the 'lama-patron' relationship with this Dalai Lama.[25]

This restoration of a Mongol-Tibetan alliance was soon followed by a mystical event that was to link the fortunes of the Yellow-hat sect to the military might of the Mongols. After the Tibetan Dalai Lama died in Mongolia in 1588, his rebirth was found to be none other than a great-grandson of Altan Khan himself. This Mongol Dalai Lama was brought to Tibet and enthroned at the monastery of 'Bras-spungs.

Meanwhile, armed conflict between the Yellow-hat sect and the Red-hat Karma-pa sect, which was allied with the lay ruler of Gtsang, continued to escalate. Finally, Mongol troops led by Gushri Khan defeated the Gtsang ruler in 1642 and put him to death. Then, as conqueror of Tibet, Gushri Khan enthroned the Fifth Dalai Lama as spiritual and temporal head of Tibet.[26] Two years later the Manchus conquered China and the Ming dynasty came to an end.

Reviewing the lama policy of the Ming emperors, it is clear that, rather than focus their support on any one sectarian group, they favoured all lamas who accepted the invitation to court. Also, there is no indication that Chinese imperial troops were ever dispatched against Tibet. Such events suggest that, contrary to the modern claim that suzerainty was thus maintained, the Ming emperors actually had little, or no, political or military interests in Tibet *per se*.

It is the proposal of this paper that the motivation behind the Ming policy was to encourage nationalistic fragmentation among Tibetan lamas, and to discourage the restoration of the 'lama-patron' relationship between any one of them and the Mongols. If the supposition is valid that the Ming policy was covertly one of bribery intended to keep the lamas away from the Mongols, then it is not surprising that once the 'lama-patron' relationship was indeed resumed by Altan Khan and the Dalai Lama, the Ming emperors stopped giving lavish rewards and titles to the lamas; nor, that thereafter 'lamas rarely went to China.'

Again, is it mere coincidence that the Tibetan lama who resumed the 'lama-patron' relationship with the Mongol enemies of the Ming court was the hierarch of the Yellow-hat sect: the very same sect not mentioned in Ming official history because its founder had declined the Chinese emperor's repeated invitation to come to court?

In conclusion, it is said that the first Ming emperor, taking the 'rebellion of the Tibetans in the T'ang dynasty' as a lesson for the future, decided to restrain the Tibetans by using Buddhist monks to lead them.[27] Ironically, the final outcome of the Ming policy of 'lama tribute' seems similar to that of the T'ang policy of court bribery. To insure peace, two Chinese imperial princesses were given in matrimonial alliances to Tibetan kings; one in the 7th century, the other early in the 8th century. Yet, in 763 the Tibetans invaded China, captured the capital of the T'ang court, and even set up an emperor of their own choice.

The great T'ang poet, Tu Fu, bitterly criticized this imperial policy in one of his poems, entitled 'Emergency.' Tu Fu wrote:

> Peace through matrimony has proved a stupid plan;
> Our princess was lost, not to return.
> Who has now taken our Kokonor?
> The western barbarians are like falcons,
> well-fed and soaring.[28]

Tu Fu's critique of the T'ang policy might apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Ming policy of 'lama tribute' as well.

## Notes

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2. Tieh-tseng Li, p.32.
3. Hengtse Tu, *A Study of the Treaties and Agreements Relating to Tibet* (Taichung: Tunghai University, 1971), p.6.
4. Hengtse Tu, p.6.
5. This paper is based in part on research carried out in Rome during professional leave 1973-74, which was made possible thanks to a Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies.
6. Turrell V. Wylie, 'Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism.' *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978), pp.579-86.
7. J.K. Fairbank and S.Y. Teng, 'On the Ch'ing Tributary Sytem.' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol.6: No.2. June, 1941. Pp.135-246.
8. Tie-tseng Li, pp.26,28,32; Hengtse Tu, p.7.
9. Tie-tseng Li, p.25.
10. Turrell V. Wylie, 'The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted.' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol.37: No.1. June, 1977. Pp.103-33.
11. Fifth Dalai Lama, *The History of Tibet* (Varanasi: Burmese Buddhist Vihar, 1967), p.182; Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949), Vol.1, p.22.
12. *Ming Shih* (Peking: Chung-hua-shu-chü,1974), Chüan 331, p.8573. (All references to the *Ming Shih* in this paper are to Chüan 331.)
13. *Rlangs kyi pu ti bse ru*, Vol. Ga, folio 51-a.
14. *Ming Shih*, p.8573. This title is rendered in Tibetan as *tā ba'u hwā wang*; see Karma-ṅes-don-bstan-rgyas, *Brief Biographies of the Successive Embodiments of the Black Hat Karmapa Lamas* (New Delhi: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1973), p.269.
15. *Karma-ṅes-don-bstan-rgyas*, pp.89-90.

16. *Ming-shih*, p.8575.
17. *Ming-shih*, p.8572.
18. *Ming-shih*, p.8580.
19. Tieh-tseng Li, p.29; Rudolf Kaschewsky, *Das Leben des Lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa (1357-1419)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), Vol.1, p.149; Vol.2, Tafel 459.
20. *Ming Shih*, p.8577; Tieh-tseng Li, p.26.
21. Tieh-tseng Li, p.29.
22. Hugh E.Richardson, *A Short History of Tibet* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1962), p.35; Turrell V. Wylie, 'Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism', pp.585-6.
23. *Ming-shih*, p.8579; Tieh-tseng Li, p.27.
24. Dmitrii Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1976), pp.98-ff.
25. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century, Serie Orientale Roma* 40 (Rome, 1970), pp.84-ff.
26. Zahiruddin Ahmad, pp.130-ff.
27. *Ming Shih*, p.8572.
28. William Hung, *Tu-fu, China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p.197.

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